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THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D.

TWELFTH COMPLETE EDITION,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION.

VOL. V.

BOSTON:
CROSBY, NICHOLS, AND COMPANY.
NEW YORK:
C. S. FRANCIS AND COMPANY.
1853.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by
GEORGE G. CHANNING,
in the Clerk's office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts

Printed by
MUNROE AND FRANCIS,
Boston.

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REMARKS

ON

THE SLAVERY QUESTION,

IN A LETTER TO

JONATHAN PHILLIPS, ESQ.

1*

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REMARKS

ON

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

TO JONATHAN PHILLIPS, ESQ.

My Dear Sir,

On reading Mr. Clay's speech on Slavery, many thoughts were suggested to me which I wished to communicate; and our conversation of last evening confirmed me in the purpose of laying them before the public. I have resolved to give my views in the form of a letter, because I can do my work more easily and rapidly in this way than in any other. A general, methodical discussion of the subject would be more agreeable to me; but we must do what we can. I must write in haste, or not at all. If others would take the subject in hand, I should gladly be silent. Something ought to be spoken on the occasion; but who will speak? My range of topics will be somewhat large, nor, if good can be done, shall I hesitate to stray beyond the document which first suggested this communication.

I shall often be obliged to introduce the name of Mr. Clay; but, as you will see, I regard him in this discussion, simply as the representative of a body of men,

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simply as having given wide circulation to a set of opinions. I have nothing to do with his motives. It is common to ascribe the efforts of politicians to selfish aims. But why mix up the man with the cause? In general, we do well to let an opponent's motives alone. We are seldom just to them. Our own motives on such occasions, are often worse than those we assail. Besides, our business is with the arguments, not the character, of an adversary. A speech is not refuted by imputations, true or false, on the speaker. There is, indeed, a general presumption against a politician's purity of purpose; but public men differ in character as much as private; and when a statesman holds an honorable place in his class, and brings high gifts to a discussion, he ought to be listened to with impartiality and respect. For one, I desire that slavery should be defended by the ablest men among its upholders. In the long run, truth is aided by nothing so much as by opposition, and by the opposition of those who can give the full strength of the argument on the side of error. In an age of authority and spiritual bondage, the opinions of an individual are often important, sometimes decisive. One voice may determine the judgment of a country. But in an age of free discussion, little is to be feared from great names, on whatever side arrayed. When I hear a man complaining, that some cause, which he has at heart, will be put back for years by a speech or a book, I suspect that his attachment to it is a prejudice, that he has no consciousness of standing on a rock. The more discussion the better, if passion and personality be eschewed; and discussion, even if stormy, often winnows truth from error, a good never to be expected in an uninquiring age.

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I have said, that my concern is wholly with Mr. Clay's speech, not with the author; and I would add, that in the greater part of the discussion which is to follow, my concern will be with slavery and not with the slave-holder. Principles, not men, are what I wish to examine and judge. For the sake of truth and good temper, personalities are to be shunned as far as they may. I shall speak strongly of slavery, for we serve neither truth nor virtue by pruning discourse into tameness; but a criminal institution does not necessarily imply any singular criminality in those who uphold it. An institution, the growth of barbarous times, transmitted from distant ages, and "sanctified" by the laws, is a very different thing, as far as the character of its friends is concerned, from what it would be, were it deliberately adopted at the present day. I must indeed ascribe much culpableness to the body of slave-holders, just as I see much to blame in political parties; but do I therefore set down all the members of these classes as unprincipled men? The injustice, criminality, inhumanity of a practice we can judge. The guilt of our neighbour we can never weigh with exactness; and in most cases must refer him to a higher tribunal. This I say, that I may separate the subject from personalities. To me, the slave-holder is very much an abstraction. The word, as here used, expresses a general relation. The individual seldom or never enters my thoughts.

The principal part of Mr. Clay's speech is an attack on the Abolitionists. These I have no thought of defending. They must fight their own battle. I am not of them, and nothing would induce me to become responsible for their movements. And this I say from no desire to shift from myself an unpopular name. It

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will be seen in the course of these remarks, that I am not studying to soothe prejudice or to make a compromise with error. I separate myself from the Abolitionists, from no sensitiveness to reproach. A man, who has studied Christianity and history as long as you and myself, will not be very anxious to shelter himself from what has been the common lot of the friends of truth. However the Abolitionists may have erred, I honor them as advocates of the principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, and for having clung to these amidst threats, perils, and violence. In declining all connexion with them, I am influenced by no desire to make over to others all the censures and invectives of the community; but I simply wish to take my true position, to appear what I am.

Mr. Clay's speech, however intended for the Abolitionists, contains passages at which every man interested in the removal of slavery must take offence; and to these my remarks will be confined. The most important part of it, indeed, has no special bearing on the Abolitionists, but concerns equally all the Free States. I refer to that in which we are told, that slavery is to be perpetual, that we have nothing to hope in this respect from the South. Every other part of the speech sinks into insignificance in comparison with this. Coming from any other man, this document would be less important. But Mr. Clay is no rash talker. His legislative course has been distinguished by nothing so much as by his skill in compromising discordant opinions. His speech was meant to be a compromise, to exert a healing power. He does not, in a fit of transient, blinding anger, dash to the ground our hopes of relief from the intolerable evils of slavery. He states

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deliberately the grand obstacle to emancipation, and it is one which can only be removed by the dying out of the slaves. He takes the ground, that if the two races are to live together, one must be hopelessly subjugated to the other, so as to prevent collision. Emancipation, he gives us to understand, would be a signal for civil war, to end only in extermination. And as this peril, if real, increases with the increase of the servile class, of consequence every year's continuance of the evil makes freedom, if possible, more and more to be despaired of. We lament and abhor this doctrine, but are truly glad that it is brought out distinctly, that the Free States may know what they are to expect. A vague hope has floated before many minds, that this immense evil was in some way or other to cease. On this ground, such of us in the Free States as have written against slavery, have been rebuked. Our friends as well as foes have said, "Be quiet; let the South alone; it will find for itself the way of emancipation. You throw back the good work a century." We have all along known better. We have known that long use, the love of property, and the love of power, had bound this evil on the South, with a triple adamantine chain. We have known, that the increasing culture of cotton was spreading slavery with immense rapidity through new regions, and, by rendering it more gainful, was strengthening the obstinacy with which it is grasped by the owner. We have known, that in consequence of this culture, the northern slave States, whose soil the system had exhausted, have acquired a new interest in it, by humbling themselves to the condition of slave-breeding and slave-trading communities. We have seen, that the institution, if to be shaken or subverted, was to

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be stormed from abroad, not by "carnal weapons," not by physical force, but by those moral influences, which, if steadily poured in upon a civilized people, must gradually prevail. It is now seen, that we were right. It is now plain, that the South has deliberately wedded itself to slavery. We are glad to have it known. The speech publishing this doctrine was meant to be a herald of peace, but it is in truth a summons to new conflict. It calls those who regard slavery as a grievous outrage on human nature, to spread their convictions with unremitting energy. I take the ground, that no communities, unless cutting themselves off from the civilized world, can withstand just, enlightened, earnest opinion; and this power must be brought to bear on slavery more zealously than ever.

I observe, in passing, that Mr. Clay, in giving us no hope for the extinction of slavery but in the extinction of the colored race, puts an end to all expectation of aid in this respect from the Colonization Society, an institution of which he is an ardent friend, and, for aught I know, is now the President; and I trust, his frankness will open the eyes of those, who dream of removing slavery by the process of draining it off to another country; a process about as reasonable as that of draining the Atlantic. Colonization may do good in Africa. It does only harm among ourselves. It has confirmed the prejudice, to which slavery owes much of its strength, that the colored man cannot live and prosper as a freeman on these shores. It indeed sends out to the public now and then accounts of planters, who have freed a greater or less number of slaves to be shipped to Africa. But these very operations strengthen slavery at home Could the master send his plantation

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to Africa with his slaves, he would serve the cause of freedom. But the land remains here, and remains to be tilled; and by whom must the cultivation go on? by slaves. Of course new slaves must be bought. Of course the demand for slaves is increased; and the price of a man rises; and a new motive is given to the Slave-breeding States to stock the market with human cattle. Thus the barbarous trade in men strikes deeper root. No. Colonization darkens the prospects of humanity at home, however it may brighten them abroad. It has done much to harden the slave-holder in his purpose of holding fast his victim, and thus increases the necessity of more earnest remonstrance against slavery.

Mr. Clay, of course, will not allow that the resolution of making slavery perpetual at the South, is a reason for new assaults on the system. He insists, on the contrary, with the whole South, that we, in this region, have nothing to do with the matter; that it is no concern of ours; and that to labor here for the subversion of an institution in other States, is a criminal interference. Interference is the word which has been applied to all agitation of this subject at the North; and the censure implied in the term has misled the unthinking into a vague notion, that to touch the subject here is doing wrong to the South. But I maintain, that there is a moral interference with our fellow-creatures at home and abroad, not only to be asserted as a right, but binding as a duty. This is the first topic of discussion, and its importance will induce me to treat it at large.

We are told, that the Slave-holding States, in relation to this point, stand on the same ground with foreign countries, and are consequently to be treated with equal delicacy and reserve. This position I deny; but grant

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it; I maintain the right of acting on foreign countries by moral means for moral ends. Suppose that there were in contact with us a foreign state, which should ordain by law, that every child, born with black hair or a darkly-shaded face, should be put to death; and suppose that every sixth child should be slaughtered by this barbarous decree. Or take the case of a community at our door, which should restore the old gladiatorial shows, and suppose that a large part of the population should perish in these execrable games. Who of us would feel himself bound to hold his peace, because these atrocities were committed beyond our boundaries? Who would say, that the tortures of the slain were no concern of ours, because not of our own parish or country? Is humanity a local feeling? Does sympathy stop at a frontier? Does the heart shrink and harden as it approximates an imaginary line on the earth's surface? Is moral indignation moved only by crimes perpetrated under our own eyes? Has duty no work to do beyond our native land? Does a man cease to be a brother by living in another state? Is liberty nothing to us, if cloven down at a little distance? Christianity teaches different lessons. Its spirit is unconfined love. One of its grandest truths is human brotherhood. Under its impulses, Christians send the preacher of the cross to distant countries, to war with deep-rooted institutions. The spiritual ties, which bind all men together, were not woven by human policy, nor can statesmen sunder them.

Suppose that one of the States of the Union should become pledged by its institutions to intemperance, that its laws should be framed to encourage the production and consumption of ardent spirits. Would not every

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other State be bound to give utterance to its detestation of this horrible system? Suppose that temperance societies, in their anxiety to purify this sink of corruption, should make its excesses and crimes their standing themes. Who of us would recognise the right of the intemperate State to repel this interference as an assault on its sovereignty? What should we think, were this community to insist, that it would not suffer its character to be traduced, or the product, on which its wealth and revenues depended, to be diminished, and that it would recede from the Union unless permitted to manufacture and drink alcohol unreproved? These questions answer themselves. But I shall undoubtedly be asked, whether intemperance and slavery be parallel cases? They are parallel as viewed in relation to my object, which is, not to weigh the guilt of different crimes, but to establish a general principle, to establish the right and duty of men to oppose the force of moral reprobation to prevalent moral evils, whether in our own or other countries. In regard to the comparative guilt of intemperance and slavery, I will only say, that the last involves the worst evil of the first; that is, it does much to degrade men into brutes. There is, however, this difference; the intemperate man degrades himself; the slave-holder degrades his fellow-creatures. Which of the two is most culpable in the sight of God, let every man judge.

The position is false, that nation has no right to interfere morally with nation. Every community is responsible to other communities for its laws, habits, character; not responsible in the sense of being liable to physical punishment and force, but in the sense of just exposure to reprobation and scorn; and this moral control com-

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munities are bound to exercise over each other, and must exercise over each other, and exercise it more and more in proportion to the spread of intelligence and civilization. The world is governed much more by opinion than by laws. It is not the judgment of courts, but the moral judgment of individuals and masses of men, which is the chief wall of defence round property and life. With the progress of society, this power of opinion is taking the place of arms. Rulers are more and more anxious to stand acquitted before their peers and the human race. National honor, once in the keeping of the soldier, is understood more and more to rest on the character of nations. In this state of the world, all attempts of the slave-holder to put to silence the condemning voice of men, whether far or near, are vain.

I claim the right of pleading the cause of the oppressed, whether he suffer in this country or another. I utterly deny that a people can screen themselves behind their nationality from the moral judgment of the world. Because they form themselves into a state, and forbid within their bounds a single voice to rise in behalf of the injured ; because they crush the weak under the forms of law, do they hereby put a seal on the lips of foreigners ? Do they disarm the moral sentiment of other states ? Is this among the rights of sovereignty, that a people, however criminal, shall stand unreproved ?

In consequence of the increasing intercourse and intelligence of modern times, there is now erected in the civilized world, a grand moral tribunal, before which all communities stand and must be judged. As yet, its authority is feeble compared with what it is to be, but still strong enough to lay restraint, to inspire fear. Before this, slave-holding communities are arraigned, and must

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answer. The friends of justice, liberty, and humanity accuse them of grievous wrongs. It is vain to talk of the prescription of two hundred years. Within this space of time, great changes have taken place in the code by which the commonwealth of nations passes sentence. The doctrine of human rights has been expounded. The right of the laborer to wages, the right of every innocent man to his own person, the right of all to equity before the laws, these are no longer abstractions of speculative visionaries, no longer innovations, but the established rights of humanity. Before the tribunal of the civilized world, and the higher tribunal of Christianity and of God, the slave-holder has to answer for stripping his brother of these recognised privileges and immunities of a man. Multitudes, on both sides of the ocean, looking above the distinction of nations, standing on the broad ground of a common nature, protest in the face of heaven and earth against the wrong inflicted on their enslaved brother. Let the South understand, that it is not your voice or mine, or that of a small knot of enthusiasts, which they have to silence. You and I are nothing, but as we represent those great principles of justice and charity, with which the human heart is everywhere beginning to beat. Everywhere the slave-holder is accused ; everywhere he is judged.

It is strange, that the South should tell us, that the increasing protest at the North against slavery, is the greater wrong, because slavery is one of their *institutions*. As if an evil lost its deformity by becoming an institution, that is, an established thing, held up by laws and public force. One would think, that the circumstance of its being so rooted, of its having gained this

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fearful strength, were the very reason for vigorous opposition. A few straggling individuals, given to a bad course, might be overlooked for their insignificance. But when a community, openly, by statutes, by arms, adopts and upholds an enormous wrong, then good men, through the earth, are bound to unite against it, in stern, solemn remonstrance. The greater the force combined to support an evil, the greater the force needed for its subversion. Crime is comparatively weak, until it embodies and "sanctifies" itself in institutions. Individuals, seizing on and enslaving their brethren, would be put down by the spontaneous, immediate reprobation of society. It is the perpetration of this wrong by communities, which makes it formidable; and, I confess, that here, if anywhere, a justification may be found for organized associations against slavery. This evil rests on associated strength, on the prostitution of the powers of the state. Regarded as an institution, which combined millions uphold, it seems to have a strength, a permanence, against which individual power can avail nothing; and hence, it may be said, strength is to be sought in associations. The argument does not satisfy me; for I believe, that, to produce moral changes of judgment and feeling, the individual, in the long run, is stronger than combinations; but I do feel, that slavery, entrenched behind institutions, is, on that very account, to be assailed with all the weapons of reason, of moral suasion, of moral reprobation, which good men can wield. Less mercy should be shown it, because it is an institution.

The notion which I have combated, that slavery is to be treated with respect because it is a public ordinance, is one of many proofs, that, even yet, there is but a faint consciousness of the existence of an everlasting and

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immutable rule of right. Multitudes, even now, know no higher authority than human government. They think, that a number of men, perhaps little honored as individuals for intelligence and virtue, are yet competent, when collected into a legislature, to create right and wrong. The most immoral institutions thus gain a sanctity from law. To the laws we are indeed bound to submit, in the sense of abstaining from physical resistance; but we are under no obligation to bow to them our moral judgment, our free thoughts, our free speech. What! Is conscience to stoop from its supremacy, and to become an echo of the human magistrate? Is the law, written by God's finger on the heart, placed at the mercy of interested statesmen? Is it not one of the chief marks of social progress, that men are coming to recognise immutable principles, to understand the independence of truth and duty on human will, on the sovereignty of the State, whether lodged in one or many hands?

You and I, Sir, observe the golden rule, concerning Southern slavery. We do to our neighbour, what we wish our neighbour to do to us. We expose, as we can, the crimes and cruelties of other States, and we ask of other States the same freedom towards our own. If, in the opinion of the civilized world, or of any portion of it, we of this Commonwealth are robbing men of their dearest rights, and treading them in the dust, let the wrong be proclaimed far and wide. If good men anywhere believe, that here the weak are at the mercy of the strong, and the poor are denied the protection of the laws, then let them make every State of the Union ring with indignant rebuke. Especially if a giant evil is here incorporated with our civil institutions, upheld by the public force, so that the sufferers are made dumb, so that

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they endure the last wrong in being forbidden to speak of their wrongs, then, we say, let humanity beyond our borders take hold of their cause. If the oppressed are muzzled here, let the lips of the free elsewhere give voice to their wrongs.

In the preceding remarks, I have gone on the supposition, that the Slave-holding States, as far as slavery is concerned, stand to the other States on the footing of foreign countries, and have shown, that if we make them this concession, our right of remonstrance against this institution is untouched. But this concession is ungrounded, unjust. The Free and Slave States are one nation, and have a very different connexion with one another from their connexion with foreign communities. Slavery is not the affair of a part only, but of the whole. The Free States are concerned in it, and of necessity act on it and are acted on by it. We of the North sustain intimate relations to slavery, which make us partakers of its guilt, and which, of course, bind us to use every lawful means for its subversion. This I shall attempt to establish.

If we look first at the District of Columbia, we have a proof, how deeply the Free States are implicated by their contact with the Slave-holding. I do not refer now to the reproach fixed on the whole people, by the open, allowed existence of bondage at the seat of government. This is evil enough, especially if we add, that the District of Columbia, besides this contamination, is one of the chief slave-markets in the country; so that strangers, foreign ministers, men whose reports of us determine our rank in the civilized world, associate with us the enormities of the slave-trade and of slave auctions as among our chief distinctions. This is bad enough for a community which has any respect for character. But

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there is a greater evil. The District of Columbia fastens on the whole nation the guilt of slave-holding. We at the North uphold it as truly as the South. That district belongs to no State, but to the nation. It is governed by the nation, and with as ample powers as are possessed by any State government. Its laws and institutions exist through the national will. Every legal act owes its authority to Congress. Of consequence, the slavery of the District is upheld by the nation. Not a slave is sold or whipped there, but by the sanction of the whole people. The slave code of the District admits of mitigations; and this code remains unmodified through the national will. The guilt of the institution thus lies at the door of every man in the United States, unless he purge himself of it by solemn petition and remonstrance against the evil. What! have the Free States nothing to do with slavery! This moment they are giving it active support.

And here it is interesting and instructive to observe, how soon and naturally retribution follows crime. We uphold slavery in the District of Columbia; and this is beginning to trench on our own freedom. It is making of no effect the right of petition, a right founded not on convention and charters, but on nature, and granted even by despots to their subjects. The pretext on which the petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in Columbia have been denied the common attention by Congress, is not even specious. The right of Congress to perform the act for which the petitioners pray is undoubted. It may be said to have been demonstrated.* Why, then, are

* See a pamphlet on the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, by *Wythe*. This is one of the ablest pamphlets from the American press. It is ascribed to Theodore Weld.

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the memorials of a free people on this subject, treated with a scorn to which no others are subjected? It is pretended, that the petitioners are aiming at an object which the constitution places beyond the power of Congress; that they are seeking, through this action in the District, to abolish slavery in the States. To this, two replies at once occur. The first is, that among the petitioners, who hope by acting on the District to reach slavery everywhere, there is not one who has not also another object, which is the well-being of the District, or the abolition of slavery in it for its own sake. Allowing one of their ends to be unwarrantable, they distinctly propose another end, which the constitution sanctions. A second reply is, that it is not true of all who have petitioned for the abolition of slavery in the District, that they have aimed, in this way, at the abolition of it in the States. I have signed these petitions, I know not how often, and, in so doing, was in no degree moved by this consideration. I was governed by other motives. I wished the District to be purified from a great evil. I wished the nation to be freed from the responsibility of ordaining and upholding slavery. I wished also by some public act to wash my own hands of this guilt. I felt myself bound to declare, that, if this nation uphold slavery, I am clear of it. And I hold it the duty of every man in the Free States, who regards this institution as I do, to bear the same testimony against it, and, by solemn remonstrance to Congress, to purge his conscience of the nation's crime. As for myself, I could not petition against slavery in the District, as a means of abolishing it in the States; for, as I have again and again declared, I can see but little connexion between these measures. Be this as it may, by sanctioning an acknowledged wrong

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at the seat of government, we have provoked a blow at our own privileges. In the original draught of the constitution, the right of petition was not referred to, for no one dreamed of its ever being questioned. Massachusetts, however, not satisfied with its foundation in nature and reason, chose to place it under the protection of the constitution. What this right is, we must judge from usage, and from its own nature and end. Thus interpreted, has it not been infringed by the power of slavery? *

I have now considered one important relation of the Free States to slavery, that which grows out of the District of Columbia. I now proceed to another. The constitution requires the Free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this show that we have no concern with the domestic institutions of the South? that the guilt of them, if such there be, is wholly theirs, and in no degree ours? This clause makes us direct partakers of the guilt; and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the matter of slavery. I know no provision of the constitution at which my moral feelings revolt, but this. Has not the slave a right to fly from bondage? Who among us doubts it? Let any man ask himself, how he should construe his rights, were he made a slave; and does he not receive an answer from his own moral nature, as bright, immediate, and resistless, as lightning? And yet we of the Free States stop the flying slave, and give him back to bondage! It does not satisfy me to be told, that this is a part of that sacred instrument, the constitution, which all are solemnly bound to uphold. No charter of man's writing can sanctify injustice, or repeal God's Eternal

* See Note A.

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Law. I cannot escape the conviction, that every man who aids the restoration of the flying slave, is a wrong-doer, though this is done by our best and wisest men with no self-reproach. To send him from a Free State into bondage, seems to me much the same thing as to transport him from Africa to the West Indies or this country. I shall undoubtedly be told, that the fugitive is a slave by the laws of territory from which he escapes. But when laws are acknowledged violations of the most sacred rights, we cannot innocently be active in replacing men under their cruel power. The slave goes back not merely to toil and sweat for his master as before. He goes to be lacerated for the offence of flying from oppression. For hardly any crime is the slave so scored and scarred as for running away; and for every lash that enters his flesh, we of the Free States, who have given him back, must answer.

I know perfectly how these views will be received at the North and South. Some will call me a visionary, while more will fix on me a harder name. But I look above scoffers and denouncers to that pure, serene, almighty Justice, which is enthroned in Heaven, and inquire of God, the Father of us all, whether he approves the surrender of the flying slave. I shall be charged with irreverence towards the fathers of the Revolution, the framers of our glorious national charter. But I reply, that, great as they were, they were fallible, and that the progress of opinion since their day seems to me to have convicted them of error in the matter now in hand. I am aware, too, that good and wise men, friends who are dear to me, will disapprove my free, strong language. But I must be faithful to the strong moral conviction which I cannot escape on this subject. If I am right,

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the truth which I speak, however questioned now, will not have been spoken in vain. To-day is not Forever. The men who now scorn or condemn, are not to live for ever. Let a few years pass, and we shall all have vanished, and other actors will fill the stage, and the depised and neglected truths of this generation will become the honored ones of the next.

Before quitting this topic, it may be well just to glance at the reasoning by which my views will be assailed. To the exposition of duty now given it will be objected, that the morality of the closet is not the morality of real life; that there is danger of pushing principles to extremes; that difficulties are to be grappled with in the conduct of public affairs, which retired men cannot understand; that there must be a compromise between the Ideal and the Actual; and that our rigid rules must be softened or bend, when consequences, unusually serious, will attend their observance. These commonplaces are not wholly without truth. Morality is sometimes turned, by inexperienced men, into rant and romance. Solitary dreamers, exalting imagination above reason and conscience, make life a stage for playing showy, dazzling parts, which pass with them for beautiful or heroic. I have little more sympathy with these over-refined, sublimated moralists, than with the common run of coarse, low-minded politicians. Duty is something practicable, something within reach, and which approves itself to us not in moments of feverish excitement, but of deliberate thought. Good sense, which is another name for that calm, comprehensive reason, which sees things as they are, and looks at all the circumstances and consequences of actions, is as essential to the moral direction of life, as in merely

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prudential concerns. Still more, there is a large class of actions, the relations of which are so complicated, and the consequences so obscure, that individual judgment is at fault, and we are bound to acquiesce in usage, especially if long established, because this represents to us the collective experience of the race. All this is true. But it is also true, that there are grand, fundamental, moral principles, which shine with their own light, which approve themselves to the reason, conscience, and heart, and which have gathered strength and sanctity from the experience of nations and individuals through all ages. These are never to be surrendered to the urgency of the moment, however pressing, or to imagined interests of individuals or states. Let these be sacrificed to hope or fear, and our foundation is gone, our anchor slipped. We have no fixtures in our own souls, nothing to rely on. No ground of faith in man is left us. Selfish, staggering policy, becomes the standard of duty, the guide of life, the law of nations. Now the question as to surrendering fugitive slaves, seems to me to fall plainly, immediately, under these great primitive truths of morality. It has no complexity about it, no mysterious elements, no obscure consequences. To send back the slave is to treat the innocent as guilty. It is to violate a plain natural right. It is to enforce a criminal claim. It is to take the side of the strong and oppressive against the weak and poor. It is to give up an unoffending fellow-creature to a degrading bondage, and to horrible laceration. The fixed universal consequence of this act is, the severe punishment, not of the injurious, but of the injured man. On this point, my moral nature speaks strongly, and I ought to give it utterance. If I err,

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there are enough to refute me. My authority is nothing, where a people are against me. I ask no authority; but simply that what I say may be calmly, impartially weighed.

It will be said, that the South will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. This necessity may be questioned, because, if I may judge from a rough estimate, comparatively few fugitives are recovered from other States; and yet slavery lives and thrives. But if the necessity be real, then it follows, that the Free States are the guardians, and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailors and constables of the institution; and yet, we are told, that we sustain no relation to slavery, that it is in no degree our concern!

I know it will be asked, what ought to be done, if the constitution bind us to an unlawful act? I reply; the individual, convinced of the unlawfulness, can have no difficulty. He must abstain from what he deems wrong. As to the community, should it ever come to the same conviction, it must take counsel from circumstances and from its wisest minds, as to the course by which its peace and prosperity and the interest of the whole land may be reconciled with duty. Happily, the constitution may be amended, and this power is never so needed, as when the conscience of the citizen comes in collision with the government. I trust, that an amendment, reaching the present case, and demanded, not by the passion, but by the deliberate moral judgment of a large portion of the community, will not fail. I appeal to the generosity and honor of the South, and would ask, whether we, with our views of slavery, ought to be required to give it active support? I would

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ask, whether, in the present state of opinion in the civilized world, a slave country ought not to protect its own institutions, without looking for aid to others? I would ask too, whether a citizen, who views the government which he sustains, as pledged to wrong, deserves reproach for laboring to bring it into harmony with truth and rectitude? Does not the constitution, in making provision for its own amendment, imply the possibility of defect, and warrant free discussion of its various clauses? What avails our liberty of speech, if, on a grave question of duty, we must hold our peace? If the citizen believes, that our very constitutional charter sanctions wrong, is he not bound by his participation of the national sovereignty, by the fact of his forming a portion of the body politic, to utter his honest thought?

I proceed to consider another important relation which the North bears to slavery. We are bound, in case of an insurrection of the slaves against their masters, to put it down by force. This we ought to do, for such an insurrection would involve all the woes and crimes of civil war in the most aggravated forms, with no possibility of a beneficial result. It would be cruelty, massacre, without compensation or hope. The slaves are incapable of substituting free institutions for their bondage: and extermination or a heavier yoke would end their struggles. We ought to disarm them; but ought we to replace their chains? Ought we to put them without protection under exasperated oppressors? Ought we not to feel, that both parties in this fearful conflict have rights? And ought we not to act as friends of both? Is there nothing at which our minds revolt, in the thought of restoring unmitigated slavery; of giving back the victim to the unrestrained power, which, under

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a spasmodic sense of wrong, he has struggled to throw off? Should not every effort, short of physical force, be employed to obtain for him a better, a more righteous lot? But the South, as we well know, would reject such mediation with scorn. Have we not, then, painful relations to slavery? Have we not a deep interest in its abolition?

In another view the North sustains relations to slavery. Slavery is our near neighbour; and not a few among us grow hardened to it by familiarity. It perverts our moral sense. We cannot hold intimate connexion, national union, with a region where so great an abuse is legalized, and yet escape contamination. To say nothing of friendly, domestic intercourse, our commercial relations with the Slave States give to not a few a pecuniary interest in the institution. The slave is mortgaged to the Northern merchant. The slaves' toil is the Northern merchant's wealth, for it produces the great staple on which all the commercial dealings of the country turn. As our merchants and manufacturers cast their eyes southward, what do they see? Cotnot, Cotton, nothing but Cotton. This fills the whole horizon of the South. What care they for the poor human tools by whom it is reared? Their sympathies are with the man with whom they deal, who trusts them and is trusted by them, and not with the bondmen, by whose sweat they thrive. What change do they desire in a system so gainful? Under these various influences, the moral feeling of the North in regard to slavery is more or less palsied. Men call it in vague language an evil, just as they call religion a good; in both cases giving assent to a lifeless form of words, which

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they forget whilst they utter them, and which have no power over their lives.

There is another way in which Southern slavery bears seriously on the North. It blends itself intimately with the whole political action of the country, determines its parties, decides important measures of government, is a brand of discord, a fountain of bitter strifes, and, whilst it lasts, will never suffer us to become truly one people. We call ourselves one, but slavery makes us two. National unity implies a general unity of character; but Slave States and Free States are severed by deep, indelible differences of mind and feeling. In the former, where one half of the population are semi-barbarous or semi-brutal, and the other half trained to mastery, to lordship, there can be little comprehension of, and little sympathy with, the latter, where the recognition of the equal rights of all is the pervading principle of government and of common life. The South, counting labor degradation, must look with contempt on the most important and influential portions of the North, that is, our great mechanic and agricultural classes. From these fundamental differences in the very constitution of society, must grow up jealousies, real and imaginary collisions of interest, mutual dislike, mutual fear. Congress must be an arena, in which Northern and Southern parties will be arrayed against each other; and that portion of the Union, which has the strongest bond of union within itself, will, on the whole, master the other. A Northern man thinks it no hard thing to show, that slavery has chiefly ruled the country, has deeply influenced Northern commerce and manufactures, has played off Northern parties against each other, whilst a Southern man undoubtedly can produce a list of

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grievances in return. Thus slavery is the bane of our Union. Nothing else can separate us. Without this element of war and woe in our institutions, our nation would be more indissolubly bound together by mutual benefits, than any other nation is by habit and tradition. Have we, then, nothing to do with slavery? Is it the concern of the South alone? Are we bound to keep silence on it, because it nowhere touches us, because it is as foreign to us as the slavery of Turkey and Russia? O no. It more than touches us. We feel its grasp. We owe it to ourselves, as well as to humanity, to do what we lawfully and peacefully may to procure its abolition.

I have thus considered at length the right and fitness of discussing freely the subject of slavery. Why is it that this right is questioned? What lies at the bottom of the charge against us, of unwarrantable interference with what is not our proper concern? The real cause of the complaint, though not suspected at the South, is the insensibility which prevails there in regard to this evil. Could the slave-holder look on it from our point of view, could he see it as we do, he would no longer blame our remonstrances against it. He would himself join the cry. But here lies his unhappiness. Long habit has hardened him to slavery. Perhaps he calls it an evil, but this word on his lips means something very different from what it means on ours. Habit is as powerful over the understanding and conscience as over the will. An institution handed down from our fathers, sanctioned by laws, and under which we have grown up, be it ever so criminal, cannot shock us as it does a stranger, and we naturally count the stranger's rebuke

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an insult and wrong. Here lies the vice of Mr. Clay's speech. He silently assumes the innocence of slavery. He does not dream of the need of apologizing for himself as a slave-holder. He cannot realize, that, in the view of the civilized world, this is a brand, which shows through all the brightness of his talents and fame. He approaches the subject with a tone of confidence, and, though the advocate of flagrant injustice, takes the ground of an injured man. We, who speak and write against slavery, find our vindication and our duty in the enormity of the evil. How natural that those, who have lived in fellowship with the evil from their birth, should look on us as rash, unwarrantable meddlers with what is their business alone!

I have said, that we rest the justice and obligation of our moral efforts against slavery, on the greatness of the evil. It might then be expected, that to make out our case more fully, I should enlarge on this topic, and show that slavery is not an imaginary monster, but a combination of wrongs, and crimes, and woes, not only justifying, but demanding, the opposition of all good men. But I have, in a former publication, travelled this ground, and I cannot unnecessarily renew the pain which I then suffered. There is, however, one topic on which something should be said. I refer to the common apology for slavery, by which the whole South, and not a few at the North, conceal from themselves the true character of this evil, and repel as unwarrantable our efforts for its destruction. Whenever the subject is discussed, we are told, that through the lenity of the master, the slave suffers less than the laborer in most other countries. He has more comforts, we hear. He is happier. To this refuge the slave-

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holder always flies. My next object, therefore, and one intimately connected with the preceding, will be to examine this position.

I begin with observing, that it is honorable to our times, that such a defence as this is urged and required. It shows the progress of civilization and Christianity, that the master holds himself bound to maintain, that his victim is happier for his bondage. An ancient Roman never thought of seeking a justification of slavery in its blessings, never took the ground of his being a benefactor to those whom he oppressed. We have here a sign of the great moral revolution which is making its way through society; and we may be assured, that, when slavery can only stand on the footing of its beneficence, it is not far from its fall.

I have never been disposed to deny, that at the South slavery wore a milder aspect than in other countries, though by some this is strenuously denied. I concede the fact; and still more, I cannot doubt, that the condition of the slave continues to improve. The cry, that the slave is treated more severely on account of the abolition movement at the North, cannot be true on the whole, though particular restraints may be increased. He is and must be treated more kindly. We have here better evidence than rumor. A master was never made more severe, by having the eyes of the world turned upon him, especially when the world, as at present, is more than ever penetrated with the spirit of humanity. Slavery exists at this moment under the broad light of Heaven. The sound of the lash resounds through the Free States, and through all nations. The master is held responsible to his race for his power. Can this make him more severe? The defences which we hear

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from the South, set us at ease on this point. The anxiety of the planter to show the Northern visiter the comforts of his slaves, sets us at ease. Within a short time, more than one gentle voice of woman from the South has spoken to me of the happiness of the slave. The master feels, that he can only keep himself within the pale of civilized society, by practising kindness to a certain extent. All his defenders at the North plead his kindness. Who does not see, that, under these influences, the severities of the system must be mitigated, and that the advocates of freedom are doing immediate good to the poor creatures whose cause they espouse?

I believe, too, that not only is the general treatment of the slaves improved, but that their religious means are increased, in consequence of the Agitation at the North. We are told, that they are now denied instruction in reading. But ministers, churches, masters, are waked up, as never before, to the obligation of giving to the slaves the blessings of Christianity, and have a new anxiety to roll away the reproach of bringing up hordes of heathens within their borders. I must say, however, that whilst we must give credit to the South for increased religious attention to the slave, I expect little good from it. And I thus speak, not merely from the reports of intelligent witnesses, but from immutable moral principles. It is hard to graft good on what is essentially evil and corrupt; hard for the man who oppresses to exalt his victim. There is always a tendency to unity in the various influences which a man exerts. To enslave a human being, is to war against his religious, as truly as his social and physical nature. The African is, indeed, very susceptible, and easily puts on the show of piety. Nothing is easier than to draw forth

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groans or shouts from a colored congregation. Nothing easier than to gather this people by crowds into churches. But the slave is incapable of a nobler reverence towards God than towards his master. He is equally, I fear, a slave before both. This is one of the evils of slavery, that it perverts, turns into an instrument of degradation, that highest sentiment of our nature, reverence. In truth, it is hard to comprehend, how the slave-holder can preach the grand principles of Christianity; how he can set forth God as the Universal Father, who looks on all men with an equally tender love, and watches, with an equal severity of justice, over the rights of all. Indeed, how difficult must it be for either masters or slaves to get into the heart of this religion, to understand its deep purpose, when the chief element of such a community is in direct hostility to its spirit. I speak not from report, but from the general principles of human nature; and these would lead me to fear, that, in such a community, the religion of the higher classes as well as of the lowest, must be, to an unusual extent, one or another form of superstition, that is, a substitution of dogmas, ceremonies, or feelings, for the manly and enlightened piety which Jesus taught, and which makes the worship of God to consist chiefly in the imitation of his Universal Justice and Universal Love.

This is somewhat of a digression, though not exceeding the freedom of epistolary communication. I return to the subject. I acknowledge, and rejoice to acknowledge, that slavery is mitigated by kindness at the South, though, as we shall see, it necessarily includes much cruelty. I will allow to the full extent what is urged in favor of the comforts of a state of bondage, though the concession is not warranted by facts. I still say, that

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the apology fails of its end; that it does not touch the essential, fundamental evil of slavery, which is, the Injustice it does to a human being. It is no excuse for wronging a man, that you make him as comfortable as is consistent with the wrong. A man, shutting me up in prison, would poorly atone for his violation of my rights, by feeding and clothing me to my heart's content. I claim from my oppressor, not food and clothes, but freedom. I insist, that he leave to me, unrestrained, the right of using my limbs and powers for my own and others' good. A deep instinct of my soul, founded at once in my spiritual and physical nature, calls out for personal liberty. No matter, that our chains are woven of silk. They are as iron, because they are chains. Let a master draw round us a line, which may not be passed without our being driven back by a whip; and for this very reason we should burn to escape. Such is the thirst for freedom, breathed by God into the human spirit. Slavery is a violence to our nature, to which nothing but abjectness can reconcile a man, and which we honor him for repelling.

It is vain to say, that the slave suffers less than other laborers. We have no right to inflict a suffering, greater or less, on an innocent fellow-creature. Injustice is injustice, be the extent of its influence ever so confined. Were one of our governments, by an act of usurpation, to abridge the free motions and the rights of the laboring class, would it be a mitigation of the wrong, that the laborer still exceeded in privileges and means of pleasure the serfs of Russia? It is no excuse for keeping a man in the dust, that you throw him better food than he can earn by his free industry. Be just before you are generous. The lenity, which quiets you in wrong-

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doing, becomes a crime. Do not boast of your humanity to those whom you own, when it is a cruel wrong to be their owner. Some highwaymen have taken pride in the gentlemanly, courteous style, in which they have eased the traveller of his purse. They have given him back a part of the spoils, that he might travel comfortably home. But they were robbers still. A criminal relation cannot be made virtuous by the mode of sustaining it. Cæsar was a clement dictator, but usurpation did not therefore cease to be a vice.

It is no excuse for taking possession of a man, that we can make him happier. We are poor judges of another's happiness. He was made to work it out for himself. Our opinion of his best interests is particularly to be distrusted, when our own interest is to be advanced by making him our tool. Especially if, to make him happy, we must drive him as a brute, subject him to the lash, it is plainly time to give up our philanthropic efforts, and to let him seek his good in his own way.

Allow that the sufferings of the slave are less than those of the free laborer. But these sufferings are Wrongs, and this changes their nature. Pain as pain, is nothing compared with pain when it is a wrong. A blow, given me by accident, may fell me to the earth; but, after all, it is a trifle. A slight blow, inflicted in scorn or with injurious intent, is an evil, which, without aid from my principles, I could not bear. Let God's providence confine me to my room by disease, and I more than submit, for in his dispensations I see parental goodness seeking my purity and peace. But let man imprison me, without inflicting disease, and how intolerable my narrow bounds. So if the elements take away our property, we resign it without a murmur; but

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if man rob us of our fortune, poverty weighs on us as a mountain. Any thing can be borne, but the will and the power of the selfish, unrighteous man. There is also this difference between sufferings from God or nature, and sufferings from human injustice. The former we are almost always able to soften or remove by industry and skill, by studying the laws of nature, or by seeking aid and sympathy from men. These sufferings are intended to awaken our powers, and to strengthen social dependencies. Nature opposes us that we may resist her, and, by resistance, may grow strong. But the owner of his fellow-creatures resents the resistance as a wrong, and cuts them off from help from their kind.

It will be said, that the slave has nothing of this consciousness of his wrongs, which adds such weight to sufferings. He has no self-respect, we hear, to be wounded when he is lashed. To him, as to the ox, a blow is but a blow. And is this an apology for slavery, that it destroys all sense of wrongs, blunts the common sensibilities of human nature, makes man tamer than the nobler animals under inflicted pain? It is this prostration of self-respect, and of just indignation for wrongs, which sets an additional seal on slavery as an outrage on humanity. But it is not true, that the spirit of a man is wholly killed in the slave. The moral nature never dies. He often feels a wrong in the violence which he cannot resist. He has often bitter hatred towards the cruel overseer. He ponders in secret over his oppressed lot. There are deep groans of conscious injury and revenge, which, though smothered by fear, do not less agonize the soul.

In these remarks, we have seen how much the slave may suffer, though little of what is called cruelty enters

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into his lot. My hostility to the system does not rest primarily on the physical agonies it inflicts, but on a deeper foundation; on its flagrant injustice, and on the misery necessarily involved in a system of wrong. Slavery, however, is not to be absolved from the guilt of cruelty. However tempered with kindness, it does and must bear this brand. Who that knows human nature, can question whether irresponsible power will be abused? Such power breeds the very passions which make abuse sure. Besides, it is exposed to great temptation. Slaves are necessarily irritating. Their laziness, thievishness, lying propensities, sulkiness, the natural fruits of their condition, are sore trials to those placed over them. Slavery necessarily generates in its victims the very vices, which are most fitted to fret and exasperate the owner or overseer. Under such circumstances more cruelty might be expected than exists. After all the instances of barbarity we hear from the South, the patience of the slave-holder is more to be wondered at than his severity. The relation he sustains is the last for a good man to covet. It is, of all others, most fitted to nourish the passions, against which, religion calls us to watch. He who would not be "led into temptation," should cast away with dread irresponsible power over his fellow-creatures. That, under such circumstances, selfishness, the passion for dominion, avarice, anger, impatience, lust, should break out into fearful excesses, is as necessary, as that the stone should fall, or the fire destroy.

One instance of cruelty at the South has lately found its way into some of our papers, and that is, the employment of blood-hounds in parts of the new States, for the recovery, or, if this be resisted, for the destruction, of

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the fugitive slaves. This statement has been questioned or denied, by those who incline to favorable views of the whole subject, as an atrocity too monstrous for belief. I have not inquired into its authenticity. But that one breed of blood-hounds exist at the South, we know; a breed, not armed with fangs, but rifles, and who shoot down the fugitive when no other way is left for arresting his flight. And where lies the difference between tearing his flesh by teeth, or sending bullets through his heart, skull, or bowels? My humanity can draw no lines between these infernal modes of despatching a fellow-creature, guilty of no offence, but that of asserting one of the primary, inalienable rights of his nature. It is bad enough to oppress a man; but, when he escapes from oppression, to pursue him with mortal weapons, to shatter his bones, to mutilate him, and thus send him from a weary life with an agonizing, bloody death, is murder in an aggravated form. The laws which sanction the shooting of the flying slave, are, to my mind, attempts to legalize murder. They who uphold them do, however unconsciously, uphold murder. It is vain to say, that this is an accompaniment of slavery, which cannot be avoided. The accompaniment proves the character of the system. It is a fearful law of our condition, that crimes cannot stand alone. Slavery and murder go hand in hand. Having taken the first step in a system of cruelty and wrong, we can set no bounds to our career.

Still, I do not charge cruelty on slavery as its worst evil. The great evil is, the contempt and violation of human rights, the injustice which treats a man as a brute, and which breaks his spirit to make him a human tool. It is the injustice, which denies him the means of im

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provement, which denies him scope for his powers, which dooms him to an unchangeable lot, which robs him of the primitive right of human nature, that of bettering his outward and inward state. It is the injustice, which converts his social connexions into a curse. Here, perhaps, the influence of slavery is most blighting. Our social connexions are intended by God to be among our chief means of improvement and happiness; and a system, which wars with these, is the most cruel outrage on our nature. Other men's chief relations are to wife and children, to brother and sister, to beings endeared by nature, and who awaken the heart to tenderness and faithful love. The slave's chief relation is to his owner, to the man who wrongs him. This it is, which above all things determines his lot, and this infuses poison into all his other social connexions. This destroys the foundation of domestic happiness, by sullying female purity, by extinguishing in woman the sense of honor. This violates the sanctity of the marriage bond. This tears the wife from the husband, or condemns her to insult, perhaps laceration, in his sight. This takes from the parent his children. His children belong to another, and are disposed of for another's gain. Thus, God's great provisions for softening, refining, elevating human nature, are thwarted. Thus social ties are liable to be turned into bitterness and wrong.

An ecclesiastical document, which appeared not long ago in some of our papers, is a strong illustration of the influence of slavery on the relations of domestic life. It confirms, what we have often heard, that the slaves are commanded to marry or live together, for the purpose of keeping up the stock of the estate. It shows us, too, that when slaves are sold at a distance from

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their original homes, they are commanded to give up the wives or husbands whom they have left, and to serve the estate by forming new connexions. Against this tyranny, one would think that the slave would find some protection in his religious teachers. One would think, that the Christian minister would interpose, to save the colored member of the church from being forced to renounce the wife from whom he had been torn; that he would struggle to rescue him from an adulterous union, against which his affections as well as sense of duty may revolt. But, according to this document, an association of ministers decreed, that the slave, sold at a distance from his home, was to be regarded as dead to his former wife; that he was not to be treated in this concern as a free agent; that he was not to be countenanced by the church in resisting his master's will. The document is given below.* What a comment on Southern institutions! It shows how religion is made their tool, how Christianity is used to do violence to the

* The following extract is made from the "Anti-slavery Record" of February 9, 1836.

"The following query was, not long since, presented to the Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers: — 'Whether, in case of involuntary separation, of such a character as to preclude all prospect of future intercourse, the parties ought to be allowed to marry again?' This query was put in regard to husband and wife separated by sale, — an everyday result of the great internal slave-trade. They answered, —

"'That such separation, among persons situated as our slaves are, is civilly a separation by death; and they believe, that in the sight of God it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages in such case, would be to expose the parties, not only to stronger hardships and strong temptations, but to church censure for acting in disobedience to their masters, who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves, and to the spirit of that command which regulates marriage among Christians. The slaves are not free agents; and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent and beyond their control, than by such separation.'"

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most sacred feelings and ties, that the breed of slaves may be kept up. It shows us, that this iniquitous system pollutes by its touch, the divinest, the holiest provision of God for human happiness and virtue.

There is a short method of palliating these and all the enormities of slavery, which is more and more resorted to at the South. The slave-holder looks abroad on the world, and, finding in other countries a great amount of hardship, crime, prostitution, penury, woe, he proceeds to say, that these are the lot of humanity, and that they are not borne more extensively or painfully in slave countries than in others, perhaps even less. Why, then, is slavery so great an evil? Without stopping to examine these alleged facts, I see an important difference in the cases brought into comparison. In other civilized countries, the evils charged on them are seen and deplored, and it is acknowledged that earnest efforts should be made for their removal. Religion and philanthropy, though still half-slumbering, are waking up to a sense of great responsibility, and to new struggles with the giant evils of society. It is acknowledged, that, as far as institutions entail on the great laboring class, poverty, vice, prostitution, domestic infidelity, and brutal debasement of intellect and heart, they ought to be changed. Nowhere but in slave countries are the civil power, the sword, the laws, the wealth, the religion of a community, deliberately pledged to the support of a system, which is known and acknowledged to deprive one half of the people of property and civil rights, known to doom them to perpetual ignorance and licentiousness, known to rob the individual of the means of progress, and to poison the sources of domestic well-being. To slave countries belongs the presumptuousness of *ordain-*

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ing the perpetual debasement of half the community, on no better ground, than that from the laws of nature a large amount of evil must adhere to the social state. What! Does Providence intend no progress in human affairs? Does Christianity encourage and enjoin no efforts for a happier condition of humanity? Is man to take his rules of conduct towards his fellow-creatures from the corruptions which barbarous times have transmitted to the present? May man, sheltering himself under Divine Providence, perpetuate evils which God, through the conscience and by his Son, commands us, to the extent of our power, to diminish and to expel from the social state?

To return to the kindness, which is said to be practised at the South towards the slaves. I wish not to disparage it. Let us open our eyes to whatever is beautiful or promising in human life. I could laud this kindness as heartily as any man, did I not find it used, both here and at the South, as a buttress to the tottering cause of slavery. I am bound, therefore, to inquire into its real value, to give it its due, but nothing more than its due. One obvious remark is, that kindness without justice is of little moral worth. It is a feeling rather than a principle. Principle enjoins justice, and will not offer favors as an atonement for wrongs. — Again, the kindness at the South, of which we hear, finds its occasion in a dependence and helplessness, which the kind agent has himself created. Is there much merit in taking care of those, whom we have stripped of all property, of self-help, of all the means of taking care of themselves? — There is another subtraction from kindness to the slave, inasmuch as it is a matter of interest. The human machine cannot work without food, raiment, and health;

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and, in times like the present, when slave-labor is more than usually profitable, there cannot be a better investment of money, than in comforts which keep the slave in a working state. — A more important consideration is, that the kindness to the slaves is not of the right stamp. It wants a moral character. The master is kind to them because they are his *own*, not because they are fellow-creatures. The true, grand foundation of love is wanting. How kind are men to dogs and horses, which they have long owned! They feed them, caress them, admit them to their familiarity. But the sort of kindness, which is shown to the brute, becomes a wrong and insult when extended to the man. He must be loved and respected as a man. This is his due; and, had he the feelings of a man, nothing else would content him. The slave is treated kindly, because he is a slave, and has the spirit of a slave. Once let the spirit of a man wake in him, once let him know his rights, and show his knowledge in words, looks, and bearing, and immediately he falls under suspicion and dislike, and a severity, designed to break him down, is substituted for kindness. He is less liked, in proportion as he acts from a principle in his own breast, and not from his master's will. And what is the worth of such kindness? The slave, were he not so degraded, would regard it as a cruel mockery. — Again, I cannot but think, that a good deal of the kindness at the South has for its object to quiet the self-reproach, which, at this age, can hardly but exist in a latent state, in the slave-holder's breast. Men must, in some way or other, strike up a peace with their own consciences. He who holds his fellow-creatures in bondage, must reconcile himself to himself; and nowhere is the task so difficult as in a free country, where the master claims

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liberty as an inalienable right, and clings to it more than to life. In such a country, he can only escape the consciousness of wrong, by flattering himself, that he is the benefactor of the slave. But kindness, when thus made an opiate to conscience, is more a crime than a virtue.—As a conclusion to this head, I am willing and happy to acknowledge, that the kindness of the South to the slave is to be ascribed, in part, to the religious and moral improvements of the times. We live under brighter lights than former generations; and these influences penetrate into all the relations of life. But the lights, which induce the master to use his power more mercifully, do not finish their mission by this teaching. They command him to renounce his power altogether. They convict him of usurpation. The principles, which persuade him to be a lenient owner, if carried out, forbid him to be an owner at all. That state of civilization, which dictates mercy towards the slave, makes slavery a greater crime. Oppression is to be measured, not by its weight, but by the light under which it is practised. To rob men of liberty in an age which recognises human rights, and God's equal love to all his human creatures, is a very different thing from enslaving men in ages of darkness and despotism. A slight cruelty now is a more heinous crime, than an atrocity in barbarous times. Must we not feel, then, that slavery among us, however mild, has a guilt in the sight of God unknown before? Its very kindnesses, extorted from it by the clear lights of religion and freedom, become testimonies to its guilt. This may seem severe. But God knows, that my desire is, not to give pain, but to set forth what seems to me great moral truth, for the benefit of my fellow-creatures.

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I have thus attempted to show, that there is nothing in the mitigating circumstances of slavery to diminish the reprobation with which it is regarded by the civilized world; and nothing to justify the charge brought against its opposers, of unwarrantable interference. Having finished this part of my task, I shall now pass to those portions of Mr. Clay's speech, in which he meets the arguments against slavery by attempting to show, that emancipation is impossible. The arguments on which he rests are chiefly these, — the amount of property which would be sacrificed by emancipation; next, the amalgamation of the races; and, lastly, the civil wars, ending in extermination of one or the other race, which would follow the measure. I shall consider these in their order.

Mr. Clay maintains, that "the total value of the slave property in the United States is twelve hundred millions of dollars," and considers this "immense amount" as putting the freedom of the slave out of the question. Who can be expected to make such a sacrifice? The accuracy of this valuation of the slaves I have nothing to do with. I admit it without dispute. But the impression made on my mind by the vastness of the sum, is directly the reverse of the effect on Mr. Clay. Regarding slavery as throughout a wrong, I see, in the immenseness of the value of the slaves, the enormous amount of the robbery committed on them. I see "twelve hundred millions of dollars" seized, extorted by unrighteous force. I know not on the face of the earth a system of such enormous spoliation. I know nowhere injustice on such a giant scale. And yet, the vast amount of this wrong is, in the view of many, a reason for its continuance! If I strip my neighbour of

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a few dollars, I ought to restore them; but if I have spoiled him of his All, and grown rich on the spoils, I must not be expected to make restitution! Justice, when it will cost much, loses its binding power. What makes the present case more startling is, that this vast amount of property consists not of the goods of injured men, but of the men themselves. Here are human nerves, living men, worth, at the market price, "twelve hundred millions of dollars." That this enormous wrong should be perpetuated in the bosom of a Christian and civilized community, is a sad comment on our times. Sad and strange, that a distinguished man, in the face of a great people and of the world, should talk with entire indifference of fellow-creatures, held and labelled as property, to this "immense amount."

But this property, we are told, is not to be questioned, on account of its long duration. "Two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and *sanctified* negro slaves as property." Nothing but respect for the speaker could repress criticism on this unhappy phraseology. We will trust it escaped him without thought. But to confine ourselves to the argument from duration; how obvious the reply! Is injustice changed into justice by the practice of ages? Is my victim made a righteous prey, because I have bowed him to the earth till he cannot rise? For more than two hundred years heretics were burned, and not by mobs, not by Lynch law, but by the decrees of councils, at the instigation of theologians, and with the sanction of the laws and religions of nations; and was this a reason for keeping up the fires, that they had burned two hundred years? In the Eastern world, successive despots, not for two hundred years, but for twice two thousand, have claimed the right of

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life and death over millions, and, with no law but their own will, have beheaded, bowstrung, starved, tortured unhappy men without number, who have incurred their wrath; and does the lapse of so many centuries sanctify murder and ferocious power?

But the great argument remains. It is said, that this property must not be questioned, because it is established by law. "That *is* property, which the law declares *to be* property."* Thus, human law is made supreme, decisive, in a great question of morals. Thus, the idea of an eternal, immutable justice, is set at nought. Thus, the great rule of human life is made to be the ordinance of interested men. But there *is* a higher tribunal, a throne of equal justice, immovable by the conspiracy of all human legislatures. "That is property, which the law declares to be property." Then the laws have only to declare you, or me, or Mr. Clay, to be property, and we become chattels and are bound to bear the yoke! Does not even man's moral nature repel this doctrine too intuitively to leave time or need for argument?

I always hear with pain, the doctrine too common among lawyers, that property is the creature of the law; as if it had no natural foundation, as if it were not a natural right, as if it did not precede all laws, and were not their ground, instead of being their effect. Government is ordained, not to create, so much as to protect and regulate property; and the chief strength of government lies in the sanction, which the moral sense, the natural idea of right, gives to honestly earned possessions. The notion which I am combating is essen-

* The italics are by Mr. Clay.

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tially revolutionary and destructive. We hear much of Radicalism, of Agrarianism, at the present day. But of all radicals, the most dangerous, perhaps, is he who makes property the "creature of law"; because, what law creates, it can destroy. If we of this Commonwealth have no right in our persons, houses, ships, farms, but what a vote of the legislature or the majority confers, then a vote of the same masses may strip us of them all, and transfer them to others; and the right will go with the law. According to this doctrine, I see not why the majority, who are always comparatively poor, may not step into the mansions and estates of the rich. I see not why the law cannot make some idle neighbour the rightful owner of your fortune or mine. What better support can Radicalism ask than this?

It may be objected, that legislation does, in fact, touch and take a part of the citizens' property, and if a part, why not the whole? I reply, that the general end for which legislation touches property is, to make it more secure. It levies taxes for the execution of laws, under which all property is safe. I reply again, that a righteous legislature, in touching property, still shows it respect, by equalizing, as far as possible, the burdens it imposes, and by making compensation, when it can, for what it alienates or destroys. I am aware, indeed, that legislation may, in certain circumstances, make important changes in the tenure of property; and the reason is, that property is not the only human right, and consequently that it may sometimes come into collision with other rights, in which case, all are to be reconciled according to the highest moral law. Thus, a community threatened with destruction, may appropriate to its use what it cannot restore; or it may set

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bounds to the individual accumulation of wealth, where this shall plainly menace ruin to its institutions. The right of gaining property, being universal, does itself require that the individual shall not be suffered so to accumulate, as to take from multitudes the chance of earning means of support, or as to create a power dangerous to the rights of any class of citizens. According to these principles, entails may be forbidden, and laws, relating to testaments, may be so framed as to break up overgrown estates. But in all these cases, legislation, in touching property, treats it with reverence, and acknowledges its foundation in immutable justice. There are, then, principles of property which no laws can move. Man cannot make and unmake it at will. As he is physically unable to turn the sun and air into private possessions, so he is morally incomptent to turn his fellow-creatures into chattels. Both cases are out of the province of law. Even Mr. Clay, in urging the wrong which would be done to slave-holders, should the law strip them of their slaves, acknowledges that law is not the supreme rule of right; for, if it were, with what face could they complain of being wrongfully dispossessed?

Mr. Clay, having thus summarily settled the validity of the slave-holder's claim, goes on to affirm, that the opposite doctrine, the doctrine that man cannot be rightfully seized and held as property, is "a visionary dogma," "the wild speculation of theorists and innovators." Does not Mr. Clay know, that the English nation, from its highest to its lowest ranks, with scarce an exception, pronounces the pretended right of property in men, an aggravated wrong? Does he not know, that this same doctrine pervades the continent?

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that, indeed, it is the acknowledged sentiment of Europe, with the exception of Russia and Turkey? Does he not know, that it is the faith of the vast majority in the Free States? In truth, I know none, who, in their hearts, believe, that man may rightfully be made property, with the exception of some technical lawyers; a body too much inclined to exalt precedents above principles, to make the statute-book the standard of truth and duty, and practically to recognise no higher law than that of a majority or a king.

I maintain, then, that the slave-holder has no defence in law, or in the opinion of the civilized world, for continuing to hold slaves. He is bound to free them, and to do it the sooner on account of their great value. He has held this vast amount of others' property long enough, and the rightful owners have ground for urgency in proportion to the extent and duration of their wrongs.

"But must the slave-holder make himself poor?" says many a man at the North, as well as at the South. I answer, by asking those who put the question, what they would deem to be their own duty, should they find themselves in possession of a large amount belonging to their neighbour? Would they go on to hold it, because honesty would make them poor? Then they are criminal, and deserve to join their partners in the State-prison. He who is just, only as long as justice will secure him a warm home and the comforts of life, should be called by his right name, an unprincipled man. I cannot doubt, that multitudes at the South, if thoroughly convinced of holding what is not their own, would renounce it in obedience to God and justice.

But a more important objection remains. Men of

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honor and principle, who recognise immediately the obligation of individuals to restore what is not their own, will tell me, that, in the present case, not merely individuals, but states, bodies politic, with their order and essential interests, are concerned; that when a particular kind of property becomes inwoven with all the possessions, transactions, and habits of a community, sudden changes in it may induce universal bankruptcy, and threaten society with dissolution; and they may ask, whether I am prepared, in such cases, to insist punctiliously on giving every man his due? I answer, that this reasoning applies only to what may be lawfully held as property, to material things, such as houses and lands. It is acknowledged, that a man's right to these is controlled and superseded in extreme cases, when the assertion of it would bring great evils on the state. This is a fundamental restriction on the right of property. But in allowing this, I do not allow, that human beings, God's rational and moral creatures, who cannot be held as property without unutterable wrong, may still be retained as chattels, from apprehensions of evils, which restoration of their rights may bring on the state. No fear of consequences can authorize us to violate an eternal, immutable law of justice. I deny, however, that the dreaded consequences of doing right, in the case before us, can occur. I deny, that Providence has ordained, or can ever ordain, remediless injustice, as an essential condition of social security. On what ground is this wide-spreading ruin to be feared, from destroying property in slaves? Is emancipation an untried thing? Has it not been carried through again and again, in countries where social order was less confirmed, and ideas of property were looser, than among ourselves?

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In the West Indies, has not the revolution been suddenly accomplished without the least shock to property? Have we not reason to believe, that the price of real estate has risen under the change? The slave is a working machine; and is his power to work paralyzed by liberty? Does not the master, possessing as he does the soil and capital, possess unfailing means of obtaining from the colored man, whether bond or free, the labor required for the cultivation of the earth? And with this grand original source of all wealth untouched, is not society secured against universal insolvency? How apt are men to raise phantoms to terrify themselves from an unwelcome duty!

Mr. Clay insists, that the slave-holder has a right to full compensation from those who call on him to surrender his slaves. I utterly deny such a right in a man who surrenders what is not his own. I cheerfully acknowledge, however, that whilst, in strict justice, the slave-holder has no claim to indemnity, he has a title to sympathy and equitable consideration. A man, who, by conscientious and honorable relinquishment of what he discovers to be another's makes himself comparatively poor, deserves respect and liberal aid. There are few at the North, who would not joyfully acquiesce in the plan of that distinguished statesman, Rufus King, for large appropriations of the public land to the indemnifying of sufferers under an act of universal abolition.

It is believed, however, that compensation, even on the most liberal scale, would not be a great amount; for the planters, in general, would suffer little, if at all, from emancipation. This change would make them richer, rather than poorer. One would think, indeed, from the common language on the subject, that the negroes were

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to be annihilated by being set free; that the whole labor of the South was to be destroyed by a single blow. But the colored man, when freed, will not vanish from the soil. He will stand there with the same muscles as before, only strung anew by liberty; with the same limbs to toil, and with stronger motives to toil than before. He will receive wages, instead of a fixed allowance; and wages are found, in many parts of the West Indies, to get from him nearly twice the labor which he performed during bondage. He will work from hope, not fear; will work for himself, not for others; and, unless all the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin, he will work better than before. For what mighty loss, then, does the slave-holder need compensation? We believe that agriculture will revive, worn-out soils be renewed, and the whole country assume a brighter aspect under free labor. The slave-holder, in relinquishing what is another's, will add a new value to what is unquestionably his own.

The next objection to Emancipation is, that it will produce an amalgamation of the white and colored races. This objection is a strange one from a resident at the South. Can any impartial man fear, that amalgamation will, in any event, go on more rapidly than at the present moment? Slavery tends directly to intermingle the races. It robs the colored female of protection against licentiousness. Still worse, it robs her of self-respect. It dooms her class to prostitution. Nothing but freedom can give her the feelings of a woman, and can shield her from brutal lust. Slavery does something worse than sell off her children. It makes her a stranger to the delicacy of her sex. Undoubtedly a smile will be pro-

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voked by expressions of concern for the delicacy of a colored woman. But is this a conventional, arbitrary accomplishment, appropriate only to a white skin? Is it not the fit, natural, beautiful adorning, which God designed for every woman; and does not a curse belong to an institution which blights it, not accidentally, but by a necessary, fixed operation? It is the relation of property in human beings, which generates the impure connexions of the South, and which prevents the natural repugnance, growing out of difference of color, from exerting its power. As far as marriage is concerned, there seems to be a natural repugnance between the races; and in saying this, no unfeeling contempt is expressed towards either race. Marriage is an affair of taste. We do not marry the old; yet how profoundly we respect them. How few women would a man of refinement consent to marry; yet he honors the sex. The barrier of color, as far as this particular connexion is concerned, implies no degradation of the African race. There seems, as I have said, a repugnance in nature; but if not natural, the prejudice is as strong as an innate feeling; and how much it may be relied on to prevent connexions, we may judge from the whole experience of the North. There is another security against this union in our country. I refer to the mark which has been set on the colored race by their past slavery; a mark which generations will not efface, and in which the whites will have no desire to participate. Even were the slaves of the South of our own color, and were slavery to fix on them and on their children some badge or memorial, such as the impress of a lash on the forehead, or of a chain on the cheek, how few among the class of free descent would be anxious to

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ally themselves with this separated portion of the race. The spirit of caste, which almost seems the strongest in human nature, will certainly postpone amalgamation long enough, to give the world opportunity to understand and manage the subject much better than ourselves. To continue a system of wrong from dread of such evils, only shows the ingenuity of power in defending itself. The fable of the wolf and the lamb drinking at the same stream, comes spontaneously to our thoughts. But allowing what I have contested, allowing that amalgamation is to be anticipated, then, I maintain, we have no right to resist it. Then, it is not unnatural. If the tendencies to it are so strong, that they can only be resisted by a systematic degradation of a large portion of our fellow-creatures, then God intended it to take place, and resistance to it is opposition to his will. What a strange reason for oppressing a race of fellow-beings, that, if we restore them to their rights, we shall marry them!

I proceed to the last objection to Emancipation. We are told, that it will stir up the two races to a war, which nothing but the slavery or extermination of one or the other will end. We have often heard of the "fears of the brave," so that we ought not, perhaps, to wonder at the alarm here expressed. And yet, we are somewhat surprised, that "the chivalry of the South," should see in the colored man a formidable foe, and should be willing to put forth their fears as a defence of their injustice. Superior as the slave-holders are in number, holding all the property and civil power, distinguished by education, by skill in arms, and by singular daring, and backed by the whole power of the Free States, can they seriously dread collisions? All our

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fear here is, that the colored man, though freed, will remain a slave, will be crushed by the lordly spirit, the high bearing of the white race; that he will not for a long time rise to a just self-respect. We fear, that in a country where the law of honor and Lynch law are rife, he cannot enjoy that equality before the civil laws, to which freedom will give him a nominal claim. We fear, that, among a people who take the protection of their persons and character into their own hands, and shoot down the man who offers an insult, the poor colored race, whose assertion of rights will easily be construed into insolence, will be very slow to insist on their due. That they should gain the ascendency, without some miraculous combination of circumstances, is impossible. Were they a fierce, savage, indomitable race, they might be looked on with apprehension; but they are the most inoffensive people on earth; and their mildness has undoubtedly perpetuated their chains. With emancipation, their present rapid increase will be checked, for the motives to breed them will cease. With liberty of motion, the desire of change of place will spring up; they will naturally be more or less dispersed; the danger of concentration on a few spots will diminish; and when we think of the vast extent of our country, we may expect them to become a sprinkling through our population, incapable, even if desirous, of disturbing the public peace. Especially the discontented, bold, and adventurous, the very spirits from which turbulence might be feared, will be attracted by hope and novelty, as well as driven by inward restlessness, to new scenes. In truth, can we conceive of a country which has so little to dread from emancipation as this, reaching as it does from ocean to ocean, and destined to receive increasing accessions to

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its numbers from the Old World? It is also worthy of note, that the characteristics of the colored race are particularly fitted to keep them harmless. I refer to their passion for imitation of their superiors, and to their love of show and fashion, which tend to attach them more to the white race than to their own, and to break them up into different ranks or castes among themselves.

The groundlessness of fears from Emancipation, is becoming more apparent from the experiment of the West Indies. I do not speak of this as decided; but its first fruits surpass all expectation. The slaves in those islands were to their masters in the proportion of eight or ten to one, and they are shut up in narrow islands, which prevent dispersion; and yet the gift of freedom has not provoked an act of violence. Their new liberty has been followed by a degree of order unknown before; and, what makes this peaceful transition more striking is, that emancipation took place under every possible disadvantage. It was not the free gift of the master, not an act of justice and kindness, not accompanied with appeals to the gratitude and better nature of the slave. It was conferred by a distant benefactor; it was forced on the planter. It was submitted to with predictions of its ruinous results. The generous hope, which so often creates the good it pants for, was wanting. In Jamaica, it would seem, that the furious opposition of the planting interest to the measure, broke out, in some instances, into a desire of its defeat. Yet under all these disadvantages, which can never occur here, because emancipation here must be a free gift, the prospects of a successful issue are brighter than had dawned on any but the most ardent spirits. The failure of such

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an experiment would not have discouraged me. What ought not to be hoped from its success?

Mr. Clay seems particularly to dread immediate emancipation. But this, in the common acceptation of the words, is not the only way of giving freedom. Let the wisdom of the South engage in this cause heartily, and in good faith, and it is reasonable to expect, that means of a safe transition to freedom, not dreamed of now, would be devised. This work we have no desire to take out of the master's hands, nor would we thrust on him our plans for adoption. I indeed think, that emancipation, in one sense of the phrase, should be immediate; that is, the right of property in a human being should be immediately disclaimed. But though private ownership should cease, the State would be authorized and bound to provide for its own safety. The legislature may place the colored race under guardianship, may impose such restraints as the public order shall require, and may postpone the full enjoyment of personal liberty even to the next generation. There was a time, when these safeguards seemed to me needful. Happily the West Indies are teaching, and, I trust, will continue to teach, that immediate emancipation, in the full sense of the words, is safer than a gradual loosening of the chain.

Let me close this head with one remark. Allow what is not true; allow emancipation to be dangerous. Will it be safer hereafter, than at the present moment? Will it be safer when the slaves shall have doubled, trebled, or still more increased? And must it not at length come? Can any man, who considers the chances of war, and the direction which opinion is taking in the civilized world, believe, that slavery is to be perpetual?

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Is it wise to wink out of sight a continually increasing peril? At this moment, what possible danger is to be feared from emancipation in the northern Slave States? Does not every Kentuckian *know*, that slavery can be ended now, without the slightest hazard to social order? Does not the whole danger, as to that State, lie in delay? How, then, can danger be an excuse for refusing emancipation?

Having thus reviewed the common objections to emancipation, I pass to one more topic, which is referred to in Mr. Clay's speech, and which is the burden of many passionate appeals from the South. I have in view the objections, which are made to the agitation of the question of slavery at the North. These are chiefly two, — that such discussion may excite insurrection among the slaves; and, that it threatens to dissolve the Union.

In regard to the first, the danger of insurrection, I have shown how I view it by continuing to write on the subject of slavery. Could I discover even a slight ground for apprehending such a result, I would not write. Nothing would tempt me to take the hazard of stirring up a servile war. Bad as slavery is, massacre is far worse. In the present case, words of truth and good will are the only weapons for a Christian to fight with. A mysterious and adorable Providence permits and controls massacre, war, and the rage of savage men, for the subversion of corrupt institutions, just as it purifies the tainted atmosphere by storms and lightnings. But man is not trusted with these awful powers; and let not philanthropy be disheartened, because not permitted to reform the world by the sudden processes of violence and bloodshed. Moral influences are the

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surest and most enduring, and good men part with their strength in resorting to other means.

I have known too much of slavery, of the spirit of its victims, of the restraints under which they live, and of the master's power, to dread the stirring up of insurrections. On this point, persons who have not visited slave countries fall into great errors. Not long ago, a speech was made in Boston, in which the slaves were compared to wild beasts, thirsting for blood; and the good people were told, that the master locks his doors at night, not knowing, but that in the morning he shall find the throats of wife and children cut from ear to ear; and there were found among us some, who, in the simplicity of their hearts, believed the tale. One would have thought, that, in hearing the fearful story, they would have asked themselves, how it happens, that our Southern brethren give five hundred or a thousand dollars for one of these beasts of prey? how it is, that they are anxious to fill their houses and plantations, and surround their wives and children with assassins? Human nature, if this account be true, is a different thing at the South from what it is at the North. Here we should go mad, and should lose life as well as reason, if the murderous blade were glaring before our eyes night and day; and still more, we should be most grateful to our neighbours, who should be anxious to free us from the curse, instead of rejecting their "meddling interference" with threats and execrations. But among the hearers of the speech referred to, there seemed not a few, to whom these difficulties did not occur. They even forgot to inquire, how the fearful account was to be reconciled with the assurances from the South, of the happiness of the slave and the bless-

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ngs of the institution; and, in their sympathy with the South, they frowned fiercely enough on such of us, as, by our writings, are stirring up the colored race to murder. To tranquillize these compassionate people, I will tell them, that the picture which terrified them was a work of fancy. There is no such terror in slave-holding countries. In my long residences among slaves, I have used fewer precautions at night than in this good city. I have slept in one place with open doors, and in another have given to a slave the key to lock the house at the hour of retiring, and to reopen it in the morning, when I have been the sole tenant of the dwelling. Undoubtedly, the slave-holder wears arms, just as we bolt our doors and appoint patrols of watchmen in the streets; but in both cases, these and other means of defence bring such security, that sleep is undisturbed by fear. The slaves, broken from birth to submission, brought up in ignorance, confined to the plantation, having no means of external concert, wanting mutual confidence, because wanting principle, and separated by the distinction of house servants and field laborers, cower before their instructed, armed, united, organized masters, and feel resistance to be vain. Add to this, the strong attachment, by which some on almost every estate are bound to their owners, stronger than what they bear to their own race; and we shall see, that the danger of a servile war is not great enough to embitter life, or deserve much sympathy.

Rome had servile wars; but her slaves had been freemen. Among them were fierce barbarians, whose native wildernesses had infused an indomitable love of liberty; and there were civilized men, who groaned in spirit and gnashed their teeth at the degrading, intolera-

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ble yoke, which was crushing them. But in this country there are no materials for servile war, at least in times of peace. In war, indeed, whether civil or foreign, an army marching with "Emancipation" on its banner, might stir up the palsied spirit of the oppressed to terrible retribution for their wrongs. But very little is to be feared in ordinary times. Were the slave more dangerous, I should feel less for his yoke. Were a greater portion of the spirit of a man left him, I should not think him so wronged. But what is to be feared from a man, who stands by and sees wife and child lacerated without cause, and is driven by no impulse to interpose for their defence? The strongest sensibilities of nature cannot sting him, to do for his child what the hen does for her chicken, or the trembling hare for her young.

The slave, as far as I have known him, is not a being to be feared. The iron has eaten into his soul, and this is worse than eating into the flesh. The tidings, that there are people here who would set him free, will do little harm. He withstands a far greater temptation than this; I mean, the presence of the free-negro. One would think, that the sight of his own race enjoying liberty, would, if any thing, stir him up to the assertion of his rights; but it fails. Liberty is a word, not indeed to be heard without awakening desire; but it rouses no resistance. The Colonizationist holds out to the slaves an elysium, where they are to be free, and rich, and happy, and a great people; thus teaching them, that there is nothing in their nature, which forbids them the enjoyment of all human rights; and the master, so far from dreading the doctrines of this society, will become its President. No. Slavery has done its work; has

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broken the spirit. So little is the slave inclined to violence, that it is affirmed, and I presume truly, that there are fewer murders by their hands, than by an equal number of white men at the North. We hear, indeed, of atrocious deeds, assassinations, bloody combats at the South. But these are the deeds of white men. Pistols and Bowie-knives are not worn by the colored race. Slavery produces horrible multiplied murders at the South, not by infusing rage, revenge into the man who bears the yoke, but by nursing proud, unforgiving, bloodthirsty propensities in the master.

Undoubtedly there are exposures to massacre in slave countries, as there are to mobs, partial insurrections in all countries. But outbreaks at the South will be found, perhaps always, to have their cause in local circumstances, not in influences from abroad. I do not say, that there is no danger in slavery. Systems founded in wrong want stability, and are every day growing more and more insecure, with the progress of intelligence and moral sentiment in the world. Unexpected explosions may take place at the South. Secret causes may be at work on the spirit of the slave. Foreign invasion would be a death-blow to the system. I mean only to say, that there is no danger from the discussion of slavery at the North, or only that indirect, distant danger, which we are always encountering, and which no man thinks of flying from, in human affairs. The stormiest day of abolitionism has passed, and yet not a symptom of insurrection has appeared at the South. It is morally impossible, that there should be danger in the calmer days which are to follow.

I now proceed to the second objection to the agitation of slavery at the North. We are told, that the

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Union will be thus endangered. "Danger to the Union" is so old a cry, that it ceases to startle you or myself; and yet so much sensitiveness to it remains, that the topic ought not to be lightly dismissed. And I begin with saying, that were the Union as weak as these clamors suppose, were it capable of being dissolved by any of the hundred causes, which are said to threaten it, then it would not be worth the keeping. The bonds, which hold a nation together, if not exceedingly strong, are of no use. They will snap in the hour of need. But our Union is not so weak as our alarmists imagine. It has stood many storms, and will stand many more. It is not, as many think, a creature of a day. Its foundations were laid at the first settlement of these States, and their whole history was silently preparing them to become one great people. There is not a community on earth, which has so distinct a conviction of the blessings of national union, and of the evils of separation, as this country; and, in the present age of the world, such a conviction may avail almost or quite as much as the traditional prejudices and habits of other nations. Then our Union does not rest only on the clear perception of the good it confers. It rests on sentiment as well as interest, and on a higher sentiment than binds any other people. We are charged, I know, with being given to boasting; but this reproach must not deter me from speaking of the deep foundation of our Union in the claims of our country on our love and reverence. No other people can look back to such founders as we. No other people has done as much in an equal time for civilization and freedom. Two hundred years have hardly passed over us, and we have redeemed from savage wildness a realm, compared with which Euro-

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pean kingdoms are dwarfed into provinces; and, through every period of our history, we have been pressing forwards to an equality of rights and a freedom of institutions, nowhere else known in past or present times. The deliberate construction of a civil polity, in which the idea of liberty is realized to a degree not dreamed of in other countries, is one of the grandest achievements of history. Other governments, the creatures of chance, and obstructed by abuses of barbarous times, bear no such testimony to the energy and elevation of the public mind. Through this clear, bright, practical developement of the principle of liberty, these United States, an infant country, growing up in a distant wilderness, have moved and quickened the civilized world. This country has been called by Providence to a twofold work, — to spread civilization over a new continent, and to give a new impulse to the cause of human rights and freedom. A higher destiny has been granted to no people; and, with all our imperfections (exceedingly great I acknowledge), we have accomplished our task with a force of thought and will unsurpassed in human history. Add to this, that we have produced what no other country can boast of, a spotless revolutionary leader, a chief, who, in a season of storm and civil strife, amidst unbounded popularity, amidst the temptations of severe hardship and of brilliant success, never, in a single instance, grasped at power, forgot his duty to his country, or wavered in his loyalty to freedom. In one form of greatness, we feel ourselves unrivalled. The annals of no people furnish a patriot and friend of liberty, so pure, so disinterested as Washington. That a people having such a history, should be bound by sentiment to the national Union, is a necessary result of the laws of human nature; and

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accordingly, the people, as far as I know them, are, on this point, of one heart and one mind.

But, besides this generous sentiment, we have characteristic feelings, as a people, which bind us together. One of our national passions is pride in a vast extent of territory. From the circumstance of our history and location, we are accustomed to think and talk of immense regions, and to scour remote tracts of sea and land; and we should experience a sense of confinement in the boundaries which satisfy other states. An American has a passion for belonging to a great country. A witty foreigner observed of the city of Washington, that it had one merit, if no other; it was a city of "magnificent distances." For this kind of magnificence our people have a decided taste. We look with something like scorn on the kingdoms of the old world; and our mother country seems to us but a speck on the ocean. We travel a distance equal to the whole length of Great Britain in two days or less, and feel as if we had but begun our journey. Our great men desire to connect their names with this vast country; and humble individuals, whether wisely or not, derive from it a feeling of importance. The poor man, in voting, feels that he is exercising, in part, the sovereignty of an immense realm. There is more of the imagination than of the heart, in the sentiment now unfolded; but it is real, and it is no frail bond of national union.

Another cause of Union may appear to foreigners less serious than it really is. We hold together, because we know not where to break off. Neighbouring States are too much allied in feelings and interests and domestic bonds for separation, and no State is willing to occupy the position of a frontier.

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Our Union is every day gaining strength by the increased facilities of intercourse, which place distant parts of the country side by side, and are interweaving almost as closely the interests and affections of remote States, as of those which border on each other. The subtile steam, made up of mutually repelling particles, and melting in a moment into air, has become to this country a cord stronger than adamant. Providence seems to intend to give us the physical means of binding together a wider region, than was ever before blessed with one beneficent sway.

It also deserves attention, that the cause, which has hitherto chiefly disturbed our Union, is diminishing, if it has not passed away. I refer to the disposition of the national legislature to interfere with local interests, or to extend itself beyond the bounds of strict necessity; thus awakening the jealousy of different sections, and giving them the notion of separate interests. This disposition is yielding, not only to the resistance of different States, but to an impossibility of its exercise founded on the nature of free institutions. Under these, government is a slowly moving machine. Its wheels seem to be clogged more and more. Diversities of interests, collisions of passion, party-spirit, and endless varieties of opinion, throw almost insuperable obstacles in the way of legislation. Congress, after a long session, separates, having hardly passed laws enough to keep the government in operation. All Free States, at home and abroad, feel this difficulty; and, evil as it seems, it has no small advantages. It abates that worse nuisance, excess of legislation. By this cause, Congress is compelled to keep itself within its bounds; for in these it finds more work than it can do. The government must be in reality, what

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it is in name, General, and must be as simple as consists with public safety; and, thus qualified, why may it not hold together a mighty realm?

Foreigners expect disunion from the extent of our territory, but in this we see safety, as well as danger; for it not only flatters, as we have seen, the national pride, but multiplies the bonds of mutual interest, renders free exchange of productions and friendly intercourse vastly more profitable, and, at the same time, checks despotic power of party leaders, those simultaneous excitements, those passionate movements, that concentration of all the energies and feelings of the people on a single point of controversy, by which free states of narrower dimensions are convulsed.

From these remarks it will be seen, that I partake little of the nervous sensitiveness of a portion of the people, on the subject of the Union. Undoubtedly, it is exposed to perils, which may turn these hopes and prophecies into illusions. The experience of life teaches us to be prepared for the worst. Our present prosperity seems too unparalleled to endure. But loose, vague fears ought not to disturb us; nor should they be propagated, because they often serve to fulfil themselves. The truth is, that we are a people singularly given to alarm, and very much on the ground on which the rich fear most about property. The greatness of our blessings makes us timid. As far as my knowledge of this community extends, the Union is most dear. It may be said of this, as of other social ties, that its strength cannot be fully known, till we are seriously called to dissolve it.

But, it is said, the South is passionate, and threatens to secede, if we agitate this subject of slavery. Is this

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no cause of alarm? To this argument, I would offer two answers. First, the South, passionate as it may be, is not insane. Does not the South know, that, in abandoning us on the ground of slavery, it would take the surest step towards converting the Free States to intense and overwhelming abolitionism? Would not slavery become from that moment the grand distinctive idea of the Southern Republic? And would not its Northern rival, by instinct and necessity, found itself on the antagonist principle? In such an event, there would be no need of anti-slavery societies, of abolition agitations, to convert the North. The blow that would sever the Union for this cause, would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land. The moral sentiment against slavery, now kept down by the interests and duties which grow out of union, would burst its fetters, and be reinforced by the whole strength of the patriotic principle, as well as by all the prejudices and local passions which would follow disunion. Does not the South see that our exemption from the taint of slavery, would, in this case, become our main boast? that we should cast the reproach of this institution into her teeth, in very different language from what is now used? that what is now tolerated in sister States, would be intensely hated in separate, rival communities? Let disunion on this ground take place, and then the North may become truly dangerous to the South. Then, real incendiaries, very different from those who now bear the name, might spring up among us. Then, fanaticism would borrow force and protection from national feeling. Then, in the unfriendly relations between the two communities, which would soon be created, and in the self-regarding policy which we should adopt, we should take into ac-

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count the weakness which a servile population would bring on our adversaries. We should feel, that we have an ally in our rival's bosom, nor would that ally forget to look Northward for liberation. I say the South is not insane. Nothing but a palpable necessity could induce it to break off from the Free States on the ground of slavery.

This leads me to observe, in the next place, that there is, and can be, no kind of necessity or warrant for separation furnished to the South, by the discussion of slavery at the North. This topic will indeed be agitated, and more and more freely; but no discussion, no agitation of slavery, no form of abolition, can produce such an excitement on the subject in the Free States, as will furnish the Slave States with any motive to encounter the terrible evils of separation. This subject deserves some consideration. Abolitionism may be viewed in two lights; first, as the organized array of societies against slavery; and next, as an individual sentiment, scattered through the whole population. In neither view, can it drive the South to disunion, at least for a long time to come. Regarded as an organized body, Abolitionism will subsist and will influence opinion, but it will never gain an ascendency in the Free States. On this point my mind has never wavered. It nowhere carries with it the mass of the people, or the weight of opinion. It has brought no religious or political body under its influence. Fashion, wealth, sectarian prejudice, and political ambition are, for the most part, opposed to it. That the South should be driven by it to desperation, is impossible. Many of the obstacles to the ascendency of this first form of Abolitionism, will naturally be presented in my views of the second. I will here only

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observe, that, with the intelligence and state of feeling prevalent at the North, public opinion cannot be determined by associations, especially by one which takes Agitation for its motto. Agitation may be useful, in producing a speedy movement in favor of an object of clear utility, and about which opinions do not greatly differ. For example, in the case of Temperance, where men are generally of one mind, where opinion is fixed, where excitement is the great object to be accomplished, where men are to be roused to resist habits which they know to be wrong; in such a case, an array of numbers, a system of pledges, and multiplied public meetings, may do good. But on a subject involving many practical difficulties and solemn consequences, and coming, as many think, into collision with great public interests, agitation will not now avail. Men distrust it, fear it, and resent as a wrong, the violence with which the opinions of zealous men are forced on the community. Agitation may carry such a country as Ireland, where the people, besides being ignorant, are all inflamed with one sense of wrong, and every heart responds to the Agitator's cry. So it carried the British Act of Emancipation, for the nation was ripe for action, and for the most part, had no hostile prejudices to surrender. But an intelligent people, divided in opinion and feeling on a great subject, cannot be carried by storm, or be swept away by a fervent association. The ardent advocates, even of a good cause, if marshalled into an army, and joined in vehement onset on the prejudices of such a community, cannot but awaken reaction and obstinate repulsion; and will, too often, put themselves in the wrong by passionate movements, of which the foe is sure to profit. I now speak of asso-

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ciated agitation. Let the individual enthusiast, who acts from his own soul, agitate as much as he will. I would not say a word to stifle the full, bursting heart. But premeditated, organized agitation, is another thing. Besides the difficulty already stated, it is apt to degenerate into noise and show, and to fall under suspicion of pretence, and, on this account, is less forgiven for what is deemed excess. I see, therefore, very serious obstacles to the triumphs of organized Abolitionism in a community like ours. It has, indeed, done good. Under all its disadvantages, it has roused many minds, but it cannot carry with it the people.

As to Abolitionism in its more general form, or regarded as an individual principle of settled, earnest opposition to slavery, this has taken deep root, and must grow and triumph. It is in harmony with our institutions, and with all the tendencies of modern civilization. It triumphs in Europe, and will flow in upon us from abroad more and more freely, in consequence of those improvements of intercourse which place Europe almost at our door. Still, it is far from being universal among us. There are obstacles as well as aids to its progress, in consequence of which it is to make its way calmly, gradually, so that there is no possibility of any violent action from the freest discussion of slavery. There is no danger of an anti-slavery fever here, which will justify the South to itself in encountering the infinite hazards of disunion.

The prevalent state of feeling in the Free States in regard to slavery, is indifference; an indifference strengthened by the notion of great difficulties attending the subject. The fact is painful, but the truth should be spoken. The majority of the people, even yet, care

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little about the matter. A painful proof of this insensibility was furnished about a year and a half ago, when the English West Indies were emancipated. An event surpassing this in moral grandeur, is not recorded in history. In one day, half a million, probably seven hundred thousand of human beings, were rescued from bondage, to full, unqualified freedom. The consciousness of wrongs, in so many breasts, was exchanged into rapturous, grateful joy. What shouts of thanksgiving broke forth from those liberated crowds! What new sanctity and strength were added to the domestic ties! What new hopes opened on future generations! The crowning glory of this day was the fact, that the work of emancipation was wholly due to the principles of Christianity. The West Indies were freed, not by force, or human policy, but by the reverence of a great people for justice and humanity. The men, who began and carried on this cause, were Christian philanthropists; and they prevailed by spreading their own spirit through a nation. In this respect, the emancipation of the West Indies was a grander work than the redemption of the Israelites from bondage. This was accomplished by force, by outward miracles, by the violence of the elements. That was achieved by love, by moral power, by God, working not in the stormy seas, but in the depths of the human heart. And how was this day of Emancipation, one of the most blessed days which ever dawned on the earth, received in this country? Whilst in distant England a thrill of gratitude and joy pervaded thousands and millions, we, the neighbours of the West Indies, and who boast of our love of liberty, saw the sun of that day rise and set, with hardly a thought of the scenes on which it was pouring its joyful

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light. The greatest part of our newspapers did not refer to the event. The great majority of the people had forgotten it. Such was the testimony we gave to our concern for the poor slave; and is it from discussions of slavery among such a people that the country is to be overturned?

It will undoubtedly be said, that our uncertainty as to the issues of West Indian Emancipation, prevented our rejoicing in it. But does uncertainty so act, where the heart is deeply moved? Is it a part of human nature to wait for assurance, before it exults at events in which its affections are involved? Does the new-born child receive no welcome, because we are not sure of the prosperity of his future years? Does the lover of freedom give no salutation, no benediction, to a people rising in defence of rights, or establishing free institutions, because the experiment of liberty may fail? Undoubtedly there were evils to be apprehended from West Indian emancipation; for when was a great social revolution ever accomplished, or a great abuse ever removed, without them? It was impossible for the slave and the master to change their old relations, to reorganize society, without continuing to feel more or less the influences of the old system of oppression. Are the wounds of ages to be healed in a moment? Could a perfect social order be expected to rise from the ruins of slavery? But must corrupt systems be made perpetual, because of the chances of reform? In the case of the West India emancipation, we had more pledges of success than are usually given. We knew that the trial of liberty had been made in Antigua, without the occurrence of any of the evils which had been dreaded. The great transition from slavery to freedom had taken

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place in a day without disorder, without the slightest injury to property or life, with no excitement but overwhelming gratitude. Yet, as a people, we cared nothing for the liberation of the West Indian slave. With the exception of a few voices, the mighty chorus of praise to God, which ascended from the Gulf of Mexico and from Great Britain, found no response here.

This indifference to slavery has foundations among us which are not to be removed in a day. One cause is to be found in the all-devouring passion for gain, accumulation, which leaves little leisure for sympathy with any suffering which does not meet our eye, and which will listen to no invocations, by which the old channels of trade and profit may be obstructed. Another cause is to be found in the sympathies of what are called the higher and more refined classes here, with the like classes at the South. The tide of fashion, no unimportant influence even in a republic, sets strongly against anti-slavery efforts. Another cause is, our position in regard to the colored race. In Europe, the negro is known chiefly by report, and is, therefore, easily recognised as a man. His humanity is never questioned. Still more, he is an object for the imagination and the heart. He is known only as a wronged, suffering man. He is almost a picturesque being. Thousands and thousands in England, at the mention of the African slave, immediately recall to their minds that most affecting figure of the negro, as Darwin portrayed him, touching the earth with one knee, lifting up his chained hands, and exclaiming, "Am I not a man and a brother?" To us, the negro is no creature of imagination. We see him as he is. There is nothing picturesque in his lot. On visiting the Slave States, we

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see him practically ranked with inferior creatures, and taking the rank submissively. We hear from him shouts of boisterous laughter, much oftener than sighs or groans; and this laughter repels compassion, whilst it inspires something like contempt. We here have a hard task to perform. We have to conquer old and deep prejudices, and to see a true man in one, with whom we have associated ideas of degradation inconsistent with humanity. These are painful truths; but it is good to know the truth. One thing is plain, that free discussion of slavery is not likely to stir up in the Free States, rash, careless assaults on the institutions of the South, and so to endanger the Union. We who are called incendiaries, because we discuss this subject, do not kindle our fires among dry woods, but too often on fields of ice. A consuming conflagration is not to be feared.

I have now considered the objections to the free discussion of slavery at the North. This discussion is safe; still more, it is a duty, and must go on; and, under this and other influences, the anti-slavery spirit must spread and must prevail. Mr. Clay's speech will but aid the movement. The anti-slavery spirit may triumph slowly, but triumph it must and will. It may be thought, that, from my own showing, the success of this cause is not so sure as its friends are accustomed to boast. But, notwithstanding all the obstacles which I have frankly stated, anti-slavery principles have made great progress, have become deep convictions in many souls, within a few years; and the impulse, far from being spent, continually gains strength. There are those who hope that the present movement is a temporary fanaticism. We are even told, that a distinguished Senator from the South, on the close of Mr. Clay's speech, re-

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paid this effort for slavery with unbounded applause, and declared, that "Abolitionism was now down." But such men have not studied our times. Strange, that in an age, when great principles are stirring the human soul, and when the mass of men, who have hitherto slept, are waking up to thought, it should be imagined, that an individual, a name, a breath, can arrest the grand forward movements of society. When will statesmen learn, that there are higher powers than political motives, interests, and intrigues? When will they learn the might which dwells in truth? When will they learn, that the great moral and religious Ideas, which have now seized on and are working in men's souls, are the most efficient, durable forces, which are acting in the world? When will they learn, that the past and present are not the future, but that the changes already wrought in society, are only forerunners, signs, and springs of mightier revolutions? Politicians, absorbed in near objects, are prophets only on a small scale. They may foretell the issues of the next election, though even here they are often baffled; but the breaking out of a deep moral conviction in the mass of men, is a mystery which they have little skill to interpret. The future of this country is to take its shape, not from the growing of cotton at the South, not from the struggles of parties or leaders for power or station; but from the great principles which are unfolding themselves silently in men's breasts. There is here, and through the civilized world, a steady current of thought and feeling in one direction. The old notion of the subjection of the many, for the comfort, ease, pleasure, and pride of the few, is fast wearing away. A far higher, and more rational conception of freedom, than entered into the loftiest speculations of

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ancient times, is spreading itself, and is changing the face of society. "Equality before the laws," has become the watchword of all civilized states. The absolute worth of a human being is better understood, that is, his worth as an individual, or on his own account, and not merely as a useful tool to others. Christianity is more and more seen to attach a sacredness and unspeakable dignity to every man, because each man is immortal. Such is the current of human thought. Principles of a higher order are beginning to operate on society, and the dawn of these primal, everlasting lights, is a sure omen of a brighter day. This is the true sign of the coming ages. Politicians, seizing on the narrow, selfish principles of human nature, expect these to rule for ever. They hope, by their own machinery, to determine the movements of the world. But if history teaches any lesson, it is the impotence of statesmen; and, happily, this impotence is increasing every day, with the spread of lights and moral force among the people. Would politicians study history with more care, they might learn, even from the dark times which are past, that self-interest is not, after all, the mightiest agent in human affairs; that the course of human events has been more determined, on the whole, by great principles, by great emotions, by feeling, by enthusiasm, than by selfish calculations, or by selfish men. In the great conflict between the Oriental and the Western World, which was decided at Thermopylæ and Marathon; in the last great conflict between Polytheism and Theism, begun by Jesus Christ, and carried on by his followers; in the Reformation of Luther; in the American Revolution; in these grandest epochs of history, what was it which won the victory? What were

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the mighty, all-prevailing powers? Not political management, not self-interest, not the lower principles of human nature; but the principles of freedom and religion, moral power, moral enthusiasm, the divine aspirations of the human soul. Great thoughts and great emotions have a place in human history, which no historian has hitherto given them, and the future is to be more determined by these than the past. The anti-slavery spirit is not, then, to die under the breath of an orator. As easily might that breath blow out the sun.

Slavery must fall, because it stands in direct hostility to all the grand movements, principles, and reforms of our age, because it stands in the way of an advancing world. One great idea stands out amidst the discoveries and improvements of modern times. It is, that man is not to exercise arbitrary, irresponsible power, over man. To restrain power, to divide and balance it, to create responsibility for its just use, to secure the individual against its abuse, to substitute law for private will, to shield the weak from the strong, to give to the injured the means of redress, to set a fence round every man's property and rights, in a word, to secure liberty,—such, under various expressions, is the great object on which philosophers, patriots, philanthropists, have long fixed their thoughts and hopes. It is remarkable, and one of the happy omens of the times, that even absolute governments have reached, in a measure, this grand Idea. They present themselves as the guardians of liberty. They profess their desire and purpose to sustain equal laws, under which all men, from the highest to the lowest, shall find effectual protection for their rights. The distinguished Prussian historian, Raumer, in his letters on England, maintains, that his own gov-

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ernment, which foreigners call despotic, does not rest on private will, and that it insures, on the whole, greater freedom to the subject, than the British people can boast. Thus despotism does homage to the great ideas and spirit of our times; and yet in the midst of this progress, in the face of this universal reverence for human rights, the slave-holder stands apart, and sets up his claim to ownership of his fellow-creatures, and insists on arbitrary, irresponsible rule, and makes his will a law, and enforces it by degrading punishments. And can this power stand? Is it able to resist the moral power of the world? Can it withstand a higher power, that of Eternal Justice, before which all worlds bow, and to which the highest orders of beings must give account?

I began this discussion with stating, that I should avoid, as much as possible, all personalities; and I have aimed throughout to look only at the system, not at individuals. I am aware, however, that some of my remarks must seem to have a very unfavorable bearing on the slave-holder; for how can the evils and crimes of a system be held up, without implicating more or less those who sustain it? To prevent, then, all misapprehension, I wish to say, that whilst I think slave-holders in general highly culpable for upholding a system of wrong, which has been so plainly exposed, I do not regard slave-holding as a proof of the necessary absence of moral and religious principle. Our nature is strangely inconsistent, and experience continually teaches us, that faults and sins on which the eye of conscience has not been distinctly turned, may consist with real virtue. A man, living in a community, all of whose members join in passionate support of an evil institution, must

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have an energy of thought, a moral force, a moral independence which few can boast, in order to see and resist and renounce the wrong. No moral trial on earth is perhaps so overpowering. The light, which prevails in other regions, enters most slowly this compact, dense mass of moral error. I cannot forget this in judging the slave-holder. I remember, too, that he is not merely a slave-holder. He sustains the natural, innocent, purifying relations of domestic life, of private friendship, of country, and of Christian worship, and in these he may be exemplary; in these, there are women at the South eminently faithful. I know it is said, that in these acknowledgments I weaken my testimony against slavery; but truth is dearer than policy. I cannot hold it back. Could I liberate all the slaves, by misrepresenting the slave-holder, I would not do it. The primary work of a man is, not to liberate slaves, but to be just, to render to all their due, to do what is right, be the cost what it may; and all benevolent enterprises, which have not their origin and rule in this sovereign principle of duty, are "splendid sins." The slave-holders commit a great wrong, many without consciousness of the wrong, and many with entire indifference to the moral character of slave-holding. And in all this they resemble other societies of men here and abroad. There is much unconscious wrong-doing, and, still more, much conscious sacrifice of right to interest, all the world over. This should not prevent rebuke of other communities; but should check invidious comparison, and the spirit of self-exaltation. We of the North have reason and are bound to condemn the enormous wrongs practised at the South; but have we a right to boast of ourselves as better than our neigh-

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bours? Is not the selfish spirit of gain, which is blinding multitudes at the South to the injustice of slavery, very rife here? Were this institution rooted here, should we not cling as a people to it, as obstinately as others? Are none of us now reconciled to it by the profits it affords them? England reproaches our slavery, and she cannot do it too solemnly. But has England a right to boast over the slave-holder? Who can fathom the depths of guilt and woe in that rich, prosperous island? Is there another spot on earth, in which so many crimes and agonies are accumulated, as in London? Where else on earth is so shocking a contrast to be seen of boundless luxury, and unutterable wretchedness? What a work has philanthropy to do for the ignorant, intemperate, half famished crowds of Ireland and Great Britain! Her nobles and merchants, indeed, scatter their thousands and ten thousands among the poor. But do they retrench one indulgence or one ostentatious display, or resolutely meet the great question, how the terrible evils which weigh down and threaten society are to be substantially redressed? I say not these things in the spirit of retaliation towards England. I ask from her just, indignant remonstrance against our wrong-doing. But I would show, that, in assailing slavery, I am not blind to all other evils, that I mean not to set apart the slave-holder as alone deserving rebuke, and that I acknowledge the justice of many of his reproofs of these Free States and of Europe. God alone knows the chief offender. The slave-holder indeed is chargeable with the peculiar guilt of ordaining, and upholding with set purpose, a system of enormous injustice. Slavery is a creature of human will and choice, and at the same time the greatest wrong and

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insult on human nature. I therefore cry aloud against it. Of the individuals who defend and perpetuate the system, I am sure, that the best are deeply injured by it; but among them, there are better than myself. I do not fix their rank in a world of transgressors. I desire to lift up the wronged and oppressed. I leave to a higher Judge, the heart, the sins, the virtues of the oppressor.

I have now concluded my remarks on the topics suggested by Mr. Clay's speech; and here you may expect me to close this long communication. But believing, as I do, that my engagements and duties will not allow me to write again on slavery, I am inclined to relieve my mind of all its burdens on this subject. Allow me then to say a few words on a topic, which has given me many painful thoughts, the more painful, because so few have seemed to share my feelings. I refer to that gross outrage on rights and liberty, the burning of the Hall of Freedom in Philadelphia. I have felt this the more, because this Hall was erected for free discussion, was dedicated to Liberty of Speech. Undoubtedly it was especially designed to give the Abolitionists a chance of being heard; but it was also intended to give the same privilege to others, who, in consequence of having adopted unpopular opinions, might be excluded from the places commonly devoted to public meetings. This building was associated with the dearest right of an intelligent, spiritual being, that of communicating thought and receiving such communication in return, — more intimately associated with it than any other edifice in the country. And this was stormed by a mob; a peaceful

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assemblage was driven from its walls ; and afterwards it was levelled to the earth by fire.

Various circumstances conspired to take this out of the class of common crimes. It was not the act of the coarse, passionate multitude. It was not done in a transport of fury. The incendiaries proceeded leisurely in their work, and distinctly understood, that they were executing the wish and purpose of a great majority of the people. Passionate outbreaks may be forgiven. An act performed by the reckless few does not alarm us, because we know that a moral force subsists in the community to counteract it. But when individuals, to whom we look for a restraining moral power, undertake deliberately the work of the reckless and violent, then the outrage on law and right wears a singularly dark and menacing aspect. Such a community may well feel the foundations of social order tottering beneath them. After the mob of Philadelphia, who wonders at the mob of Harrisburg ?

Another aggravation of this act was, that the blameless character of those who had erected and were occupying the Hall of Freedom, was distinctly understood. The assemblage thronging this edifice, was not made up of profligates, of the false, the lawless, the profane. On that occasion were met together citizens of Philadelphia and visitors from other cities and States, who were second to none in purity of life ; and they had convened in obedience to what they believed, however erroneously, the will of God, and to accomplish what seemed to them a great work of justice and humanity. I doubt whether, at that hour, there were collected in any other single spot of the land, so many good and upright men and women, so many sincere friends of the race. In

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that crowd was John G. Whittier, a man whose genius and virtues would do honor to any city, whose poetry bursts from the soul with the fire and indignant energy of an ancient prophet, and whose noble simplicity of character is said to be the delight of all who know him. In that crowd was Lucretia Mott, that beautiful example of womanhood. Who that has heard the tones of her voice, and looked on the mild radiance of her benign and intelligent countenance, can endure the thought, that such a woman was driven by a mob, from a spot to which she had gone, as she religiously believed, on a mission of Christian sympathy? There were many others, worthy associates of those whom I have named, religious men, prepared to suffer in the cause of humanity, devoted women, whose hearts were burdened with the infinite indignities heaped on their sex by slavery. Such were the people who were denied the protection of the laws; denied the privilege granted to the most profligate political party, and even to a meeting of Atheists; treated as outcasts, as the refuse and offscouring of the world. In them was revived the experience of the first witnesses to the Christian faith. Happily Christianity has not wholly failed to improve society. At first, the disciple himself was destroyed; now only his edifice; and this is certainly some progress of the world.

And what was the mighty cause of this outrage? A general reply is, that the Abolitionists were fanatics. Be it so. Is fanaticism a justification of this summary justice? What more common than this fever in our churches? How does it infect whole sects! What more common in our political meetings? Must the walls within which fanatics meet be purged by desolating

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fire? Will not then the whole land be lighted by the flames? Shall I be told, that the fanaticism of Abolitionists is of peculiar atrocity? that they are marked, set apart, by the monstrousness of their doctrines? These doctrines are, the brotherhood of the human race, and the right of every human being to his own person and to the protection of equal laws. Such are the heresies, that must be burned out with fire, and buried under the ruins of the temple where they are preached! Undoubtedly there may be crimes, so unnatural, so terrible to a community, that a people may be forgiven, if, deeming the usual forms of justice too slow, they assume the perilous office of inflicting speedy punishment. But that the processes of law, that the chartered rights of a free people should be set aside, to punish men, who come together to protest against the greatest wrong in the land, and whose fanaticism consists in the excess of their zeal for the oppressed; this is a doctrine, which puts to shame the dark ages, and which cannot long keep its ground in our own.

But this general charge of fanaticism is not the main defence of this hall-burning. The old cry of "danger to the Union" is set up. Abolitionism was to be committed to the flames, because it threatened to separate the States. I shall not, of course, repeat what I have already said on this topic, but I will only ask, what will be the effect of burning up every edifice, which gives shelter to the supposed enemies of the Union? At this very moment, one of these twenty-six States has virtually assumed the right of war, which the Constitution confers on the General Government, and would inevitably drive us into hostilities with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, if the insanity of the contest did

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not make it next to impossible; and in so doing, it has given a precedent, more menacing to the Union than any thing in our history, with the single exception of the Nullification or States-Rights movement. And shall all who favor this usurpation, be forbidden to meet but at the peril of mobs and flames? In this case, might not some halls of legislation meet the fate of the Hall of Freedom? I must protest against the disposition to make the crime of endangering the Union, a sufficient cause for house-burning. The nerves of our people are particularly sensitive on this point, and Incendiarism will become the fashion, if this plea will suffice for it. Every householder should lift up his voice against the dangerous doctrine.

But we have not yet touched the great cause of the conflagration of the Hall of Freedom. Something worse than fanaticism or separation of the Union, was the impulse to this violence. We are told, that white people and black sat together on the benches of the Hall, and were even seen walking together in the streets! This was the unheard-of atrocity which the virtues of the people of Philadelphia could not endure. They might have borne the dissolution of the national tie; but this junction of black and white was too much for human patience to sustain. And has it indeed come to this? For such a cause, are mobs and fires to be let loose on our persons and most costly buildings? What! Has not an American citizen a right to sit and walk with whom he will? Is this common privilege of humanity denied us? Is society authorized to choose our associates? Must our neighbour's tastes as to friendship and companionship control our own? Have the feudal times come back to us, when to break the law of caste was a

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greater crime than to violate the laws of God? What must Europe have thought, when the news crossed the ocean of the burning of the Hall of Freedom, because white and colored people walked together in the streets? Europe might well open its eyes in wonder. On that continent, with all its aristocracy, the colored man mixes freely with his fellow-creatures. He passes for a man. He sometimes receives the countenance of the rich, and has even found his way into the palaces of the great. In Europe, the doctrine would be thought too absurd for refutation, that a colored man of pure morals and piety, of cultivated intellect and refined manners, was not a fit companion for the best in the land. What must Europe have said, when brought to understand, that in a republic, founded on the principles of human rights and equality, people are placed beyond the protection of the laws, for treating an African as a man. This Philadelphia doctrine deserves no mercy. What an insult is thrown on human nature, in making it a heinous crime to sit or walk with a human being, whoever he may be?

It just occurs to me, that I have forgotten the circumstance which filled to overflowing the cup of Abolitionist wickedness in Philadelphia. The great offence was this, that certain young women of anti-slavery faith, were seen to walk the streets with colored young men! Of the truth of this allegation, which has been denied, I am not able to judge; but allowing its correctness, I must think, that to violate the majesty of the laws, and to convulse a whole city, because a few young women thought fit to manifest in this way their benevolence towards a despised race,

> "Resembles ocean into tempest wrought
> To waft a feather, or to drown a fly."

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Offences against manners are wisely left to the scourge of public opinion, which proves itself, in such cases, a more effectual as well as more merciful discipline than burning or the gallows. If ridicule and indignation will not put down supposed misdemeanors of this class, what will force avail? — May I be here allowed to counsel my fair abolitionist friends, (if they have really fallen into the "unpardonable transgression" laid to their charge,) to respect hereafter the usages of society in regard to their communications with the other sex. If their anti-slavery zeal compels them to bear testimony against the prejudice, which excludes the colored people from the society of the whites, let them choose for their associates the women of the despised caste. With less defiance of opinion, they will thus give equal expression to their interest in the wronged. I believe, however, that the less conspicuous their zeal in this and other public movements, the better. There are none, for whom I feel a deeper and more affectionate solicitude, than for the young of the other sex; and when I think of their inexperience, and of the strength of their sensibility, and then consider how exposed they are, on occasions of struggle and excitement, to unconscious imprudences which may throw a shade over their characters not soon to be dispelled, and which, in their calmer hours, may visit them with secret upbraidings, or with fears of having started from the proper path, I cannot but desire, that, whilst they open their hearts to all generous sympathies, they should postpone the public manifestation of their zeal to a riper age.

The violence, which was offered the Abolitionists for their reception of the colored people to freer social intercourse, was the more aggravated, because, if they

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erred in the matter, their motive was a generous one, not got up for the occasion, but proved to be sincere by their whole conduct. They say, that the colored race, ground as they have been in the dust by long tyranny, and still suffering under prejudices which forbid their elevation, are entitled to peculiar regard from the disciples of him who came to raise the fallen, "to seek and save the lost." They look on this people with peculiar sympathy, because subjected to peculiar hardships. With this view, they are anxious to break down the distinction, or at least, to diminish the distance, between the black man and the white, believing that in this way only the degrading influences of the injuries of years can be overcome. Allow this to be an error; is it not a generous one? Is there nothing holy in sympathy with the wronged? Are feelings of benevolent concern, for whatever portion of our race, to be insulted, and to bring down violence on our heads, because they transgress conventional rules and the forms of "good society"? That ignorant and coarse people should treat the motives of the Abolitionists with scorn cannot surprise us; but that any, who belong to what is called the respectable and refined class, should join the fierce multitude in persecuting men of worth and humanity, admits no excuse. Does it not show, that the line of separation between the high and low is not as broad as we sometimes imagine; that much which passes for refinement is mere gloss; and that when the passions are stirred up by the concurrence of numbers, "the friends of order" can set laws at defiance as boldly as the multitude?

This outrage, if viewed in its political aspects, deserves severe reprobation. Mob-law, in this country, ought always to be frowned down. It is an invasion of

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the fundamental principle of our institutions, of the sovereignty of the people, and the more dangerous, because it seems to the multitude to be an assertion of the principle which it overthrows. The sovereignty of the people has here but one mode of manifestation, and that is, the laws. It can express itself in no other way; and, consequently, a mob, in forcibly suspending the laws, and in substituting its own will for that which the legitimate organs of the people have proclaimed, usurps, for a time, the sovereignty of the state, and is virtually rebellion. In a despotism, the laws are of less moment than in a free country, because in the former there is a force above the laws, an irresistible will, which has at its disposal a subservient soldiery and summary punishments, to maintain something like order in the state. But in a republic there is nothing higher than the laws; and, in shaking the authority of these, the whole social edifice is shaken. Reverence for the laws, is the essential spirit, the guardian power, of a free state. Take this away, and no physical force can take its place. The force is in the excited multitude, and, in proportion as it is roused against law, it prepares the way, and constitutes a demand for a more regular, despotic power, which, bad as it is, is better than the tyranny of crowds. There is, indeed, as I have intimated, one case where popular commotion does, comparatively, little harm. I mean, that which is excited by some daring crime, which the laws sternly forbid, and which sends an electric thrill of horror through a virtuous community. In such a case, the public without law do the work of law, and enforce those natural, eternal principles of right, on which all legislation should rest. Even this violence, however, is dangerous. But, be it ever so blameless, who can bring

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under this head the outrage offered to Abolitionists, men who had broken no law, and whose distinction was, that they had planted themselves on the ground of natural and everlasting right?

This outrage against the Abolitionists, made little impression on the country at large. It was pronounced wrong, of course; but, then, we were told, that the Abolitionists were so imprudent, so fierce, so given to denunciation, so intolerant towards all who differ from them, that they had no great claim to sympathy! Everywhere the excesses of the Abolitionists are used to palliate the persecution which they suffer. But are they the only intolerant people in the country? Is there a single political party, which does not deal as freely in denunciation? Is there a religious sect, which has not its measure of bitterness? I ask, as before, if fierce denunciation is to be visited with flames, where will the conflagration stop?

In thus speaking, let me not be considered as blind to the errors of the Abolitionists. My interest in their object increases my pain at their defects. When I consider them as having espoused a just and holy cause, I am peculiarly grieved by the appearances of passionate severity, in their writing, speeches, and movements. Such men ought to find in the grandeur, purity, and benevolence of their end, irresistible motives to self-control, to a spirit of equity and mildness, to a calm, lofty trust in God. I grieve, that in an age when the power of Gentleness and Meekness is beginning to be understood, they have sought strength in very different weapons. I do not deny their error; but, I say, let there be some proportion between the punishment and the offence. Is nothing to be pardoned to men, who have meditated on

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great wrongs, until their spirits are deeply stirred? Is vehemence, in such men, the unpardonable sin? Must we rigidly insist, that they shall weigh every word before they speak? When all England was on fire with the injuries of the slave, is it wonderful, that men in this country, where the evil is most towering, should echo in louder tones the cry which came to them over the ocean? Is it wonderful, that women, thinking of more than a million of their own sex, at no great distance, exposed to degradation and prostitution, should, in their grief and indignation, repel every extenuating plea for the supporters of these abominations? Was it possible, that none should speak on this subject, but the wise and prudent? Does not every great cause gather round itself vehement spirits? Must no evil be touched till we have assurance, that it shall be shaken and subverted by rule? We bear extravagance and vehemence elsewhere, without burning down men's houses. Why this singular sensitiveness to anti-slavery vehemence, except it be, that slavery, which so many call an evil with the lips, has never come as an evil to their consciences and hearts?

But, it is said, the Abolitionists injure a good cause. Be it so. I think they have done it harm as well as good. But is not this the common course of human affairs? What good cause is not harmed, and sometimes thrown back, by its best friends. In the present imperfect state of our nature, men seldom take a strong hold on any great object, without falling into excess. Enthusiasm, by which I mean a disproportionate strength of feeling and emotion, such as interferes more or less with the judgment, seems almost inseparable from earnestness. The calm reason, the single idea of Right, the principle of pure love, such as it exists in God,

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serene and unimpassioned, — these divine impulses seldom of themselves carry men through great enterprises. Human passionateness mixes with higher influences. This is to be lamented, and much evil is done; but we must endure enthusiasm with its excesses, or sink into a lifeless monotony. These excesses we ought to rebuke and discourage; but we must not hunt them down as the greatest crimes. We must take heed, lest in our war against rashness, we quench all the generous sentiments of human nature. It is natural to desire, that evils should be removed gently, imperceptibly, without agitation; and the more of this quiet process, the better. But it is not ordinarily by such processes, that the mysterious providence of God purifies society. Religion and freedom have made their way through struggles and storms. Established evils naturally oppose an iron front to reform; and the spirit of reform, gathering new vehemence from oppositions, pours itself forth in passionate efforts. Man is not good enough yet to join invincible courage, zeal, and struggle, with all-suffering meekness. But must conflict with evil cease, because it will be marred with human imperfection? Must the burning spirit lock up its sympathies with suffering humanity, because not sure of being always self-possessed? Do we forgive nothing to the warm-hearted? Should we not labor to temper and guide aright excessive zeal in a virtuous cause. instead of persecuting it as the worst of crimes?

The Abolitionists deserve rebuke; but let it be proportioned to the offence. They do wrong in their angry denunciation of slave-holders. But is calling the slave holder hard names a crime of unparalleled aggravation? Is it not, at least, as great a crime to spoil a man of h

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rights and liberty, to make him a chattel, and trample him in the dust? And why shall the latter offender escape with so much gentler rebuke? I know, as well as the slave-holder, what it is to bear the burden of hard names. The South has not been sparing of its invectives in return for my poor efforts against slavery. I understand the evil of reproach; and I am compelled to pronounce it a very slight one, and not to be named in comparison with bondage; and why is it, that he who inflicts the former should be called to drink the cup of wrath to the very dregs, whilst he who inflicts the latter receives hardly a mild rebuke?

I say these things not as a partisan of the Abolitionists, but from a love of justice. They seem to me greatly wronged by the unparalleled persecution to which they have been exposed; and the wronged should never want a defender. But I am not of them. In the spirit of many of them I see much to condemn. I utterly disapprove their sweeping denunciations. I fear that their scorn of expediency may degenerate into recklessness. I fear, that, as a natural if not necessary consequence of their multiplied meetings held chiefly for excitement, their zeal must often be forced, got up for effect, a product of calculation, not a swell of the heart. I confide in them the less, the more they increase. I fear, that their resort to political action will impair their singleness of purpose and their moral power. I distrust the system of association and agitation in a cause like this. But, because I see among them somewhat to fear and blame, must I shut my eyes on more which I ought to commend? Must not men of pure and lofty aims be honored, because, like every thing human, they are not free from fault? I respect the Abolitionists for

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maintaining great principles with courage and fervor, amidst scorn and violence. Can men have a higher claim to respect? In their body, amidst prejudiced, narrow-minded, conceited, self-seeking members, such as are found in all associations, there is a large proportion of uncompromising, single-hearted friends of truth, right, and freedom; and such men are securities against the adoption of criminal ends or criminal means. In their front rank, perhaps at their head, is Gerrit Smith; a man worthy of all honor for his overflowing munificence, for his calm yet invincible moral courage, for his Christian liberality embracing men of every sect and name, and for his deep, active, inexhaustible sympathy with the sinful, suffering, and oppressed. In their ranks may also be found our common friend, Charles Follen, that genuine man, that heroic spirit, whose love of freedom unites, in rare harmony, the old Roman force with Christian love, in whom we see the generous, rash enthusiasm of his youth, tempered by time and trial into a most sweet and winning virtue. I could name others, honored and dear. I do not, for the sake of such, shut my eyes on the defects of the association; but that it should be selected for outrage and persecution, is a monstrous wrong, against which solemn testimony ought to be borne.

There is one consolation attending persecution. It often exalts the spirit of the sufferer, and often covers with honor those whom it had destined to shame. Who made Socrates the most venerable name of antiquity? The men who mixed for him the cup of hemlock, and drove him as a criminal from the world which he had enlightened. Providence teaches us the doctrine of retribution very touchingly in the fact, that future ages

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guard with peculiar reverence the memories of men, who, in their own times, were contemned, abhorred, hunted like wild beasts, and destroyed by fire or sword, for their fidelity to truth. That the Abolitionists have grown strong under outrage, we know; and in this I should rejoice, were their cause ever so bad; because persecution must be worse, and its defeat must be a good. I wish that persecution, if not checked by principle, may be stayed, by seeing that it fights against itself, and builds up those whom it toils to destroy. How long the Abolitionists will be remembered, I know not; but, as long as they live in history, they will wear as a crown the sufferings which they have so firmly borne. Posterity will be just to them; nor can I doubt, what doom posterity will pronounce on the mobs or single men, who have labored to silence them by brutal force. I should be glad to see them exchanging their array of affiliated societies for less conspicuous and artificial means of action. But let them not do this from subserviency to opinion, or in opposition to their sense of right. Let them yield nothing to fear. Let them never be false to that great cause, which they have fought for so manfully, Freedom of Speech. Let them never give countenance to the doctrine, which all tyrants hold, that material power, physical pain, is mightier than the convictions of Reason, than the principle of Duty, than the Love of God and mankind. Sooner may they pine and perish in prisons, sooner bleed or be strangled by the executioner, than surrender their deliberate principles to lawless violence.

In the remarks now made on the recent outrage at Philadelphia, I have felt myself bound to use great plainness of speech. Had I consulted my feelings, I

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should have been silent. In that city I have old and dear friends, and have received hospitalities which I remember with gratitude. But we are not allowed to "confer with flesh and blood." I beg however to say, in order to prevent misinterpretation, that I have not thought, for a moment, of holding up Philadelphia as the worst of cities. I do not infer from a single tumult, the character of a vast population. How many thousands of that metropolis took no part in the transaction under consideration! And of those who gave it their active or passive sanction, how many thousands were hurried on by imitation and sympathy, were swept away by a common impulse, without comprehending the import of the deed! In a popular ferment, individuals lay aside themselves for a time, and do what they would shrink from, if left to act on their separate responsibility. In all cities, it is true of the vast majority of men, that their consciences cannot stand alone. Their principles, as they call them, are echoes of general sentiment. Their sense of duty, unpropped by opinion, totters, and too often falls. One of the saddest views of society is, the almost universal want of self-determined, self-subsistent virtue. It is therefore no sign of unparalleled depravity, that a community proves false to great principles in seasons of excitement. All great cities abound in ignorance, prejudice, passion, selfish conformity to the world, and moral corruption in its grosser and more refined forms; and that these bitter fountains should sometimes burst forth, is a matter of course. I ascribe to no city precedence in virtue or crime. I would only say, that Philadelphia has placed herself, more conspicuously than other cities, on a bad eminence, and she must hold it, until buildings devoted to Liberty of Speech can stand unharmed on her soil.

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I now finish this long letter. Your patience, my dear Sir, has not, I trust, been exhausted. Whether this communication will answer the public ends which I have proposed, I know not; but it will do one good of a personal nature. It will be a memorial, however brief, of a friendship, which began in our youth, and which has withstood the vicissitudes of so many years, that we may expect it to go down with us to our graves. It pleases me, that our names should be associated in a work, which though written in haste, and for a temporary exigency, yet reflects something of both our minds. It is fit, that the thoughts, unfolded in this letter, should be addressed to one, with whom I have conversed long and familiarly on the great interests of human nature. I owe you much for the light and strength you have given me, and especially for the faith and hope, which, under much personal suffering and depression, you have cherished and expressed in regard to the destinies of our race. We have given much of our sympathy to the multitude. We have felt more for the many who are forgotten, than for the few who shine; and our great inquiry has been, how the mass of men may be raised from ignorance and sensuality, to a higher social, intellectual, moral, and religious life. We have rejoiced together in the progress already made by individuals and communities; but a voice has come to us from the depths of human suffering, from the abuses of the social state, from the teachings of Jesus Christ, urging the need of new struggle with giant evils, and of new efforts for the diffusion of comforts, refinements, quickening truths, enlightened piety, and disinterested virtue. A few years will bring us to our journey's end. To the last, I trust, we shall speak words of blessing to our

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race, and words of encouragement to all who toil and suffer for its good. Through God's grace, we hope for another life; but that life, we believe, will, in some respects, be one with this. Our deep sympathies with the great human family, will, we believe, survive the grave. We shall then rejoice in the interpretation of the dark mysteries of the present state, of the woes and oppressions now so rife on earth. May it not be hoped, that, instead of our present poor and broken labors, we shall then render services to our brethren, worthy of that nobler life? But the future will reveal its own secrets. It is enough to know, that this human world, of which we form a portion, lives, suffers, and is moving onward, under the eye and care of the Infinite Father. Before His pure, omnipotent goodness, all oppressions must fall; and, under His reign, our highest aspirations, prayers, and hopes for suffering humanity, must, sooner or later, receive an accomplishment, beyond the power of prophecy to utter, or of thought to comprehend.

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NOTES

Note A, page 23.

As the page here referred to was passing through the press, I understood, that it was maintained by some, that the treatment, which Abolition petitions had received from Congress, was not so peculiar as I had supposed ; and I state this, that the reader may inquire for himself. For one, I feel little disposition to inquire. It is very possible, that, in this world of tyranny and usurpation, scattered precedents may be found, which, if used for interpreting and defining our rights, would reduce them all to insignificance. A man, jealous of his rights, will not yield them to this, or any other kind of logic. We have here the case of a great number of petitions, from all parts of the Free States, and from citizens of intelligence and blameless character, which, before being presented, were denied, by a resolution of Congress, the usual notice and consideration. It was not the case of a single petition, coming from a half insane man, from an eccentric schemer, bearing on its face the marks of mental aberration, or asking for something palpably absurd and unconstitutional. The petitions of the Abolitionists greatly exceeded in number all the other petitions to Congress taken together. They represented large masses of citizens, who prayed for what is pronounced constitutional by our wisest men. And Congress resolved, before these petitions were offered, that, on being presented, they should be laid on the table without debate, and that no member should have the

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privilege of saying a word in their behalf, or of calling them up for consideration or for any action in relation to them at a future time. Has any thing like this ever occurred before? Or if it has, shall we go to such precedents for an interpretation of the right of petition? Is it not plain, that, after this measure, party-spirit can never want pretexts for rejecting any and all petitions, be they what they may? To say, that because these petitions passed through the form of being laid on the table, the right was not touched, strikes me as one of those evasions, which will do for a court of law, but which it is an insult to present to a great nation. Suppose that Congress, at the beginning of a session, should ordain, that an aperture of certain dimensions should be made on the clerk's table, and be connected by a tube with the cellar or common-sewer; and should then ordain, that by far the greater number of petitions, to be presented during the session, should be committed to the part of the table occupied by the opening, so as to sink immediately and be never heard of more. What man of common sense, who knows the difference between words and things, or what freeman, who cares a rush for his rights, would not say, that the right of petition had been virtually annulled? Why not openly reject the petitions, without this mockery? Do we not know, that it is from side-blows that liberty has most to fear? It is very possible, that legal subtilty may find precedents for the course pursued by Congress, just as it may find authorities to prove that we have no right to our own persons, but may be sold as chattels. But such reasonings to a freeman carry their answer on their own front. Human rights are too sacred, too substantial, to be refined and attenuated into shadows by ingenious comparison of precedents and authorities. I take the ground, that the right of petition is *something*, and of course that there is a fatal fallacy in the reasoning which

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would reduce it to *nothing*. I would recommend to my readers a "Letter of the Honorable Caleb Cushing to the People of Massachusetts," in which this subject is discussed with great clearness and ability. It should be circulated as a tract. The public are also much indebted to the Honorable J. Q. Adams, for his unshrinking energy in maintaining the right of petition

I say this from no particular interest in the present case. I doubt, whether the agitation of slavery in Congress is to do good to the country or to the cause of Emancipation, whether Abolition petitions bring the subject before the people, either at the North or South, in the manner most likely to produce conviction. I look at the matter without reference to present parties. One of the sacred rights of the people has been touched, and this should never be done without expressions of jealousy and reprobation The strongest political influence in this country is party-spirit; a selfish, unrighteous, unscrupulous spirit, impatient of restraint, and always ready to sacrifice the provisions of the Constitution to present purposes and immediate triumph. One of the most solemn duties of patriotism, is to guard our rights from the touch of this harpy. No precedents of encroachment must be yielded to party-spirit, for it will push them to extremes. No bulwarks, which our fathers have erected round our liberties, must be surrendered. The dangers of liberty are always great from human passions and selfishness; great under the freest institutions, and sometimes greater from what is called the popular party than from any other; and for this plain reason, that this party has formed the bad habit of calling itself "the people," and easily deludes itself into the belief, that, being "the people," it may take great freedoms with the Constitution, and use its power with little restraint. This delusion is what constitutes the danger to liberty from mobs; mobs call themselves "the people."

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Note to page 33.

I have allowed on this page, that slavery wears a milder aspect at the South than in other countries. I ought to inform my readers, that this is denied by some who have inquired into the matter. A pamphlet or larger volume is announced at New York, in which the subject of the *treatment* of slaves at the South is to be particularly considered. The work is said to be the result of patient inquiries, and full proofs of its statements are promised. Those at the North, who believe in the mildness of Southern Slavery, will do well to examine the publication.

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LECTURE ON WAR.

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PREFACE TO LECTURE ON WAR.

THIS Lecture was delivered in the beginning of the last year.* It was prepared with a distinct knowledge of the little interest taken in the subject by the people at large, and was prepared on that very account. It is now published, in consequence of fresh proofs of the insensibility of the mass of this community to the crimes and miseries of war. For a few weeks this calamity has been brought distinctly before us; we have been driven by one of the States into a hostile position towards a great European power; and the manner in which the subject has been treated in and out of Congress, is a sad proof of the very general want of Christian and philanthropic views of the subject, as well as of strange blindness to our national and individual well-being. One would think, that the suggestion of a war with England, would call forth one strong, general burst of opposing feelings. Can a more calamitous event, with the exception of civil war, be imagined? What other nation can do us equal harm? With what other nation do we hold equally profitable connexions? To what other are we bound by such strong and generous ties? We are of one blood. We speak one language. We have a common religion. We have the noble bond of free institutions; and to these two countries, above all others, is the cause of freedom on earth intrusted by Providence. A war with England would, to a great extent, sweep our ships from the seas, cut off our

* 1838.

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intercourse with the world, shut up our great staples, palsy the spirit of internal improvement, and smite with languor, if not death, our boldest enterprises. It would turn to the destruction of our fellow-creatures vast resources, which are now working out for us unparalleled prosperity. It would load us with taxes and public debts, and breed internal discontents with which a free government contends at fearful odds in the midst of war. Instead of covering the ocean with the sails of a beneficent commerce, we should scour it with privateers, that is, as legalized pirates. Our great cities would be threatened with invasion; and the din of industry in the streets of this metropolis would be stilled: — And all this would come upon us at a moment, when the country is pressing forward to wealth, greatness, and every kind of improvement, with an impulse, a free joyous activity, which has no parallel in the history of the world. And these immense sacrifices are to be made for a tract of wild land, perhaps not worth the money which it has cost us within a few weeks past, if we take into account the expenses of Maine, and the losses which the whole country has suffered by interruption of trade.

But this is not all. We are not to suffer alone. We should inflict in such a war deep wounds on England, not only on her armed bands, on her rich merchants, on her wide-spread interests, but on vast numbers of her poor population, who owe subsistence to the employment furnished by the friendly intercourse of the two countries. Thousands and ten thousands of her laborers would be reduced to want and misery. Nor would it be any mitigation of these evils, to a man of humanity, that we were at war with the government of England.

And this is not all. A war between these countries would be felt through the whole civilized world. The present bears no resemblance to those half-barbarous

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ages, when nations stood apart, frowning on one another in surly independence. Commerce is binding all nations together ; and of this golden chain, England and America are the chief links. The relations between these countries cannot become hostile, without deranging, more or less, the intercourse of all other communities, and bringing evils on the whole Christian world.

Nor is this all. War can hardly spring up between two great countries without extending beyond them. This fire naturally spreads. The peace of nations is preserved by a kind of miracle. The addition of a new cause of conflict is always to be dreaded ; but never more than at this moment, when communities are slowly adjusting themselves to a new order of things. All nations may be drawn into the conflict, which we may thoughtlessly begin ; and if so, we shall have to answer for wide and prolonged slaughters, from which we should recoil with horror, could they be brought plainly before our eyes.

And these evils would be brought on the world at a moment of singular interest and promise to society ; after an unparalleled duration of peace ; when a higher civilization seems to be dawning on Christendom ; when nations are everywhere waking up to develope their own resources ; when the conquests of industry, art, and science are taking the place of those of war ; when new facilities of intercourse are bringing countries from their old unsocial distance into neighbourhood ; and when the greatest of all social revolutions is going on, that is, the elevation of the middling and laboring classes, of the multitude of the human race. To throw the firebrand of war among the nations at this period, would be treason against humanity and civilization, as foul as was ever perpetrated. The nation which does this, must answer to God and to society for every criminal resistance to the progress of the race. Every year, every day of peace

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is a gain to mankind, for it adds some strength to the cords which are drawing the nations together. And yet in the face of all these motives to peace, we have made light of the present danger. How few of us seem to have felt the infinite interests, which a war would put in jeopardy? Many have talked of national honor, as duellists talk of their reputation; a few have used language worthy of a mob making a ring to see a fight. Hardly anywhere has a tone worthy of the solemnity of the subject been uttered. National honor! This has been on our lips; as if the true honor of a nation did not consist in earnest, patient efforts for peace, not only for its own sake, but for the sake of humanity; as if this great country, after a long history which has borne witness to its prowess, needed to rush to battle to prove itself no coward! Are we still in the infancy of civilization? Has Christianity no power over us? Can a people never learn the magnanimity of sacrifices to peace and humanity? I am indeed aware, that the vast majority of the community would shrink from this war, were it to come nearer. But had we feelings and principles worthy of men and Christians, should we wait for the evil to stand at our door, before waking up to the use of every means for averting it?

A great addition to the painfulness of our situation, is found in the manner in which we have been forced into it. One State out of the twenty-six has by its rashness exposed us to the greatest calamities. Maine, by sending an armed force, without warning, into the disputed territory, necessarily awakened in the neighbouring British Province an alarm, which would have been wholly prevented by friendly consultation with its Governor; and in the next place, this State, by declining or neglecting to acquiesce in the arrangement of the national executive with the British minister, virtually took our foreign relations into her own hands, and assumed a power more

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dangerous to the peace of the country, than any other which can be imagined. We have heard of the "rights" of a State to nullify the laws of Congress, and to secede from the Union. But to some of us, these are less formidable than the "right" of each State to involve us in a foreign war. The assumption of such a power is a flagrant violation of the fundamental principle, and a rejection of one of the chief benefits, of the confederacy. Better surrender to an enemy many disputed territories, than cede this right to a State. Ill-starred indeed must be this Union, if any one of its members may commit all the rest to hostilities. The general government has at this moment a solemn duty to discharge, one requiring the calm, invincible firmness of Washington, or the iron-will of the late President of the United States. It must not, by a suicidal weakness, surrender the management of our foreign relations to a single State.

And here I am bound to express my gratitude to the present Chief Magistrate of the Union, for his temperate and wise efforts for the preservation of peace. He will feel, I trust, that there is a truer glory in saving a country from war, than in winning a hundred battles. Much also is due to the beneficent influence of General Scott. To this distinguished man belongs the rare honor of uniting with military energy and daring, the spirit of a philanthropist. His exploits in the field, which placed him in the first rank of our soldiers, have been obscured by the purer and more lasting glory of a Pacificator, and of a Friend of Mankind. In the whole history of the intercourse of civilized with barbarous or half civilized communities, we doubt whether a brighter page can be found than that which records his agency in the removal of the Cherokees. As far as the wrongs done to this race can be atoned for, General Scott has made the expiation. In his recent mission to the disturbed borders of our coun-

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try, he has succeeded, not so much by policy, as by the nobleness and generosity of his character, by moral influences, by the earnest conviction with which he has enforced on all, with whom he had to do, the obligations of patriotism, justice, humanity, and religion. It would not be easy to find among us a man who has won a purer fame; and I am happy to offer this tribute, because I would do something, no matter how little, to hasten the time, when the spirit of Christian humanity shall be accounted an essential attribute and the brightest ornament in a public man.

I close this preface with a topic, which ought not to be set aside as an unmeaning commonplace. We have Christians among us not a few. Have they been true to themselves and their religion in the present agitation of the question of war? Have they spoken with strength and decision? Have they said, We will take no part in a rash, passionate, unnecessary war? Or have they sat still, and left the country to parties and politicians? Will they always consent to be the passive tools of the ambitious or designing? Is the time never to come, when they will plant themselves on their religion, and resolve not to stir an inch, in obedience to the policy or legislation of the men of this world? On this topic I have enlarged in the following discourse, and I respectfully ask for it the impartial attention of Christians.

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LECTURE ON WAR.

In commencing this lecture on War, my thoughts are irresistibly drawn to that exemplary servant of God, the late Noah Worcester, through whose labors, more than through any other cause, the attention of the community has been awakened to the guilt and misery of war. I feel my own obligation to him in this particular. In truth it was not easy to know him, and to escape wholly the influence of his character. So imbued was he with the spirit of peace, that it spread itself around him like the fragrance of sweet flowers. Even those within his sphere, who listened at first with distrust or with a feeling approaching opposition, were not seldom overcome by the singular union in his conversation of gentleness, earnestness, and serene wisdom. He did not live in vain. One of my motives for taking part in this course of lectures, is my respect for this venerated man. Another and a stronger motive, is the fact, that, notwithstanding the favorable impression made by his efforts, there is yet comparatively little interest in the subject of peace. It is a reason for setting forth great truths, that skeptics deride them, and the multitude pass them by with unconcern. Dr

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Worcester was not roused by the shouts of a crowd to lift up his voice in behalf of peace. He did not postpone his testimony to "a more convenient season." He was as "one crying in the wilderness." He began his ministry amidst the triumphs of the spirit of war. He took counsel not of men, but of the divine oracle in his own breast. The truth, which was burning as a fire within him, he could not but give forth. He had faith in it. He had faith in God its inspirer. So ought we to trust. So ought we to bear a more fervent witness to truth, on the very ground that it is unpopular, neglected, despised.

In the following lecture, I shall aim to set forth the Chief Evil of war, to set forth its great Remedy, and then to point out some of the causes of the faint impression made by its woes and crimes.

Before entering on these topics, I would offer one or two remarks. In speaking, as I propose to do, of the evils of war, I have no thought of denying, that war has sometimes done good. There is no unmixed evil in the universe. Providence brings good from every thing, from fearful sufferings, from atrocious crimes. But sufferings and crimes are not therefore to be set down among our blessings. Murder sometimes cuts short the life and triumphs of a monster of guilt. Robbery may throw into circulation the useless hoards of a miser. Despotism may subdue an all-wasting anarchy. But we do not, therefore, canonize despotism, robbery, and murder. In fierce ages, when common life is made up of violence and borders on bloodshed, when piracy is an honorable trade, and a stranger is a foe, war, by accumulating force in the hands of an able chieftain, may gather many petty tribes under one iron will, and

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thus a State may be founded, and its rude organization may prove a germ of social order. In later times, war may carry into less civilized regions the influences, knowledge, arts, and religion of more cultivated nations. Above all, war may call forth in those whom it assails, an indignant patriotism, a fervent public spirit, a generous daring, and heroic sacrifices, which testify to the inborn greatness of human nature; just as great vices, by the horror with which they thrill us, and by the reaction they awaken, often give strength to the moral sentiments of a community. These, however, are the incidental influences of war. Its necessary fruits are crime and woe. To enthrone force above right, is its essential character; and order, freedom, civilization, are its natural prey. Besides, the benefits of war, such as they are, belong to unrefined ages, when the passions, if not expended in public conflicts, would break out in worse forms of rapine and lust, and when one nation can act on another only by violence. Society, in its present stage, stands in need of war no more than of the ordeal, the rack, the inquisition, the baronial license of the middle ages. All these monuments and ministers of barbarism should be buried in one grave.

I. I now proceed to consider, first, as I proposed, the chief evil of war. The chief evil of war! What is it? What induces us to place war at the head of human calamities? In replying to these questions, I shall not direct you to the physical sufferings of war, however great or terrible. Death in its most agonizing forms; the overthrow of proud cities; the devastation of fruitful fields; the impoverishing of nations; famine; pestilence; these form the train of victorious war. But

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these are not the distinguishing evils of war. These are inflictions of other causes much more than of war. Other causes are wasting human life and joy more than battles. Millions indeed die by the sword; but these millions are as nothing, compared with the countless multitudes who die by slow and painful disease. Cities are overthrown by earthquakes as well as by armies, and more frequently swept by accidental conflagrations than by the flames of war. Hostile bands ravage the fields; but how much oftener do whirlwinds, storms, hurricanes rush over land and sea, prostrating harvests, and destroying the labors of years on a scale so vast, as to reduce human devastations to a narrow extent! The truth is, that man is surrounded with mighty powers of nature which he cannot comprehend or withstand; and, amidst their beneficent operations, all of them inflict much suffering. What distinguishes war is, not that man is slain, but that he is slain spoiled, crushed by the cruelty, the injustice, the treachery, the murderous hand of man. The evil is Moral evil. War is the concentration all human crimes. Here is its distinguishing, accursed brand. Under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity, and lust. If it only slew men, it would do little. It turns man into a beast of prey. Here is the evil of war, that man, made to be the brother, becomes the deadly foe of his kind; that man, whose duty it is to mitigate suffering, makes the infliction of suffering his study and end; that man, whose office it is to avert and heal the wounds which come from nature's powers, makes researches into nature's laws, and arms himself with her most awful forces, that he may become the destroyer of his race. Nor is this all. There is also found in war a cold-hearted indiffer-

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ence to human miseries and wrongs, perhaps more shocking than the bad passions it calls forth. To my mind, this contempt of human nature is singularly offensive. To hate, expresses something like respect. But in war, man treats his brother as nothing worth; sweeps away human multitudes as insects; tramples them down as grass; mocks at their rights; and does not deign a thought to their woes.

These remarks show us the great evil of war. It is moral evil. The field of battle is a theatre, got up at immense cost, for the exhibition of crime on a grand scale. There the hell within the human breast blazes out fiercely and without disguise. A more fearful hell in any region of the universe cannot well be conceived. There the fiends hold their revels and spread their fury.

To many, the physical evils of war are more striking than moral. The outward impresses multitudes more than the inward. It is because they cannot look inward, because they are too earthly and sensual to see and comprehend the deformity of a selfish, unjust, malignant soul. The outward evils of life are emblems of the inward, and are light when severed from these. The saddest view of war is, that it is the breaking out of the human heart, revealing there what is more awful than the miseries which it inflicts. The death-groan is fearful; but how much more appalling the spirit of murder which extorts it!

Suppose two multitudes of men, each composed of thousands, meeting from different countries, but meeting not to destroy but to consult and labor for the good of the race; and suppose them, in the midst of their deliberations, to be smitten suddenly by some mysterious visitation of God, and their labors to be terminated by

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immediate death. We should be awe-struck by this strange, sudden, wide-spread ruin. But reflection would teach us, that this simultaneous extinction of life in so many of our race, was but an anticipation or peculiar fulfilment of the sentence passed on all mankind; and a tender reverence would spring up, as we should think of so many generous men coming together from so many different regions, in the spirit of human brotherhood, to be wrapped in one pall, to sleep in one grave. We should erect a monument on the solemn spot; but chiefly to commemorate the holy purpose, which had gathered them from their scattered abodes; and we should write on it, "to the memory of a glorious company, suddenly taken from God's ministry on earth, to enter again (a blessed brotherhood) on a higher ministry in heaven." Here you have death sweeping away hosts in a moment. But how different from death in a field of battle, where man meets man as a foe, where the countenance flashes rage and the arm is nerved for slaughter, where brother hews down brother, and where thousands are sent unprepared, in the moment of crime, to give their account! When nature's laws, fulfilling the mysterious will of God, inflict death on the good, we bow, we adore, we give thanks. How different is death from the murderous hand of man!

Allow me to make another supposition, which may bring out still more strongly the truth on which I now insist, that the great evil of war is inward, moral; that its physical woes, terrible as they may be, are light by the side of this. Suppose, then, that in travelling through a solitary region, you should catch the glimpse of a distant dwelling. You approach it eagerly in the hope of hearing a welcome after your weary journey.

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As you draw nigh, an ominous stillness damps your hope; and on entering, you see the inmates of the house, a numerous family, stretched out motionless and without life. A wasting pestilence has, in one day, made their dwelling a common tomb. At first you are thrilled with horror by the sight; but as you survey the silent forms, you see on all their countenances, amidst traces of suffering, an expression of benignity. You see some of the dead lying side by side, with hands mutually entwined, showing that the last action of life was a grasp of affection; whilst some lie locked in one another's arms. The mother's cold lips are still pressed to the cheek of the child, and the child's arms still wind round the neck of the mother. In the forms of others, you see no ambiguous proof, that the spirit took its flight in the act of prayer. As you look on these signs of love and faith, stronger than the last agony, what a new feeling steals over you! Your horror subsides. Your eyes are suffused with tears, not of anguish, but of sympathy, affection, tender reverence. You feel the spot to be consecrated. Death becomes lovely like the sleep of infancy. You say, Blessed family, Death hath not divided you!

With soothed and respectful sorrow, you leave this resting-place of the good, and another dwelling, dimly descried in the horizon, invites your steps. As you approach it the same stillness is an augury of a like desolation, and you enter it, expecting to see another family laid low by the same mysterious disease. But you open the door, and the spectacle freezes your blood, and chains your steps to the threshold. On every face you see the distortion of rage. Every man's hand grasps a deadly weapon; every breast is gored with

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wounds. Here lies one, rived asunder by a sword. There, two are locked together, but in the death grapple of hatred, not the embrace of love. Here lies woman, trampled on and polluted, and there the child, weltering in his own blood. You recoil with horror, as soon as the sickness of the heart will suffer you to move. The deadly steam of the apartment oppresses, overpowers you, as if it were the suffocating air of hell. You are terror-struck, as if through the opening earth you had sunk into the abode of fiends; and when the time for reflection comes, and you recall the blessed habitation you had just before left, what a conviction rushes on you, that nothing deserves the name of woe, but that which crime inflicts! You feel, that there is a sweetness, loveliness, sacredness in suffering and death, when these are pervaded by holy affections; and that infinite wretchedness and despair gather over these, when springing from unholy passion, when bearing the brand of crime.

In these remarks, I do not mean to deny, that the physical sufferings of war are great, and should incite us to labor for its abolition. But sufferings, separate from crime, coming not through man's wickedness, but from the laws of nature, are not unmixed evils. They have a ministry of love. God has ordained them, that they should bind men to one another, that they should touch and soften the human heart, that they should call forth mutual aid, solace, gratitude, and self-forgetting love. Sorrow is the chief cement of souls. Death, coming in the order of nature, gathers round the sufferer sympathizing, anxious friends, who watch day and night, with suffused eyes and heart-breathed prayer, to avert or mitigate the last agonies. It calls up tender recollections,

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inspires solemn thought, rebukes human pride, obscures the world's glories, and speaks of immortality. From the still death-bed, what softening, subduing, chastening, exalting influences proceed! But death in war, death from the hand of man, sears the heart and conscience, kills human sympathies, and scatters the thought of judgment to come. Man dying in battle, unsolaced, unpitied, and a victim to hatred, rapacity, and insatiable ambition, leaves behind him wrongs to be revenged. His blood does not speak peace or speak of heaven; but sends forth a maddening cry, and exasperates survivors to new struggles.

Thus war adds to suffering the unutterable weight of crime, and defeats the holy and blessed ministry which all suffering is intended to fulfil. When I look back on the ages of conflict through which the race has passed, what most moves me is not the awful amount of suffering which war has inflicted. This may be borne. The terrible thought is, that this has been the work of crime; that men, whose great law is love, have been one another's butchers; that God's children have stained his beautiful earth, made beautiful for their home, with one another's blood; that the shriek, which comes to us from all regions and ages, has been extorted by human cruelty; that man has been a demon, and has turned earth into hell. All else may be borne. It is this which makes history so horrible a record to the benevolent mind.

II. I have now set before you what I deem the chief evil of war. It is moral evil. And from these views you will easily judge, what I regard as the true remedy of war, as the means of removing it, which above all

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others we should employ. If the most terrible view of war be, that it is the triumph and jubilee of selfish and malignant passions, then its true cure is to be sought in the diffusion of the principles of Universal Justice and Love, in that spirit of Jesus Christ, which expels the demons of selfishness and malignity from the heart. Even supposing, that war could be abolished by processes which leave the human character unchanged, that it could be terminated by the progress of a civilization, which, whilst softening manners, would not diminish the selfishness, mercenariness, hard-heartedness, fraud, ambition of men, its worst evils would still remain, and society would reap in some other forms the fruits of its guilt. God has ordained, that the wickedness within us shall always find its expression and punishment in outward evil. War is nothing more than a reflection or image of the soul. It is the fiend within coming out. Human history is nothing more, than the inward nature manifested in its native acts and issues. Let the soul continue unchanged; and, should war cease, the inward plague would still find its way to the surface. The infernal fire at the centre of our being, though it should not break forth in the wasting volcano, would not slumber, but by other eruptions, more insensible yet not less deadly, would lay waste human happiness. I do not believe, however, that any remedy but the Christian spirit can avail against war. The wild beast, that has gorged on millions of victims in every age, is not to be tamed by a polished or selfish civilization. Selfishness, however drilled into courtesy, always tends to strife. Man, as long as possessed by it, will sacrifice others to his own interest and glory, and will grow angry and fierce when others stand in his way.

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War will never yield but to the principles of universal justice and love, and these have no sure root but in the religion of Jesus Christ. Christianity is the true remedy for war, not Christianity in name, not such Christianity as we see, not such as has grown up under arbitrary governments in church and state, not such as characterizes any Christian sect at the present day, but Christianity as it lived in the soul and came forth in the life of its founder; a religion, that reveals man as the object of God's infinite love, and which commends him to the unbounded love of his brethren; a religion, the essence of which is self-denial, self-sacrifice, in the cause of human nature; a religion, which proscribes, as among the worst sins, the passion of man for rule and dominion over his fellow-creatures; which knows nothing of rich or poor, high or low, bond or free, and casts down all the walls of partition which sever men from one another's sympathy and respect.

Christian love alone can supplant war; and this love is not a mere emotion, a tenderness awakened by human suffering, but an intelligent, moral, spiritual love, a perception and deep feeling of the sacredness of human nature, a recognition of the inalienable rights, the solemn claims of every human being It protests fearlessly against all wrong, no matter how obscure the victim. It desires to lift up each and all, no matter how fallen. It is a sympathy with the spiritual principle dwelling under every human form. This is the love which is to conquer war; and as yet this has been but little diffused. The Quakers indeed have protested against war as unchristian, but have done little towards bringing into clear light, and sending forth with new power, the spirit to which war is to yield. Cutting themselves off by out-

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ward peculiarities from the community, secluding themselves from ordinary intercourse through fear of moral infection, living almost as a separate race, they have been little felt in society; they have done little to awaken that deep religious interest in man as man, that sensibility to his rights, that hatred of all wrong, that thirst for the elevation of every human being, in which Christian love finds its truest manifestation. Every sect has as yet been too imbued with the spirit of sects, and has inherited too largely the exclusiveness of past ages, to understand or spread the true spirit of human brotherhood. The love which Christ breathes, which looks through man's body to the immortal spirit, which sees something divine in the rational and moral powers of the lowest human being, and which challenges for the lowest, the sympathy, respect, and fostering aid of his race; this has been rare, and yet it is only by the gradual diffusion of this, that the plague of war can be stayed. This reverence for humanity, could it even prevail through a narrow sphere, could it bind together but a small body of men, would send forth a testimony against war, which would break the slumber of the Christian world, and which would strike awe into many a contemner of his race.

I am aware, that others are hoping for the abolition of war by other causes; and other causes, I am aware, must be brought into action. I only say, that, unless joined with the spirit of Christianity, they give no assurance of continued repose. This thought I would briefly illustrate.

The present unusual cessation of arms in the Christian world, is to some a promise of a happier era in human affairs. It is indeed a cheering fact, and may well

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surprise us, when we consider how many causes of war have been in action, how many threatening clouds have overcast the political sky, during the pause of war. But if we examine the causes of this tranquillity, we shall learn not to confide in it too strongly.

The first cause was the exhaustion in which Europe was left by the bloody conflicts of the French Revolution. The nations, worn out with struggles, wasted by successive invasions, and staggering under an unprecedented load of debt, yearned for repose. The strong man had bled too freely to fight more. For years poverty has kept the peace in Europe. One of the fruits of civilization is the increasing expensiveness of war, so that when the voice of humanity cannot be heard, the hollow sound of an empty treasury is a warning which cannot be slighted. This cause of peace is evidently temporary. Nations, resting from exhaustion, may be expected to renew their pernicious activity, when their strength is renewed.

Another cause of the continuance of peace, is undoubtedly the extension of new and profitable relations through the civilized world. Since the pacification of Europe, in 1816, a new impulse has been given to industry. The discoveries of science have been applied with wonderful success to the useful arts. Nations have begun in earnest to develope their resources. Labor is discovered to be the grand conqueror, enriching and building up nations more surely than the proudest battles. As a necessary result of this new impulse, commerce has been wonderfully enlarged. Nations send the products of their soil and machinery, where once they sent armies ; and such a web of common interests has been woven, that hostilities can spring up in no

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corner of the civilized world, without deranging in a measure the order and industry of every other state. Undoubtedly we have here a promise of peace; but let us not be too sanguine. We have just begun this career, and we know not its end. Let wealth grow without a corresponding growth of the temperate, just, and benevolent spirit of Christianity, and I see few auguries but of evil. Wealth breeds power, and power always tempts to wrong. Communities, which at once grow rich and licentious, breed desperate men, unprincipled adventurers, restless spirits, who unsettle social order at home, who make freedom a cloak and instrument of ambition, and find an interest in embroiling their country with foreign foes. Another consequence of growing prosperity, is the rapid growth of population; and this, in the absence of Christian restraints and Christian principles, tends to pauperism and crime, tends to make men cheap, and to destroy the sacredness of human life; and communities are tempted to throw off this dangerous load, this excess of numbers, in foreign war. In truth, the vices which fester in the bosom of a prosperous, licentious, over-peopled state, are hardly less fearful than those of war, and they naturally seek and find their punishment in this awful calamity. Let us not speak of industry, commerce, and wealth, as insuring peace. Is commerce never jealous and grasping? Have commercial states no collisions? Have commercial rights never drawn the sword in self-defence? Are not such states a tempting prey? And have they no desire to prey on others? Does trade cherish nothing analogous to the spirit of war in ordinary pursuits? Is there no fighting on the exchange? Is bargaining nothing but friendship and peace? Why then expect from

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trade alone peace among nations? Nothing, nothing can bind nations together but Christian justice and love. I insist on this the more earnestly, because it is the fashion now to trust for every good to commerce, industry, and the wonderful inventions, which promise indefinite increase of wealth. But to improve man's outward condition, is not to improve man himself, and this is the sole ground of hope. With all our ingenuity, we can frame no machinery for manufacturing wisdom, virtue, peace. Rail-roads and steam-boats cannot speed the soul to its perfection. This must come, if it come at all, from each man's action on himself, from putting forth our power on the soul and not over nature, from a sense of inward not outward miseries, from "hunger and thirst after righteousness," not after wealth. I should rejoice like the prophet, "to bring glad tidings, to publish peace." But I do fear, that without some great spiritual revolution, without some new life and love breathed into the church, without some deep social reforms, men will turn against each other their new accumulations of power; that their wealth and boasted inventions will be converted into weapons of destruction; that the growing prosperity of nations will become the nutriment of more wasteful wars, will become fuel for more devouring fires of ambition or revenge.

Another cause of the recent long cessation of foreign wars, has been the dread of internal convulsions, of civil wars. The spirit of revolution has, more or less, penetrated the whole civilized world. The grand idea of human Rights has found its way even into despotisms. Kings have less confidence in their subjects and soldiers. They have felt their thrones totter, and have felt that a disastrous war would expose them to

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a force more terrible than that of victorious foes, the force of burning discontent, exasperated opinion at home. It is understood, that the next general war will be a war not of nations but of principles, that absolutism must measure swords with liberalism, despotism with free constitutions; and from this terrible encounter both parties recoil. We indeed believe, that, with or without war, liberal principles and institutions are destined to advance, to make the conquest of Europe; and it is thought, that these, being recognitions of human rights, will be less prodigal of human blood than absolute power. But can we hope, that these, unsanctioned, unsustained by the Christian spirit, will insure peace? What teaches our own experience? Because free, have we no wars? What indeed is the free spirit of which we so much boast? Is it not much more a jealousy of our own rights, than a reverence for the rights of all? Does it not consist with the inflictions of gross wrongs? Does it not spoil the Indian? Does it not enslave the African? Is it not anxious to spread bondage over new regions? Who can look on this free country, distracted by parties, rent by local jealousies, in some districts administering justice by mobs and silencing speech and the press by conflagration and bloodshed, who can see this free country, and say, that liberal opinions and institutions are of themselves to banish war? Nowhere are the just, impartial, disinterested principles of Christianity so much needed as in a free state. Nowhere are there more elements of strife to be composed, more passions to be curbed, more threatened wrongs to be repressed. Freedom has its perils as well as inestimable blessings. In loosening outward restraints, it demands that justice and love be enthroned within man's

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soul. Without Christian principle, freedom may swell the tide of tumult and war.

One other cause will probably be assigned by some, for the long cessation of hostilities in the civilized world; and that is, the greater success of statesmen in securing that long-sought good among nations, the balance of power. Be it so. But how soon may this balance be disturbed? How does it tremble now? Europe has long been threatened by the disproportionate growth of Russia. In the north of Europe is silently growing up a power, which, many fear, is one day to grasp at universal empire. The south, it is said, is to fulfil its old destiny, that is, to fall a prey to the north. All Europe is interested in setting bounds to this half-civilized despotism. But the great absolute powers, Prussia and Austria, dreading more the progress of liberal opinions than of Russian hordes, may rather throw themselves into her scale, and be found fighting with her the battles of legitimacy against free institutions. It is true, that many wise men dismiss these fears as vain, and believe, that the ill-cemented union of the provinces or rather nations, which compose the colossal empire of the north, cannot endure, or at least will admit no steady prosecution of schemes of domination. I presume not to read the future. My single object is, to show the uncertainty of all means of abolishing war, unless joined with and governed by the spreading spirit of our disinterested faith. No calculations of interest, no schemes of policy can do the work of love, of the spirit of human brotherhood. There can be no peace without, but through peace within. Society must be an expression of the souls of its members. Man's character moulds his outward lot. His destiny is woven by the good or evil

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principles which bear rule in his breast. I indeed attach importance to all the causes of peace which I have now stated. They are far from powerless; but their power will be spent in vain unless aided by mightier and diviner energy, by the force of moral and religious principles, the strength of disinterested love.

III. I have now considered the great evil of war, and the great remedy of this scourge of nations, and I proceed, as proposed, to point out some causes of that insensibility to its evils, so common in the world, and so common even among those from whom better things might be hoped; and this I do, not to gratify a love of speculation, but in the belief, that this insensibility will be resisted and overcome, in proportion as its sources shall be explained.

Among its chief causes, one undoubtedly is the commonness of war. This hardens us to its evils. Its horrors are too familiar to move us, unless they start up at our own door. How much more would they appall us, were they rare? If the history of the race were, with one solitary exception, a history of peace, concord, brotherly love; if but one battle had been fought in the long succession of ages; if from the bosom of profound tranquillity, two armies, on one fatal day, had sprung forth and rushed together for mutual destruction; if but one spot on earth had been drenched with human blood, shed by human hands; how different would be our apprehensions of war! What a fearful interest would gather round that spot! How would it remain deserted, dreaded, abhorred! With what terrible distinctness would the leaders of those armies stand out as monsters, not men! How should we confound them

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with Moloch, and the fiercest fallen spirits! Should we not feel, as if, on that mysterious day, the blessed influences of Heaven had been intercepted, and a demoniacal frenzy had been let loose on the race? And has war, in becoming common, lost its horrors? Is it less terrible because its Molochs crowd every page of history, and its woes and crimes darken all nations and all times? Do base or ferocious passions less degrade and destroy, because their victims are unnumbered? If, indeed, the evils of war were only physical, and were inevitable, we should do well to resign ourselves to that kindly power of habit, which takes the edge from oft-repeated pains. But moral evils, evils which may and ought to be shunned, which have their spring in human will, which our higher powers are given us to overcome, these it is a crime unresistingly to endure. The frequency and strength of these are more urgent reasons for abhorring and withstanding them. Reflection should be summoned to resist the paralyzing power of habit. From principle we should cherish a deeper horror of war, because its "sword devours for ever."

I proceed to a second cause of insensibility to the evils of war, and one of immense power. I refer to the common and almost universal belief, that the right of war belongs to civil government. Let us be just to human nature. The idea of "Right" has always mixed itself with war, and this has kept out of view the real character of most of the conflicts of nations. The sovereign, regarding the right of war as an essential attribute of sovereignty, has on this ground ascribed a legitimacy to all national hostilities, and has never dreamed that in most of his wars he was a murderer. So the subject has thought himself bound to

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obey his sovereign, and, on this ground, has acquitted himself of crime, has perhaps imputed to himself merit, in fighting and slaughtering for the defence of the most iniquitous claims. Here lies the delusion, which we should be most anxious to remove. It is the legality ascribed to war, on account of its being waged by government, which produces insensibility to its horrors and crimes. When a notorious robber, seized by Alexander, asked the conqueror of the world, whether he was not a greater robber than himself, the spirit of the hero repelled the title with indignation. And why so? Had he not, without provocation and cause, spoiled cities and realms, whilst the robber had only plundered individuals and single dwellings? Had he not slaughtered ten thousand innocent fellow-creatures for one victim who had fallen under the robber's knife? And why, then, did the arch-robber disclaim the name, and seriously believe, that he could not justly be confounded with ruffians? Because he was a king, the head of a state, and as such authorized to make war. Here was the shelter for his conscience and his fame. Had the robber, after addressing his question to Alexander, turned to the Macedonian soldier, and said to him, "Are you not, too, a greater robber than I? Have not your hands been busier in pillage? Are they not dyed more deeply in innocent blood?" The unconscious soldier, like his master, would have repelled the title; and why? "I am a subject," he would have replied, "and bound to obey my sovereign; and, in fulfilling a duty, I cannot be sunk to the level of the most hated criminal." Thus king and subject take refuge in the right of war which inheres in sovereignty, and thus the most terrible crimes are perpetrated with little reproach.

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I need not tell you, that there are Christians who, to strip war of this pretext or extenuation, deny that this right exists; who teach, that Jesus Christ has wrested the sword from the magistrate as truly as from the private man. On this point, I shall not now enter. I believe, that more good may be done, in the present instance, by allowing to government the right of war. I still maintain, that most wars bring the guilt of murder on the government by whom they are declared, and on the soldier by whom they are carried on, so that our sensibility ought in no degree to be impaired by the supposed legitimacy of national hostilities.

I will allow, that government has the right of war. But a right has bounds, and when these are transgressed by us, it ceases to exist; and we are as culpable, as if it had never existed. The private citizen, it is generally acknowledged, has the right of taking life in self-defence; but if, under plea of this right, he should take life without cause, he would not stand absolved of murder. In like manner, though government be authorized to make war in self-defence, it still contracts the guilt of murder, if it proclaim war from policy, ambition, or revenge. By the Constitution of this country, various rights are conferred on Congress, for the public good; and should they extend these rights beyond the limits prescribed by the national charter, for purposes of cruelty, rapacity, and arbitrary power, they would be as treacherous, as criminal, as if they had laid claim to unconceded rights. Now, stricter bounds are set to the right of war, than those which the Constitution has prescribed to the rulers. A higher authority than man's defines this terrible prerogative. Woe! woe to him, who impatiently, selfishly, spurns the restraints of God, and who winks out of

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sight the crime of sending forth the sword to destroy, because, as a sovereign, he has the right of war.

From its very nature, this right should be exercised above all others anxiously, deliberately, fearfully. It is the right of passing sentence of death on thousands of our fellow-creatures. If any action on earth ought to be performed with trembling, with deep prostration before God, with the most solemn inquisition into motives, with the most reverent consultation of conscience, it is a declaration of war. This stands alone among acts of legislation. It has no parallel. These few words, "Let war be," have the power of desolation which belongs to earthquakes and lightnings; they may stain the remotest seas with blood; may wake the echoes of another hemisphere with the thunders of artillery; may carry anguish into a thousand human abodes. No scheme of aggrandizement, no doubtful claims, no uncertain fears, no anxiety to establish a balance of power, will justify this act. It can find no justification but in plain, stern necessity, in unquestionable justice, in persevering wrongs, which all other and long-tried means have failed to avert. Terrible is the responsibility, beyond that of all others, which falls on him who involves nations in war. He has no excuse for rashness, passion, or private ends. He ought at such a moment to forget, to annihilate himself. The spirit of God and justice should alone speak and act through him. To commit this act rashly, passionately, selfishly, is to bring on himself the damnation of a thousand murders. An act of legislation, commanding fifty thousand men to be assembled on yonder common, there to be shot, stabbed, trampled under horses' feet, until their shrieks and agonies should end in death, would thrill us with horror; and such an act is a declar-

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ation of war; and a government which can perform it, without the most solemn sense of responsibility and the clearest admonitions of duty, deserves, in expiation of its crime, to endure the whole amount of torture which it has inflicted on its fellow-creatures.

I have said, a declaration of war stands alone. There is one act which approaches it, and which indeed is the very precedent on which it is founded. I refer to the signing of a death-warrant by a chief magistrate. In this case, how anxious is society that the guilty only should suffer! The offender is first tried by his peers, and allowed the benefit of skilful counsel. The laws are expounded, and the evidence weighed, by learned and upright judges; and when, after these protections of innocence, the unhappy man is convicted, he is still allowed to appeal for mercy to the highest authority of the State, and to enforce his own cry by solicitations of friends and the people; and when all means of averting his doom fail, religion, through her ministers, enters his cell, to do what yet can be done for human nature in its most fallen, miserable state. Society does not cast from its bosom its most unworthy member, without reluctance, without grief, without fear of doing wrong, without care for his happiness. But wars, by which thousands of the unoffending and worthiest perish, are continually proclaimed by rulers, in madness, through ambition, through infernal policy, from motives which should rank them with the captains of pirate-ships, or leaders of banditti.

It is time that the right of war should not shield governments from the infamy due to hostilities, to which selfish, wicked passions give birth. Let rulers learn, that for this right, they are held to a fearful responsibility. Let a war, not founded in plain justice and necessity,

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never be named but as Murder. Let the Christian give articulate voice to the blood, that cries from the earth against rulers by whom it has been criminally shed. Let no soft terms be used. On this subject, a new moral sense and a new language are needed throughout the whole civilized and Christian world; and just in proportion as the truth shall find a tongue, war will cease.

But the right of war, which is said to belong to sovereignty, not only keeps out of sight the enormous guilt of rulers, in almost all national conflicts. It also hides or extenuates the frequent guilt of subjects, in taking part in the hostilities which their rulers declare. In this way, much of the prevalent insensibility to the evils of war is induced, and perhaps on no point is light more needed. The ferocity and cruelty of armies impress us little, because we look on them as doing a work of duty. The subject or citizen, as we think, is bound to obey his rulers. In his worst deeds as a soldier, he is discharging his obligations to the State; and thus murder and pillage, covered with a cloak of duty, excite no deep, unaffected reprobation and horror.

I know it will be asked, "And is not the citizen bound to fight at the call of his government? Does not his commission absolve him from the charge of murder or enormous crime? Is not obedience to the sovereign power the very foundation on which society rests?" I answer, "Has the duty of obeying government no bounds? Is the human sovereign a God? Is his sovereignty absolute? If he command you to slay a parent, must you obey? If he forbid you to worship God, must you obey? Have you no right to judge his acts? Have you no self-direction? Is there no unchangeable right which the ruler cannot touch? Is there no higher stand-

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ard than human law?" These questions answer themselves. A declaration of war cannot sanction wrong, or turn murder into a virtuous deed. Undoubtedly, as a general rule, the citizen is bound to obey the authorities under which he lives. No difference of opinion as to the mere expediency of measures, will warrant opposition. Even in cases of doubtful right he may submit his judgment to the law. But when called to do what his conscience clearly pronounces wrong, he must not waver. No outward law is so sacred as the voice of God in his own breast. He cannot devolve on rulers an act so solemn, as the destruction of fellow-beings convicted of no offence. For no act will more solemn inquisition be made at the bar of God.

I maintain, that the citizen, before fighting, is bound to inquire into the justice of the cause which he is called to maintain with blood, and bound to withhold his hand, if his conscience condemn the cause. On this point he is able to judge. No political question, indeed, can be determined so easily as this of war. War can be justified only by plain, palpable necessity; by unquestionable wrongs, which, as patient trial has proved, can in no other way be redressed; by the obstinate, persevering invasion of solemn and unquestionable rights. The justice of war is not a mystery for cabinets to solve. It is not a state-secret which he must take on trust. It lies within our reach. We are bound to examine it.

We are especially bound to this examination, because there is always a presumption against the justice of war; always reason to fear, that it is condemned by impartial conscience and God. This solemn truth has peculiar claims on attention. It takes away the plea, that we may innocently fight, because our rulers have decreed war. It

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strips off the most specious disguise from the horrors and crimes of national hostilities. If hostilities were, as a general rule, necessary and just, if an unjust war were a solitary exception, then the citizen might extenuate his share in the atrocities of military life, by urging his obligation to the state. But if there is always reason to apprehend the existence of wrong on the part of rulers, then he is bound to pause and ponder well his path. Then he advances at his peril, and must answer for the crimes of the unjust, unnecessary wars in which he shares.

The presumption is always against the justice and necessity of war. This we learn from the spirit of all rulers and nations towards foreign states. It is partial, unjust. Individuals may be disinterested; but nations have no feeling of the tie of brotherhood to their race. A base selfishness is the principle on which the affairs of nations are commonly conducted. A statesman is expected to take advantage of the weaknesses and wants of other countries. How loose a morality governs the intercourse of states! What falsehoods and intrigues are licensed diplomacy! What nation regards another with true friendship? What nation makes sacrifices to another's good? What nation is as anxious to perform its duties, as to assert its rights? What nation chooses to suffer wrong, rather than to inflict it? What nation lays down the everlasting law of right, casts itself fearlessly on its principles, and chooses to be poor or to perish rather than to do wrong? Can communities so selfish, so unfriendly, so unprincipled, so unjust, be expected to wage righteous wars? Especially if with this selfishness are joined national prejudices, antipathies, and exasperated passions, what else can be expected in the public policy but inhumanity and crime? An individual, we know,

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cannot be trusted in his own cause, to measure his own claims, to avenge his own wrongs; and the civil magistrate, an impartial umpire, has been substituted as the only means of justice. But nations are even more unfit than individuals to judge in their own cause; more prone to push their rights to excess, and to trample on the rights of others; because nations are crowds, and crowds are unawed by opinion, and more easily inflamed by sympathy into madness. Is there not, then, always a presumption against the justice of war?

This presumption is increased, when we consider the false notions of patriotism and honor which prevail in nations. Men think it a virtuous patriotism to throw a mantle, as they call it, over their country's infirmities, to wink at her errors, to assert her most doubtful rights, to look jealously and angrily on the prosperity of rival states; and they place her honor not in unfaltering adherence to the right, but in a fiery spirit, in quick resentment, in martial courage, and especially in victory; and can a good man hold himself bound and stand prepared to engage in war at the dictate of such a state?

The citizen or subject, you say, may innocently fight at the call of his rulers; and I ask, who are his rulers? Perhaps an absolute sovereign, looking down on his people as another race, as created to toil for his pleasure, to fight for new provinces, to bleed for his renown. There are indeed republican governments. But were not the republics of antiquity as greedy of conquest, as prodigal of human life, as steeled against the cries of humanity, as any despots who ever lived? And if we come down to modern republics, are they to be trusted with our consciences? What does the Congress of these United States represent? Not so much the vir-

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tue of the country, as a vicious principle, the spirit of party. It acts not so much for the people as for parties; and are parties upright? Are parties merciful? Are the wars, to which party commits a country, generally just?

Unhappily, public men, under all governments, are, of all moral guides, the most unsafe, the last for a Christian to follow. Public life is thought to absolve men from the strict obligations of truth and justice. To wrong an adverse party or another country, is not reprobated as are wrongs in private life. Thus duty is dethroned; thus the majesty of virtue insulted in the administration of nations. Public men are expected to think more of their own elevation than of their country. Is the city of Washington the most virtuous spot in this republic? Is it the school of incorruptible men? The hall of Congress, disgraced by so many brawls, swayed by local interest and party intrigues, in which the right of petition is trodden under foot, is this the oracle from which the responses of justice come forth? Public bodies want conscience. Men acting in masses shift off responsibility on one another. Multitudes never blush. If these things be true, then I maintain, that the Christian has not a right to take part in war blindly, confidingly, at the call of his rulers. To shed the blood of fellow-creatures is too solemn a work to be engaged in lightly. Let him not put himself, a tool, into wicked hands. Let him not meet on the field his brother man, his brother Christian, in a cause on which heaven frowns. Let him bear witness against unholy wars, as his country's greatest crimes. If called to take part in them, let him deliberately refuse. If martial law seize on him, let him submit. If hurried to

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prison, let him submit. If brought thence to be shot, let him submit. There must be martyrs to peace as truly as to other principles of our religion. The first Christians chose to die, rather than obey the laws of the state which commanded them to renounce their Lord. "Death rather than crime;" such is the good man's watchword, such the Christian's vow. Let him be faithful unto death.

Undoubtedly it will be objected, that if one law of the state may in any way be resisted, then all may be, and so government must fall. This is precisely the argument on which the doctrine of passive obedience to the worst tyrannies rests. The absolutist says, "If one government may be overturned, none can stand. Your right of revolution is nothing but the right of anarchy, of universal misrule." The reply is in both instances the same. Extreme cases speak for themselves. We must put confidence in the common sense of men, and suppose them capable of distinguishing between reasonable laws and those which require them to commit manifest crimes. The objection, which we are considering, rests on the supposition, that a declaration of war is a common act of legislation, bearing no strong marks of distinction from other laws, and consequently to be obeyed as implicitly as all. But it is broadly distinguished. A declaration of war sends us forth to destroy our fellow-creatures, to carry fire, sword, famine, bereavement, want, and woe into the fields and habitations of our brethren; whilst Christianity, conscience, and all the pure affections of our nature, call us to love our brethren, and to die, if need be, for their good. And from whence comes this declaration of war? From men who would rather die than engage in unjust or un-

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necessary conflict? Too probably, from men to whom Christianity is a name, whose highest law is honor, who are used to avenge their private wrongs and defend their reputations by shedding blood, and who, in public as in private life, defy the laws of God. Whoever, at such men's dictation, engages in war without solemnly consulting conscience, and inquiring into the justice of the cause, contracts great guilt, nor can the "right of war," which such men claim as rulers, absolve him from the crimes and woes of the conflict in which he shares.

I have thus considered the second cause of the prevalent insensibility to war, namely, the common vague belief, that as the right of war inheres in government, therefore murder and pillage in national conflicts change their nature, or are broadly distinguished from the like crimes in common life. This topic has been so extended, that I must pass over many which remain, and can take but a glance at one or two which ought not to be wholly overlooked. I observe then, thirdly, that men's sensibility to the evil of war has been very much blunted by the deceptive show, the costume, the splendor in which war is arrayed. Its horrors are hidden under its dazzling dress. To the multitude, the senses are more convincing reasoners than the conscience. In youth, the period which so often receives impressions for life, we cannot detect, in the heart-stirring fife and drum, the true music of war, the shriek of the newly wounded or the faint moan of the dying. Arms glittering in the sunbeam do not remind us of bayonets dripping with blood. To one who reflects, there is something very shocking in these decorations of war. If men must fight, let them wear the badges which become their craft. It would shock us to see a hangman dressed

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out in scarf and epaulette, and marching with merry music to the place of punishment. The soldier has a sadder work than the hangman. His office is not to despatch occasionally a single criminal; he goes to the slaughter of thousands as free from crime as himself. The sword is worn as an ornament; and yet its use is to pierce the heart of a fellow-creature. As well might the butcher parade before us his knife, or the executioner his axe or halter. Allow war to be necessary, still it is a horrible necessity, a work to fill a good man with anguish of spirit. Shall it be turned into an occasion of pomp and merriment? To dash out men's brains, to stab them to the heart, to cover the body with gashes, to lop off the limbs, to crush men under the hoof of the war-horse, to destroy husbands and fathers, to make widows and orphans, all this may be necessary; but to attire men for this work with fantastic trappings, to surround this fearful occupation with all the circumstances of gayety and pomp, seems as barbarous as it would be to deck a gallows, or to make a stage for dancing beneath the scaffold. I conceive that the military dress was not open to as much reproach in former times as now. It was then less dazzling, and acted less on the imagination, because it formed less an exception to the habits of the times. The dress of Europe, not many centuries ago, was fashioned very much after what may be called the harlequin style. That is, it affected strong colors and strong contrasts. This taste belongs to rude ages, and has passed away very much with the progress of civilization. The military dress alone has escaped the reform. The military man is the only harlequin left us from ancient times. It is time that his dazzling finery were gone, that it no longer corrupted the young,

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that it no longer threw a pernicious glare over his terrible vocation.

I close with assigning what appears to me to be the most powerful cause of the prevalent insensibility to war. It is our blindness to the dignity and claims of human nature. We know not the worth of a man. We know not *who* the victims are on whom war plants its foot, whom the conqueror leaves to the vulture on the field of battle, or carries captive to grace his triumph. Oh! did we know what men are, did we see in them the spiritual, immortal children of God, what a voice should we lift against war! How indignantly, how sorrowfully should we invoke Heaven and earth to right our insulted, injured brethren!

I close with asking, "Must the sword devour for ever?" Must force, fear, pain, always rule the world? Is the kingdom of God, the reign of truth, duty, and love never to prevail? Must the sacred name of brethren be only a name among men? Must the divinity in man's nature never be recognised with veneration? Is the earth always to steam with human blood shed by man's hands, and to echo with groans wrung from hearts which violence has pierced? Can you and I, my friends, do nothing, nothing to impress a different character on the future history of our race? You say we are weak; and why weak? It is from inward defect, not from outward necessity. We are inefficient abroad, because faint within, faint in love, and trust, and holy resolution. Inward power always comes forth, and works without. Noah Worcester, enfeebled in body, was not weak. George Fox, poor and uneducated, was not weak. They had light and life within, and therefore were strong abroad. Their spirits were stirred by Christ's truth and

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spirit; and, so moved, they spoke and were heard. We are dead, and therefore cannot act. Perhaps we speak against war; but if we speak from tradition, if we echo what we hear, if peace be a cant on our lips, our words are unmeaning air. Our own souls must bleed when our brethren are slaughtered. We must feel the infinite wrong done to man, by the brute force which treads him in the dust. We must see in the authors of unjust, selfish, ambitious, revengeful wars, monsters in human form, incarnations of the dread enemy of the human race. Under the inspiration of such feelings, we shall speak, even the humblest of us, with something of prophetic force. This is the power, which is to strike awe into the counsellors and perpetrators of now licensed murder; which is to wither the laurelled brow of now worshipped heroes. Deep moral convictions, unfeigned reverence and fervent love for man, and living faith in Christ, are mightier than armies; mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of oppression and war. Go forth, then, friends of mankind, peaceful soldiers of Christ! and in your various relations, at home and abroad, in private life, and, if it may be, in more public spheres, give faithful utterance to the principles of universal justice and love, give utterance to your deep, solemn, irreconcilable hatred of the spirit of war.

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LECTURES

ON THE

ELEVATION OF THE LABORING PORTION

OF

THE COMMUNITY.

13*

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE following Lectures were prepared for two meetings of mechanics, one of them consisting of apprentices, the other of adults. For want of strength they were delivered only to the former, though in preparing them, I had kept the latter also in view. "The Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association," at whose request the Lectures are published, is an institution of much promise, not only furnishing considerable means of intellectual improvement, but increasing the self-respect and conducing to the moral safety of the members.

When I entered on this task, I thought of preparing only one lecture of the usual length. But I soon found that I could not do justice to my views in so narrow a compass. I therefore determined to write at large, and to communicate through the press the results of my labor, if they should be thought worthy of publication. With this purpose, I introduced topics which I did not deliver, and which I thought might be usefully presented to some who might not hear me. I make this statement to prevent the objection, that the Lectures are not, in all things, adapted to those to whom they were delivered. Whilst written chiefly for a class, they were also intended for the community.

As the same general subject is discussed in these Lectures as in the "Lecture on Self-Culture," published last

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winter, there will, of course, be found in them that coincidence of thoughts, which always takes place in the writings of a man, who has the inculcation of certain great principles much at heart. Still, the point of view, the mode of discussion, and the choice of topics, differ much in the two productions; so that my state of mind would be given very imperfectly were the present Lectures withheld.

This is, probably, the last opportunity I shall have for communicating with the laboring classes through the press. I may, therefore, be allowed to express my earnest wishes for their happiness, and my strong hope that they will justify the confidence of their friends, and will prove by their example the possibility of joining with labor all the improvements which do honor to our nature.

W. E. C.

BOSTON, *Feb.* 11, 1840.

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ON THE

ELEVATION OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

LECTURE I.

It is with no common pleasure, that I take part in the present course of Lectures. Such a course is a sign of the times, and very interesting to all who are interested in the progress of their fellow-creatures. We hear much of the improvements of our age. The wonders achieved by machinery are the common talk of every circle; but I confess, that, to me, this gathering of mechanics' apprentices, whose chief bond of union is a library, and who come together weekly to refresh and improve themselves by the best instruction which the state of society places within their reach, is more encouraging than all the miracles of the machinist. In this meeting I see, what I desire most to see, that the mass of the people are beginning to comprehend themselves and their true happiness, that they are catching glimpses of the great work and vocation of human beings, and are rising to their true place in the social state. The present meeting indicates a far more radical, more important change in the world, than the steam-engine, or the navigation of the Atlantic in a fortnight. That

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members of the laboring class, at the close of a day's work, should assemble in such a hall as this, to hear lectures on science, history, ethics, and the most stirring topics of the day, from men whose education is thought to fit them for the highest offices, is a proof of a social revolution, to which no bounds can be set, and from which too much cannot be hoped. I see in it a repeal of the sentence of degradation passed by ages on the mass of mankind. I see in it the dawn of a new era, in which it will be understood, that the first object of society is to give incitements and means of progress to all its members. I see in it the sign of the approaching triumph of men's spiritual over their outward and material interests. In the hunger and thirst for knowledge and for refined pleasures, which this course of lectures indicates in those who labor, I see that the spirit of man is not always to be weighed down by toils for animal life and by the appetite for animal indulgences. I do attach great importance to this meeting, not for its own sake or its immediate benefits, but as a token and pledge of a new impulse given to society through all its conditions. On this account, I take more pleasure in speaking here, than I should feel in being summoned to pronounce a show-oration before all the kings and nobles on earth. In truth, it is time to have done with shows. The age is too stirring, we are pressed on by too solemn interests, to be justified in making speeches for self-display or mere amusement. He who cannot say something in sympathy with, or in aid of the great movements of humanity, might as well hold his peace.

With these feelings and convictions, I am naturally, almost necessarily, led to address you on a topic, which must insure the attention of such an audience, namely,

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the Elevation of that portion of the community who subsist by the labor of the hands. This work, I have said, is going on. I may add, that it is advancing nowhere so rapidly as in this city. I do not believe, that on the face of the earth, the spirit of improvement has anywhere seized so strongly on those who live by the sweat of the brow, as among ourselves. Here it is nothing rare to meet the union of intellectual culture and self-respect with hard work. Here the prejudice against labor as degrading has very much given way. This then is the place where the subject, which I have proposed, should be discussed. We ought to consider, in what the true elevation of the laboring portion consists, how far it is practicable, and how it may be helped onward. The subject, I am aware, is surrounded with much prejudice and error. Great principles need to be brought out and their application plainly stated. There are serious objections to be met, fears to be disarmed, and rash hopes to be crushed. I do not profess to have mastered the topic. But I can claim one merit, that of coming to the discussion with a feeling of its importance, and with a deep interest in the class of people whom it concerns. I trust, that this expression of interest will not be set down as mere words, or as meant to answer any selfish purpose. A politician, who professes attachment to the people, is suspected to love them for their votes. But a man, who neither seeks nor would accept any place within their gift, may hope to be listened to as their friend. As a friend, I would speak plainly. I cannot flatter. I see defects in the laboring classes. I think, that as yet the greater part of them have made little progress; that the prejudices and passions, the sensuality and selfishness of multitudes

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among them, are formidable barriers to improvement; that multitudes have not waked as yet to a dim conception of the end for which they are to struggle. My hopes do not blind me to what exists; and with this clear sense of the deficiences of the multitude of men, I cannot, without guilt, minister to their vanity. Not that they alone are to be charged with deficiencies. Look where we may, we shall discern in all classes ground for condemnation; and whoever would do good, ought to speak the truth of all, only remembering that he is to speak with sympathy, and with a consciousness of his own fallibleness and infirmity.

In giving my views of the elevation of the laboring multitude, I wish that it may be understood, that I shall often speak prospectively, or of changes and improvements, which are not to be expected immediately soon; and this I say, that I may not be set down as a dreamer, expecting to regenerate the world in a day. I fear, however, that this explanation will not shield me from this and like reproaches. There are men, who in the face of all history, of the great changes wrought in men's condition, and of the new principles which are now acting on society, maintain that the future is to be a copy of the past, and probably a faded rather than bright copy. From such I differ, and did I not differ I would not stand here. Did I expect nothing better from human nature than I see, I should have no heart for the present effort, poor as it may be. I see the signs of a better futurity, and especially signs, that the large class, by whose toil we all live, are rising from the dust; and this faith is my only motive to what I now offer.

The elevation of the laboring portion of society: this

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is our subject. I shall first consider, in what this consists. I shall then consider some objections to its practicableness, and to this point shall devote no small part of the discussion; and shall close the subject with giving some grounds of my faith and hope in regard to the most numerous class of our fellow-beings.

I. What is to be understood by the elevation of the laboring class? This is our first topic. To prevent misapprehension, I will begin with stating what is *not* meant by it, in what it does not consist. — I say, then, that by the elevation of the laborer, I do not understand that he is to be raised above the need of labor. I do not expect a series of improvements, by which he is to be released from his daily work. Still more, I have no desire to dismiss him from his workshop and farm, to take the spade and axe from his hand, and to make his life a long holyday. I have faith in labor, and I see the goodness of God in placing us in a world where labor alone can keep us alive. I would not change, if I could, our subjection to physical laws, our exposure to hunger and cold, and the necessity of constant conflicts with the material world. I would not, if I could, so temper the elements, that they should infuse into us only grateful sensations, that they should make vegetation so exuberant as to anticipate every want, and the minerals so ductile as to offer no resistance to our strength and skill. Such a world would make a contemptible race. Man owes his growth, his energy, chiefly to that striving of the will, that conflict with difficulty, which we call Effort. Easy, pleasant work does not make robust minds, does not give men a consciousness of their powers, does not train them

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to endurance, to perseverance, to steady force of will, that force without which all other acquisitions avail nothing. Manual labor is a school, in which men are placed to get energy of purpose and character, a vastly more important endowment than all the learning of all other schools. They are placed, indeed, under hard masters, physical sufferings and wants, the power of fearful elements, and the vicissitudes of all human things; but these stern teachers do a work which no compassionate, indulgent friend could do for us; and true wisdom will bless Providence for their sharp ministry. I have great faith in hard work. The material world does much for the mind by its beauty and order; but it does more for our minds by the pains it inflicts, by its obstinate resistance which nothing but patient toil can overcome, by its vast forces which nothing but unremitting skill and effort can turn to our use, by its perils which demand continual vigilance, and by its tendencies to decay. I believe that difficulties are more important to the human mind than what we call assistances. Work we all must, if we mean to bring out and perfect our nature. Even if we do not work with the hands, we must undergo equivalent toil in some other direction. No business or study which does not present obstacles, tasking to the full the intellect and the will, is worthy of a man. In science, he who does not grapple with hard questions, who does not concentrate his whole intellect in vigorous attention, who does not aim to penetrate what at first repels him, will never attain to mental force. The uses of toil reach beyond the present world. The capacity of steady, earnest labor is, I apprehend, one of our great preparations for another state of being. When I see the vast amount of toil required of men,

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I feel, that it must have important connexions with their future existence; and that he, who has met this discipline manfully, has laid one essential foundation of improvement, exertion, and happiness in the world to come. You will here see that to me labor has great dignity. It is not merely the grand instrument, by which the earth is overspread with fruitfulness and beauty, and the ocean subdued, and matter wrought into innumerable forms for comfort and ornament. It has a far higher function, which is to give force to the will, efficiency, courage, the capacity of endurance, and of persevering devotion to far reaching plans. Alas, for the man who has not learned to work! He is a poor creature. He does not know himself. He depends on others, with no capacity of making returns for the support they give; and let him not fancy that he has a monopoly of enjoyment. Ease, rest, owes its deliciousness to toil; and no toil is so burdensome as the rest of him, who has nothing to task and quicken his powers.

I do not, then, desire to release the laborer from toil. This is not the elevation to be sought for him. Manual labor is a great good; but, in so saying, I must be understood to speak of labor in its just proportions. In excess it does great harm. It is not a good, when made the sole work of life. It must be joined with higher means of improvement, or it degrades instead of exalting. Man has a various nature, which requires a variety of occupation and discipline for its growth. Study, meditation, society, and relaxation should be mixed up with his physical toils. He has intellect, heart, imagination, taste, as well as bones and muscles; and he is grievously wronged, when compelled to exclusive drudgery for bodily subsistence

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Life should be an alternation of employments, so diversified as to call the whole man into action. Unhappily our present civilization is far from realizing this idea. It tends to increase the amount of manual toil, at the very time that it renders this toil less favorable to the culture of the mind. The division of labor, which distinguishes civilized from savage life, and to which we owe chiefly the perfection of the arts, tends to dwarf the intellectual powers, by confining the activity of the individual to a narrow range, to a few details, perhaps to the heading of pins, the pointing of nails, or the tying together of broken strings; so that while the savage has his faculties sharpened by various occupations, and by exposure to various perils, the civilized man treads a monotonous, stupefying round of unthinking toil. This cannot, must not always be. Variety of action, corresponding to the variety of human powers, and fitted to develope all, is the most important element of human civilization. It should be the aim of philanthropists. In proportion as Christianity shall spread the spirit of brotherhood, there will and must be a more equal distribution of toils and means of improvement. That system of labor, which saps the health, and shortens life, and famishes intellect, needs, and must receive, great modification. Still, labor in due proportion is an important part of our present lot. It is the condition of all outward comforts and improvements, whilst, at the same time, it conspires with higher means and influences in ministering to the vigor and growth of the soul. Let us not fight against it. We need this admonition, because at the present moment there is a general disposition to shun labor; and this ought to be regarded as a bad sign of our times. The

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city is thronged with adventurers from the country, and the liberal professions are overstocked, in the hope of escaping the primeval sentence of living by the sweat of the brow; and to this crowding of men into trade we owe not only the neglect of agriculture, but what is far worse, the demoralization of the community. It generates excessive competition, which of necessity generates fraud. Trade is turned to gambling; and a spirit of mad speculation exposes public and private interests to a disastrous instability. It is, then, no part of the philanthropy which would elevate the laboring body, to exempt them from manual toil. In truth, a wise philanthropy would, if possible, persuade all men of all conditions to mix up a measure of this toil with their other pursuits. The body as well as the mind needs vigorous exertion, and even the studious would be happier were they trained to labor as well as thought. Let us learn to regard manual toil as the true discipline of a man. Not a few of the wisest, grandest spirits have toiled at the work-bench and the plough.

I have said that, by the elevation of the laboring mass, I do not mean that they are to be released from labor. I add, in the next place, that this elevation is not to be gained by efforts to force themselves into what are called the upper ranks of society. I wish them to rise, but I have no desire to transform them into gentlemen or ladies, according to the common acceptation of these terms. I desire for them not an outward and showy, but an inward and real change; not to give them new titles and an artificial rank, but substantial improvements and real claims to respect. I have no wish to dress them from a Parisian tailor's

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shop, or to teach them manners from a dancing-school. I have no desire to see them, at the end of the day, doff their working dress, that they may play a part in richly attired circles. I have no desire that they should be admitted to luxurious feasts, or should get a taste for gorgeous upholstery. There is nothing cruel in the necessity, which sentences the multitude of men to eat, dress, and lodge plainly and simply, especially where the sentence is executed so mildly as in this country. In this country, where the demand for labor is seldom interrupted, and the openings for enterprise are numerous beyond precedent, the laboring class, with few exceptions, may well be satisfied with their accommodations. Very many of them need nothing but a higher taste for beauty, order, and neatness, to give an air of refinement and grace as well as comfort to their establishments. In this country, the mass of laborers have their share of outward good. Their food, abundant and healthful, seasoned with the appetite which labor gives, is, on the whole, sweeter as well as healthier than the elaborate luxuries of the prosperous; and their sleep is sounder and more refreshing than falls to the lot of the less employed. Were it a possible thing, I should be sorry to see them turned into men and women of fashion. Fashion is a poor vocation. Its creed, that idleness is a privilege, and work a disgrace, is among the deadliest errors. Without depth of thought, or earnestness of feeling, or strength of purpose, living an unreal life, sacrificing substance to show, substituting the factitious for the natural, mistaking a crowd for society, finding its chief pleasure in ridicule, and exhausting its ingenuity in expedients for killing time, fashion is among the last influences under which a human being, who respects

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himself or who comprehends the great end of life, would desire to be placed. I use strong language, because I would combat the disposition, too common in the laboring mass, to regard what is called the upper class with envy or admiration. This disposition manifests itself among them in various forms. Thus, when one of their number prospers, he is apt to forget his old acquaintance, and to work his way, if possible, into a more fashionable caste. As far indeed as he extends his acquaintance among the intelligent, refined, generous, and truly honorable, he makes a substantial improvement of his condition; but if, as is too often the case, he is admitted by way of favor into a circle, which has few claims, beyond those of greater luxury and show, and which bestows on him a patronizing, condescending notice, in exchange for his old, honorable influence among his original associates, he does any thing but rise. Such is not the elevation I desire for the laborer. I do not desire him to struggle into another rank. Let him not be a servile copyist of other classes, but aim at something higher than has yet been realized in any body of men. Let him not associate the idea of Dignity or Honor with certain modes of living, or certain outward connexions. I would have every man stand on his own ground, and take his place among men according to personal endowments and worth, and not according to outward appendages; and I would have every member of the community furnished with such means of improvement, that, if faithful to himself, he may need no outward appendage to attract the respect of all around him.

I have said, that the people are not to be elevated by escaping labor, or by pressing into a different rank.

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Once more, I do not mean by the elevation of the people, that they should become self-important politicians that, as individuals or a class, they should seize on political power; that by uniting their votes they should triumph over the more prosperous; or that they should succeed in bending the administration of government to their particular interests. An individual is not elevated by figuring in public affairs, or even by getting into office. He needs previous elevation, to save him from disgrace in his public relations. To govern one's self, not others, is true glory. To serve through love, not to rule, is Christian greatness. Office is not dignity. The lowest men, because most faithless in principle, most servile to opinion, are to be found in office. I am sorry to say it, but the truth should be spoken, that, at the present moment, political action in this country does little to lift up any who are concerned in it. It stands in opposition to a high morality. Politics, indeed, regarded as the study and pursuit of the true, enduring good of a community, as the application of great unchangeable principles to public affairs, is a noble sphere of thought and action; but politics, in its common sense, or considered as the invention of temporary shifts, as the playing of a subtile game, as the tactics of party for gaining power and the spoils of office, and for elevating one set of men above another, is a paltry and debasing concern. The laboring class are sometimes stimulated to seek power as a class, and this it is thought will raise them. But no class, as such, should bear rule among us. All conditions of society should he represented in the government, and alike protected by it; nor can any thing be expected but disgrace to the individual and the country, from the success of any class in grasping at a monopoly of political power.

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I would by no means discourage the attention of the people to politics. They ought to study in earnest the interests of the country, the principles of our institutions, the tendencies of public measures. But the unhappiness is, they do not *study*; and until they do, they cannot rise by political action. A great amount of time, which, if well used, would form an enlightened population, is now wasted on newspapers and conversations, which inflame the passions, which unscrupulously distort the truth, which denounce moral independence as treachery to one's party, which agitate the country for no higher end than a triumph over opponents; and thus multitudes are degraded into men-worshippers or men-haters, into the dupes of the ambitious, or the slaves of a faction. To rise, the people must substitute reflection for passion. There is no other way. By these remarks, I do not mean to charge on the laboring class all the passionateness of the country. All classes partake of the madness, and all are debased by it. The fiery spirits are not confined to one portion of the community. The men, whose ravings resound through the hall of Congress, and are then circulated through the country as eloquence, are not taken from among those who toil. Party prejudices break out as fiercely on the exchange, and even in the saloon, as in the workshop. The disease has spread everywhere. Yet it does not dishearten me, for I see that it admits of mitigation, if not of cure. I trust that these lectures, and other sources of intellectual enjoyment now opening to the public, will abate the fever of political excitement, by giving better occupation to the mind. Much, too, may be hoped from the growing self-respect of the people, which will make them shrink indignantly from the disgrace of being used as blinded partisans and unreflect-

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ing tools. Much also is to be hoped from the discovery, which must sooner or later be made, that the importance of government is enormously overrated, that it does not deserve all this stir, that there are vastly more effectual means of human happiness. Political institutions are to be less and less deified, and to shrink into a narrower space; and just in proportion as a wiser estimate of government prevails, the present phrensy of political excitement will be discovered and put to shame.

I have now said, what I do not mean by the elevation of the laboring classes. It is not an outward change of condition. It is not release from labor. It is not struggling for another rank. It is not political power. I understand something deeper. I know but one elevation of a human being, and that is Elevation of Soul. Without this, it matters nothing where a man stands or what he possesses; and with it, he towers, he is one of God's nobility, no matter what place he holds in the social scale. There is but one elevation for a laborer, and for all other men. There are not different kinds of dignity for different orders of men, but one and the same to all. The only elevation of a human being consists in the exercise, growth, energy of the higher principles and powers of his soul. A bird may be shot upward to the skies by a foreign force; but it rises, in the true sense of the word, only when it spreads its own wings and soars by its own living power. So a man may be thrust upward into a conspicuous place by outward accidents; but he rises, only in so far as he exerts himself, and expands his best faculties, and ascends by a free effort to a nobler region of thought and action. Such is the elevation I desire for the laborer, and I desire no other. This elevation is indeed to be aided by an improvement of his outward condition,

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and in turn it greatly improves his outward lot; and thus connected, outward good is real and great; but supposing it to exist in separation from inward growth and life, it would be nothing worth, nor would I raise a finger to promote it.

I know it will be said, that such elevation as I have spoken of, is not and cannot be within the reach of the laboring multitude, and of consequence they ought not to be tantalized with dreams of its attainment. It will be said, that the principal part of men, are plainly designed to work on matter for the acquisition of material and corporeal good, and that, in such, the spirit is of necessity too wedded to matter to rise above it. This objection will be considered by and by; but I would just observe in passing, that the objector must have studied very carelessly the material world, if he suppose, that it is meant to be the grave of the minds of most of those who occupy it. Matter was made for spirit, body for mind. The mind, the spirit, is the end of this living organization of flesh and bones, of nerves and muscles; and the end of this vast system of sea and land, and air and skies. This unbounded creation of sun, and moon, and stars, and clouds, and seasons, was not ordained merely to feed and clothe the body, but first and supremely to awaken, nourish, and expand the soul, to be the school of the intellect, the nurse of thought and imagination, the field for the active powers, a revelation of the Creator, and a bond of social union. We were placed in the material creation, not to be its slaves, but to master it, and to make it a minister to our highest powers. It is interesting to observe, how much the material world does for the mind. Most of the sciences, arts, professions, and occupations of life, grow out of our connexion with matter. The

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natural philosopher, the physician, the lawyer, the artist, and the legislator, find the objects, or occasions of their researches in matter. The poet borrows his beautiful imagery from matter. The sculptor and painter express their noble conceptions through matter. Material wants rouse the world to activity. The material organs of sense, especially the eye, wake up infinite thoughts in the mind. To maintain, then, that the mass of men are and must be so immersed in matter, that their souls cannot rise, is to contradict the great end of their connexion with matter. I maintain, that the philosophy which does not see, in the laws and phenomena of outward nature, the means of awakening Mind, is lamentably short-sighted; and that a state of society, which leaves the mass of men to be crushed and famished in soul by excessive toils on matter, is at war with God's designs, and turns into means of bondage what was meant to free and expand the soul.

Elevation of soul, this is to be desired for the laborer as for every human being, and what does this mean? The phrase, I am aware, is vague, and often serves for mere declamation. Let me strive to convey some precise ideas of it; and in doing this, I can use no language which will save the hearer from the necessity of thought. The subject is a spiritual one. It carries us into the depths of our own nature, and I can say nothing about it worth saying, without tasking your powers of attention, without demanding some mental toil. I know that these lectures are meant for entertainment rather than mental labor; but as I have told you, I have great faith in labor, and I feel that I cannot be more useful than in exciting the hearer to some vigorous action of mind.

Elevation of soul, in what does this consist? With-

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out aiming at philosophical exactness, I shall convey a sufficiently precise idea of it, by saying that it consists, first, in Force of Thought exerted for the acquisition of Truth; secondly, in Force of Pure and Generous Feeling; thirdly, in Force of Moral Purpose. Each of these topics needs a lecture for its developement. I must confine myself to the first; from which, however, you may learn in a measure my views of the other two. —Before entering on this topic, let me offer one preliminary remark. To every man who would rise in dignity as a man, be he rich or poor, ignorant or instructed, there is one essential condition, one effort, one purpose, without which, not a step can be taken. He must resolutely purpose and labor to free himself from whatever he knows to be wrong in his motives and life. He who habitually allows himself in any known crime or wrongdoing, effectually bars his progress towards a higher intellectual and moral life. On this point every man should deal honestly with himself. If he will not listen to his conscience, rebuking him for violations of plain duty, let him not dream of self-elevation. The foundation is wanting. He will build, if at all, in sand.

I now proceed to my main subject. I have said that the elevation of a man is to be sought, or rather consists, first, in Force of Thought exerted for the acquisition of truth; and to this I ask your serious attention. Thought, Thought, is the Fundamental distinction of mind, and the great work of life. All that a man does outwardly, is but the expression and completion of his inward thought. To work effectually, he must think clearly. To act nobly, he must think nobly. Intellectual force is a principal element of the soul's life, and should be proposed by every man as a principal end of his being.

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It is common to distinguish between the intellect and the conscience, between the power of thought and virtue, and to say that virtuous action is worth more than strong thinking. But we mutilate our nature by thus drawing lines between actions or energies of the soul, which are intimately, indissolubly bound together. The head and the heart are not more vitally connected than thought and virtue. Does not conscience include, as a part of itself, the noblest action of the intellect or reason? Do we not degrade it by making it a mere feeling? Is it not something more? Is it not a wise discernment of the right, the holy, the good? Take away thought from virtue, and what remains worthy of a man? Is not high virtue more than blind instinct? Is it not founded on, and does it not include clear, bright perceptions of what is lovely and grand in character and action? Without power of thought, what we call conscientiousness, or a desire to do right, shoots out into illusion, exaggeration, pernicious excess. The most cruel deeds on earth have been perpetrated in the name of conscience. Men have hated and murdered one another from a sense of duty. The worst frauds have taken the name of pious. Thought, intelligence, is the dignity of a man, and no man is rising but in proportion as he is learning to think clearly and forcibly, or directing the energy of his mind to the acquisition of truth. Every man, in whatsoever condition, is to be a student. No matter what other vocation he may have, his chief vocation is to Think.

I say every man is to be a student, a thinker. This does not mean, that he is to shut himself within four walls, and bend body and mind over books. Men thought before books were written, and some of the

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greatest thinkers never entered what we call a study. Nature, Scripture, society, and life present perpetual subjects for thought; and the man who collects, concentrates, employs his faculties on any of these subjects for the purpose of getting the truth, is so far a student, a thinker, a philosopher, and is rising to the dignity of a man. It is time, that we should cease to limit to professed scholars the titles of thinkers, philosophers. Whoever seeks truth with an earnest mind, no matter when or how, belongs to the school of intellectual men.

In a loose sense of the word, all men may be said to think; that is, a succession of ideas, notions, passes through their minds from morning to night; but in as far as this succession is passive, undirected, or governed only by accident and outward impulse, it has little more claim to dignity than the experience of the brute, who receives, with like passiveness, sensations from abroad through his waking hours. Such thought, if thought it may be called, having no aim, is as useless as the vision of an eye which rests on nothing, which flies without pause over earth and sky, and of consequence receives no distinct image. Thought, in its true sense, is an energy of intellect. In thought, the mind not only receives impressions or suggestions from without or within, but reacts upon them, collects its attention, concentrates its forces upon them, breaks them up and analyzes them like a living laboratory, and then combines them anew, traces their connexions, and thus impresses itself on all the objects which engage it.

The universe in which we live, was plainly meant by God to stir up such thought as has now been described. It is full of difficulty and mystery, and can only be penetrated and unravelled by the concentration of the intel-

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lect. Every object, even the simplest in nature and society, every event of life, is made up of various elements subtly bound together; so that to understand any thing, we must reduce it from its complexity to its parts and principles, and examine their relations to one another. Nor is this all. Every thing which enters the mind, not only contains a depth of mystery in itself, but is connected by a thousand ties with all other things. The universe is not a disorderly, disconnected heap, but a beautiful whole, stamped throughout with unity, so as to be an image of the One Infinite Spirit. Nothing stands alone. All things are knit together, each existing for all and all for each. The humblest object has infinite connexions. The vegetable, which you saw on your table to-day, came to you from the first plant which God made to grow on the earth, and was the product of the rains and sunshine of six thousand years. Such a universe demands thought to be understood; and we are placed in it to think, to put forth the power within, to look beneath the surface of things, to look beyond particular facts and events to their causes and effects, to their reasons and ends, their mutual influences, their diversities and resemblances, their proportions and harmonies, and the general laws which bind them together. This is what I mean by thinking; and by such thought the mind rises to a dignity, which humbly represents the greatness of the Divine intellect; that is, it rises more and more to consistency of views, to broad general principles, to universal truths, to glimpses of the order and harmony and infinity of the Divine system, and thus to a deep, enlightened veneration of the Infinite Father. Do not be startled, as if I were holding out an elevation of mind utterly to be despaired of; for all thinking,

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which aims honestly and earnestly to see things as they are, to see them in their connexions, and to bring the loose, conflicting ideas of the mind into consistency and harmony, all such thinking, no matter in what sphere, is an approach to the dignity of which I speak. You are all capable of the thinking which I recommend. You have all practised it in a degree. The child, who casts an inquiring eye on a new toy, and breaks it to pieces that he may discover the mysterious cause of its movements, has begun the work of which I speak, has begun to be a philosopher, has begun to penetrate the unknown, to seek consistency and harmony of thought; and let him go on as he has begun, and make it one great business of life to inquire into the elements, connexions, and reasons of whatever he witnesses in his own breast, or in society, or in outward nature, and, be his condition what it may, he will rise by degrees to a freedom and force of thought, to a breadth and unity of views, which will be to him an inward revelation and promise of the intellectual greatness for which he was created.

You will observe, that in speaking of force of thought as the elevation of the laborer and of every human being, I have continually supposed this force to be exerted for the purpose of acquiring Truth. I beg you never to lose sight of this motive, for it is essential to intellectual dignity. Force of thought may be put forth for other purposes, to amass wealth for selfish gratification, to give the individual power over others, to blind others, to weave a web of sophistry, to cast a deceitful lustre on vice, to make the worse appear the better cause. But energy of thought, so employed, is suicidal. The intellect, in becoming a pander to vice, a tool of the passions, an advocate of lies, becomes not only degraded, but dis-

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eased. It loses the capacity of distinguishing truth from falsehood, good from evil, right from wrong; it becomes as worthless as an eye, which cannot distinguish between colors or forms. Woe to that mind which wants the love of truth! For want of this, genius has become a scourge to the world, its breath a poisonous exhalation, its brightness a seducer into paths of pestilence and death. Truth is the light of the Infinite Mind, and the image of God in his creatures. Nothing endures but truth. The dreams, fictions, theories, which men would substitute for it, soon die. Without its guidance effort is vain, and hope baseless. Accordingly, the love of truth, a deep thirst for it, a deliberate purpose to seek it and hold it fast, may be considered as the very foundation of human culture and dignity. Precious as thought is, the love of truth is still more precious; for without it, thought, thought wanders and wastes itself, and precipitates men into guilt and misery. There is no greater defect in education and the pulpit, than that they inculcate so little an impartial, earnest, reverential love of truth, a readiness to toil, to live and die for it. Let the laboring man be imbued in a measure with this spirit; let him learn to regard himself as endowed with the power of thought, for the very end of acquiring truth; let him learn to regard truth as more precious than his daily bread; and the spring of true and perpetual elevation is touched within him. He has begun to be a man; he becomes one of the elect of his race. Nor do I despair of this elevation of the laborer. Unhappily little, almost nothing has been done as yet, to inspire either rich or poor with the love of truth for its own sake, or for the life, and inspiration, and dignity it gives to the soul. The prosperous have as little of this prin-

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ciple as the laboring mass. I think, indeed, that the spirit of luxurious, fashionable life, is more hostile to it than the hardships of the poor. Under a wise culture, this principle may be awakened in all classes, and wherever awakened, it will form philosophers, successful and noble thinkers. These remarks seem to me particularly important, as showing how intimate a union subsists between the moral and intellectual nature, and how both must work together from the beginning. All human culture rests on a moral foundation, on an impartial, disinterested spirit, on a willingness to make sacrifices to the truth. Without this moral power, mere force of thought avails nothing towards our elevation.

I am aware that I shall be told that the work of thought which I have insisted on is difficult, that to collect and concentrate the mind for the truth is harder than to toil with the hands. Be it so. But are we weak enough to hope to rise without toil? Does any man, laborer or not, expect to invigorate body or mind without strenuous effort? Does not the child grow and get strength, by throwing a degree of hardship and vehemence and conflict into his very sports? Does not life without difficulty become insipid and joyless? Cannot a strong interest turn difficulty into pleasure? Let the love of truth, of which I have spoken, be awakened, and obstacles in the way to it will whet, not discourage, the mind, and inspire a new delight into its acquisition.

I have hitherto spoken of Force of Thought in general. My views will be given more completely and distinctly, by considering, next, the objects on which this force is to be exerted. These may be reduced to two classes, Matter and Mind; the physical world which

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falls under our eyes, and the spiritual world. The working man is particularly called to make matter his study, because his business is to work on it, and he works more wisely, effectually, cheerfully, and honorably, in proportion as he knows what he acts upon, knows the laws and forces of which he avails himself, understands the reason of what he does, and can explain the changes which fall under his eye. Labor becomes a new thing, when thought is thrown into it, when the mind keeps pace with the hands. Every farmer should study chemistry, so as to understand the elements or ingredients which enter into soils, vegetation, and manures, and the laws according to which they combine with and are loosened from one another. So, the mechanic should understand the mechanic powers, the laws of motion, and the history and composition of the various substances which he works on. Let me add, that the farmer and the mechanic should cultivate the perception of beauty. What a charm and new value might the farmer add to his grounds and cottage, were he a man of taste? The product of the mechanic, be it great or small, a house or a shoe, is worth more, sometimes much more, if he can succeed in giving it the grace of proportion. In France, it is not uncommon to teach drawing to mechanics, that they may get a quick eye and a sure hand, and may communicate to their works the attraction of beauty. Every man should aim to impart this perfection to his labors. The more of mind we carry into toil, the better. Without a habit of thought, a man works more like a brute or machine, than like a man. With it, his soul is kept alive amidst his toils. He learns to fix an observing eye on the processes of his trade, catches hints which

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abridge labor, gets glimpses of important discoveries, and is sometimes able to perfect his art. Even now, after all the miracles of invention which honor our age, we little suspect what improvements of machinery are to spring from spreading intelligence and natural science among workmen.

But I do not stop here. Nature is to engage our force of thought, not simply for the aid which the knowledge of it gives in working, but for a higher end. Nature should be studied for its own sake, because so wonderful a work of God, because impressed with his perfection, because radiant with beauty, and grandeur, and wisdom, and beneficence. A laborer, like every other man, is to be liberally educated, that is, he is to get knowledge, not only for his bodily subsistence, but for the life, and growth, and elevation of his mind. Am I asked, whether I expect the laborer to traverse the whole circle of the physical sciences? Certainly not; nor do I expect the merchant, or the lawyer, or preacher, to do it. Nor is this at all necessary to elevation of soul. The truths of physical science, which give greatest dignity to the mind, are those general laws of the creation, which it has required ages to unfold, but which an active mind, bent on self-enlargement, may so far study and comprehend, as to interpret the changes of nature perpetually taking place around us, as to see in all the forces of the universe the workings of one Infinite Power, and in all its arrangements the manifestation of one unsearchable wisdom.

And this leads me to observe the second great object on which force of thought is to be exerted, and that is Mind, Spirit, comprehending under this word, God and all his intelligent offspring. This is the subject of what

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are called the metaphysical and moral sciences. This is the grand field for thought; for the outward, material world is the shadow of the spiritual, and made to minister to it. This study is of vast extent. It comprehends theology, metaphysics, moral philosophy, political science, history, literature. This is a formidable list, and it may seem to include a vast amount of knowledge, which is necessarily placed beyond the reach of the laborer. But it is an interesting thought, that the key to these various sciences is given to every human being in his own nature, so that they are peculiarly accessible to him. How is it that I get my ideas of God, of my fellow-creatures, of the deeds, suffering, motives, which make up universal history? I comprehend all these from the consciousness of what passes in my own soul. The mind within me is a type, representative of all others, and therefore I can understand all. Whence come my conceptions of the intelligence, and justice, and goodness, and power of God? It is because my own spirit contains the germs of these attributes. The ideas of them are first derived from my own nature, and therefore I comprehend them in other beings. Thus the foundation of all the sciences, which treat of mind, is laid in every man's breast. The good man is exercising in his business and family, faculties and affections, which bear a likeness to the attributes of the divinity, and to the energies which have made the greatest men illustrious; so that in studying himself, in learning the highest principles and laws of his own soul, he is in truth studying God, studying all human history, studying the philosophy which has immortalized the sages of ancient and modern times. In every man's mind and life all other minds and lives are more or less represented

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and wrapped up. To study other things, I must go into the outward world, and perhaps go far. To study the science of spirit, I must come home and enter my own soul. The profoundest books that have ever been written, do nothing more than bring out, place in clear light, what is passing in each of your minds. So near you, so within you is the grandest truth.

I have indeed no expectation, that the laboror is to understand in detail the various sciences which relate to Mind. Few men in any vocation do so understand them. Nor is it necessary; though, where time can be commanded, the thorough study of some particular branch, in which the individual has a special interest, will be found of great utility. What is needed to elevate the soul is, not that a man should know all that has been thought and written in regard to the spiritual nature, not that a man should become an Encyclopædia, but that the Great Ideas, in which all discoveries terminate, which sum up all sciences, which the philosopher extracts from infinite details, may be comprehended and felt. It is not the quantity, but the quality of knowledge, which determines the mind's dignity. A man of immense information may, through the want of large and comprehensive ideas, be far inferior in intellect to a laborer, who, with little knowledge, has yet seized on great truths. For example, I do not expect the laborer to study theology in the ancient languages, in the writings of the Fathers, in the history of sects, &c. &c.; nor is this needful. All theology, scattered as it is through countless volumes, is summed up in the idea of God; and let this idea shine bright and clear in the laborer's soul, and he has the essence of theological libraries, and a far higher light than has visited thousands

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of renowned divines. A great mind is formed by a few great ideas, not by an infinity of loose details. I have known very learned men, who seemed to me very poor in intellect, because they had no grand thoughts. What avails it, that a man has studied ever so minutely the histories of Greece and Rome, if the great Ideas of Freedom, and Beauty, and Valor, and Spiritual Energy, have not been kindled by these records into living fires in his soul. The illumination of an age does not consist in the amount of its knowledge, but in the broad and noble principles, of which that knowledge is the foundation and inspirer. The truth is, that the most laborious and successful student is confined in his researches to a very few of God's works; but this limited knowledge of things may still suggest universal laws, broad principles, grand ideas, and these elevate the mind. There are certain thoughts, principles, ideas, which, by their nature, rule over all knowledge, which are intrinsically glorious, quickening, all-comprehending, eternal, and with these I desire to enrich the mind of the laborer and of every human being.

To illustrate my meaning, let me give a few examples of the Great Ideas which belong to the study or science of mind. Of course, the first of these, the grandest, the most comprehensive, is the idea of God, the Parent Mind, the Primitive and Infinite Intelligence. Every man's elevation is to be measured first and chiefly by his conception of this Great Being; and to attain a just, and bright, and quickening knowledge of Him, is the highest aim of thought. In truth, the great end of the universe, of revelation, of life, is to develope in us the idea of God. Much earnest, patient, laborious thought is required to see this Infinite Being as he is,

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to rise above the low, gross notions of the Divinity, which rush in upon us from our passions, from our selfish partialities, and from the low-minded world around us. There is one view of God particularly suited to elevate us. I mean the view of him as the "Father of our spirits"; as having created us with great powers to grow up to perfection; as having ordained all outward things, to minister to the progress of the soul; as always present to inspire and strengthen us, to wake us up to inward life, and to judge and rebuke our wrong-doing; as looking with parental joy on our resistance of evil; as desiring to communicate himself to our minds for ever. This one idea, expanded in the breast of the laborer, is a germ of elevation, more fruitful than all science, no matter how extensive or profound, which treats only of outward finite things. It places him in the first rank of human beings. You hear of great theologians. He only deserves the name, be his condition what it may, who has, by thought and obedience, purified and enlarged his conception of God.

From the idea of God, I proceed to another grand one, that of Man, of human nature; and this should be the object of serious, intense thought. Few men know, as yet, what a man is. They know his clothes, his complexion, his property, his rank, his follies, and his outward life. But the thought of his inward being, his proper humanity, has hardly dawned on multitudes; and yet, who can live a man's life, that does not know what is the distinctive worth of a human being? It is interesting to observe, how faithful men generally are to their idea of a man; how they act up to it. Spread the notion, that courage is true manhood, and how many will die rather than fall short of that standard; and hence,

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the true idea of a man, brought out in the laborer's mind, elevates him above every other class who may want it. Am I asked for my conception of the dignity of a human being? I should say, that it consists, first, in that spiritual principle, called sometimes the Reason, sometimes the Conscience, which, rising above what is local and temporary, discerns immutable truth, and everlasting right; which, in the midst of imperfect things, conceives of Perfection; which is universal and impartial, standing in direct opposition to the partial, selfish principles of human nature; which says to me with authority, that my neighbour is as precious as myself, and his rights as sacred as my own; which commands me to receive all truth, however it may war with my pride, and to do all justice, however it may conflict with my interest; and which calls me to rejoice with love in all that is beautiful, good, holy, happy, in whatever being these attributes may be found. This principle is a ray of Divinity in man. We do not know what man is, still something of the celestial grandeur of this principle in the soul may be discerned. There is another grand view of man, included indeed in the former, yet deserving distinct notice. He is a Free being; created to act from a spring in his own breast, to form himself and to decide his own destiny; connected intimately with nature, but not enslaved to it; connected still more strongly with God, yet not enslaved even to the Divinity, but having power to render or withhold the service due to his Creator; encompassed by a thousand warring forces, by physical elements which inflict pleasure and pain, by dangers seen and unseen, by the influences of a tempting, sinful world, yet endued by God with power to contend with all, to perfect himself by conflict with the very forces which threaten to over-

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whelm him. Such is the idea of a man. Happy he in whom it is unfolded by earnest thought.

Had I time, I should be glad to speak of other great ideas belonging to the science of mind, and which sum up and give us, in one bright expression, the speculations of ages. The idea of Human Life, of its true end and greatness; the idea of Virtue, as the absolute and ultimate good; the idea of Liberty, which is the highest thought of political science, and which by its intimate presence to the minds of the people, is the chief spring of our country's life and greatness, — all these might be enlarged on; and I might show how these may be awakened in the laborer, and may give him an elevation which many who are above labor want. But, leaving all these, I will only refer to another, one of the most important results of the science of mind, and which the laborer, in common with every man, may and should receive, and should strengthen by patient thought. It is the Idea of his Importance as an Individual. He is to understand that he has a value, not as belonging to a community, and contributing to a general good which is distinct from himself, but on his own account. He is not a mere part of a machine. In a machine the parts are useless, but as conducing to the end of the whole, for which alone they subsist. Not so a man. He is not simply a means, but an end, and exists for his own sake, for the unfolding of his nature, for his own virtue and happiness. True, he is to work for others, but not servilely, not with a broken spirit, not so as to degrade himself; he is to work for others from a wise self-regard, from principles of justice and benevolence, and in the exercise of a free will and intelligence, by which his own character is perfected. His individual dignity, not

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derived from birth, from success, from wealth, from outward show, but consisting in the indestructible principles of his soul, this ought to enter into his habitual consciousness. I do not speak rhetorically or use the cant of rhapsodists, but I utter my calm, deliberate conviction, when I say, that the laborer ought to regard himself with a self-respect, unknown to the proudest monarch who rests on outward rank.

I have now illustrated what I mean by the Great Ideas which exalt the mind. Their worth and power cannot be exaggerated. They are the mightiest influences on earth. One great thought breathed into a man may regenerate him. The idea of Freedom in ancient and modern republics, the idea of Inspiration in various religious sects, the idea of Immortality, how have these triumphed over worldly interests! How many heroes and martyrs have they formed! Great ideas are mighter than the passions. To awaken them is the highest office of education. As yet it has been little thought of. The education of the mass of the people has consisted in giving them mechanical habits, in breaking them to current usages and modes of thinking, in teaching religion and morality as traditions. It is time that a rational culture should take place of the mechanical; that men should learn to act more from ideas and principles, and less from blind impulse and undiscerning imitation.

Am I met here by the constantly recurring objection, that such great thoughts as have now been treated of, are not to be expected in the multitude of men, whose means of culture are so confined? To this difficulty I shall reply in the next lecture; but I wish to state a fact, or law of our nature, very cheering to those who, with few means, still pant for generous improvement. It is

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this, that great ideas come to us less from outward, direct, laborous teaching, than from indirect influences, and from the native working of our own minds; so that those who want the outward apparatus for extensive learning, are not cut off from them. Thus, laborious teachers may instruct us for years in God, and virtue, and the soul, and we may remain nearly as ignorant of them as at the beginning; whilst a look, a tone, an act of a fellow-creature, who is kindled by a grand thought, and who is thrown in our path at some susceptible season of life, will do much to awaken and expand this thought within us. It is a matter of experience, that the greatest ideas often come to us, when right-minded, we know not how. They flash on us as lights from heaven. A man seriously given to the culture of his mind in virtue and truth, finds himself under better teaching than that of man. Revelations of his own soul, of God's intimate presence, of the grandeur of the creation, of the glory of disinterestedness, of the deformity of wrong-doing, of the dignity of universal justice, of the might of moral principle, of the immutableness of truth, of immortality, and of the inward sources of happiness; these revelations, awakening a thirst for something higher then he is or has, come of themselves to an humble, self-improving man. Sometimes a common scene in nature, one of the common relations of life, will open itself to us with a brightness and pregnancy of meaning unknown before. Sometimes a thought of this kind forms an era in life. It changes the whole future course. It is a new creation And these great ideas are not confined to men of any class. They are communications of the Infinite Mind to all minds which are open to their reception; and labor is a far better condition for their reception than luxurious

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or fashionable life. It is even better than a studious life, when this fosters vanity, pride, and the spirit of jealous competition. A childlike simplicity attracts these revelations more than a selfish culture of intellect, however far extended. — Perhaps a caution should be added to these suggestions. In speaking of great ideas, as sometimes springing up of themselves, as sudden illuminations, I have no thought of teaching that we are to wait for them passively, or to give up our minds unthinkingly to their control. We must prepare ourselves for them by faithfulness to our own powers, by availing ourselves of all means of culture within our reach; and what is more, these illuminations, if they come, are not distinct, complete, perfect views, but glimpses, suggestions, flashes, given us, like all notices and impressions from the outward world, to be thought upon, to be made subjects of patient reflection, to be brought by our own intellect and activity into their true connexion with all our other thoughts. A great idea, without reflection, may dazzle and bewilder, may destroy the balance and proportion of the mind, and impel to dangerous excess. It is to awaken the free, earnest exertion of our powers, to rouse us from passiveness to activity and life, that inward inspirations, and the teachings of outward nature, are accorded to the mind.

I have thus spoken at large of that Force of Thought which the laborer is to seek as his true elevation; and I will close the subject with observing, that on whatever objects, or for whatever purposes this force may be exerted, one purpose should be habitually predominant, and that is, to gain a larger, clearer comprehension of all the duties of life. Thought cannot take too wide a range; but its chief aim should be to acquire juster and bright-

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er perceptions of the Right and the Good, in every relation and condition in which we may be placed. Do not imagine, that I am here talking professionally, or sliding unconsciously, by the force of habit, into the tone of the pulpit. The subject of Duty belongs equally to all professions and all conditions. It were as wise to think of living without breath, or of seeing without light, as to exclude moral and religious principle from the work of self-elevation. And I say this, because you are in danger of mistaking mere knowledge for improvement. Knowledge fails of its best end, when it does not minister to a high virtue. I do not say that we are never to think, read, or study, but for the express purpose of learning our duties. The mind must not be tied down by rigid rules. Curiosity, amusement, natural tastes, may innocently direct reading and study to a certain extent. Even in these cases, however, we are bound to improve ourselves morally as well as intellectually, by seeking truth and rejecting falsehood, and by watching against the taint which inheres in almost all human productions. What avails intellectual without moral power? How little does it avail us to study the outward world, if its greatness inspire no reverence of its Author, if its beneficence awaken no kindred love towards our fellow-creatures? How little does it avail us to study history, if the past do not help us to comprehend the dangers and duties of the present; if from the sufferings of those who have gone before us, we do not learn how to suffer, and from their great and good deeds how to act nobly; if the developement of the human heart, in different ages and countries, do not give us a better knowledge of ourselves? How little does literature benefit us, if the sketches of life and character, the generous

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sentiments, the testimonies to disinterestedness and rectitude, with which it abounds, do not incite and guide us to wiser, purer, and more graceful action? How little substantial good do we derive from poetry and the fine arts, if the beauty, which delights the imagination, do not warm and refine the heart, and raise us to the love and admiration of what is fair, and perfect, and lofty, in character and life? Let our studies be as wide as our condition will allow; but let this be their highest aim, to instruct us in our duty and happiness, in the perfection of our nature, in the true use of life, in the best direction of our powers. Then is the culture of intellect an unmixed good, when it is sacredly used to enlighten the conscience, to feed the flame of generous sentiment, to perfect us in our common employments, to throw a grace over our common actions, to make us sources of innocent cheerfulness and centres of holy influence, and to give us courage, strength, stability, amidst the sudden changes and sore temptations and trials of life

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LECTURE II.

In my last Lecture, I invited your attention to a subject of great interest, the elevation of the laboring portion of the community. I proposed to consider, first, in what this elevation consists; secondly, the objections which may be made to its practicableness; thirdly, the circumstances which now favor it, and give us hope that it will be more and more accomplished. In considering the first head, I began with stating in what the elevation of the laboring class does not consist, and then proceeded to show positively what it is, what it does consist in. I want time to retrace the ground over which we then travelled. I must trust to your memories. I was obliged by my narrow limits to confine myself chiefly to the consideration of the Intellectual Elevation which the laborer is to propose; though in treating this topic, I showed the moral, religious, social improvements which enter into his true dignity. I observed, that the laborer was to be a student, a thinker, an intellectual man as well as a laborer; and suggested the qualifications of this truth which are required by his peculiar employment, by his daily engagement in manual toil. I now come to consider the objections which spring up in many minds, when such views of the laborer's destiny are given. This is our second head.

First, it will be objected, that the laboring multitude

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cannot command a variety of books, or spend much time in reading; and how then can they gain the force of thought, and the great ideas, which were treated of in the former lecture? This objection grows out of the prevalent disposition to confound intellectual improvement with book-learning. Some seem to think, that there is a kind of magic in a printed page, that types give a higher knowledge than can be gained from other sources. Reading is considered as the royal road to intellectual eminence. This prejudice I have virtually set aside in my previous remarks; but it has taken so strong a hold of many as to need some consideration. I shall not attempt to repel the objection by decrying books. Truly good books are more than mines to those who can understand them. They are the breathings of the great souls of past times. Genius is not embalmed in them, as is sometimes said, but *lives* in them perpetually. But we need not many books to answer the great ends of reading. A few are better than many, and a little time given to a faithful study of the few will be enough to quicken thought and enrich the mind. The greatest men have not been book-men. Washington, it has often been said, was no great reader. The learning commonly gathered from books is of less worth than the truths we gain from experience and reflection. Indeed, most of the knowledge from reading, in these days, being acquired with little mental action, and seldom or never reflected on and turned to use, is very much a vain show. Events stirring the mind to earnest thought and vigorous application of its resources, do vastly more to elevate the mind, than most of our studies at the present time. Few of the books read among us deserve to be read. Most of them have no principle of life, as is proved by

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the fact, that they die the year of their birth. They do not come from thinkers, and how can they awaken thought? A great proportion of the reading of this city is useless, I had almost said pernicious. I should be sorry to see our laborers exchanging their toils for the reading of many of our young ladies and young gentlemen, who look on the intellect as given them for amusement, who read, as they visit, for amusement, who discuss no great truths and put forth no energy of thought on the topics which fly through their minds. With this insensibility to the dignity of the intellect, and this frittering away of the mind on superficial reading, I see not with what face they can claim superiority to the laboring mass, who certainly understand one thing thoroughly, that is, their own business, and who are doing something useful for themselves and their fellow-creatures. The great use of books is, to rouse us to thought; to turn us to questions which great men have been working on for ages; to furnish us with materials for the exercise of judgment, imagination, and moral feeling; to breathe into us a moral life from higher spirits than our own; and this benefit of books may be enjoyed by those who have not much time for retired study.

It must not be forgotten, by those who despair of the laboring classes because they cannot live in libraries, that the highest sources of truth, light, and elevation of mind, are not libraries, but our inward and outward experience. Human life, with its joys and sorrows, its burdens and alleviations, its crimes and virtues, its deep wants, its solemn changes, and its retributions, always pressing on us; what a library is this! and who may not study it? Every human being is a volume, worthy to be studied. The books which circulate most freely

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through the community, are those which give us pictures of human life. How much more improving is the original, did we know how to read it? The laborer has this page always open before him; and, still more, the laborer is every day writing a volume more full of instruction than all human productions, I mean, his own life. No work of the most exalted genius can teach us so much as the revelation of human nature in the secrets of our own souls, in the workings of our own passions, in the operations of our own intelligence, in the retributions which follow our own good and evil deeds, in the dissatisfaction with the present, in the spontaneous thoughts and aspirations, which form part of every man's biography. The study of our own history from childhood, of all the stages of our developement, of the good and bad influences which have beset us, of our mutations of feeling and purpose, and of the great current which is setting us towards future happiness or woe; this is a study to make us nobly wise; and who of us has not access to this fountain of eternal truth? May not the laborer study and understand the pages, which he is writing in his own breast?

In these remarks, I have aimed to remove the false notion into which laborers themselves fall, that they can do little towards acquiring force and fulness of thought, because in want of books. I shall next turn to prejudices more confined to other classes. A very common one is, that the Many are not to be called to think, study, improve their minds, because a privileged few are intended by God to do their thinking for them. "Providence," it is said, "raises up superior minds, whose office it is to discover truth for the rest of the

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race. Thinking and manual toil are not meant to go together. The division of labor is a great law of nature. One man is to serve society by his head, another by his hands. Let each class keep to its proper work." These doctrines I protest against. I deny to any individual or class this monopoly of thought. Who among men can show God's commission to think for his brethren, to shape passively the intellect of the mass, to stamp his own image on them as if they were wax? As well might a few claim a monopoly of light and air, of seeing and breathing, as of thought. Is not the intellect as universal a gift as the organs of sight and respiration? Is not truth as freely spread abroad as the atmosphere or the sun's rays? Can we imagine that God's highest gifts of intelligence, imagination, and moral power, were bestowed to provide only for animal wants? to be denied the natural means of growth, which is action? to be starved by drudgery? Were the mass of men made to be monsters? to grow only in a few organs and faculties, and to pine away and shrivel in others? or were they made to put forth all the powers of men, especially the best and most distinguishing? No man, not the lowest, is all hands, all bones and muscles. The mind is more essential to human nature, and more enduring, than the limbs; and was this made to lie dead? Is not thought the right and duty of all? Is not truth alike precious to all? Is not truth the natural aliment of the mind, as plainly as the wholesome grain is of the body? Is not the mind adapted to thought, as plainly as the eye to light, the ear to sound? Who dares to withhold it from its natural action, its natural element and joy? Undoubtedly some men are more gifted than others, and are

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marked out for more studious lives. But the work of such men is not to do others' thinking for them, but to help them to think more vigorously and effectually. Great minds are to make others great. Their superiority is to be used, not to break the multitude to intellectual vassalage, not to establish over them a spiritual tyranny, but to rouse them from lethargy, and to aid them to judge for themselves. The light and life which spring up in one soul are to be spread far and wide. Of all treasons against humanity, there is no one worse than his, who employs great intellectual force to keep down the intellect of his less favored brother.

It is sometimes urged by those who consider the multitude as not intended to think, that at best they can learn but little, and that this is likely to harm rather than to do them good. "A little learning," we are told, "is a dangerous thing." "Shallow draughts" of knowledge are worse than ignorance. The mass of the people, it is said, can go to the bottom of nothing; and the result of stimulating them to thought, will be the formation of a dangerous set of half-thinkers. To this argument, I reply, first, that it has the inconvenience of proving too much; for, if valid, it shows that none of any class ought to think. For who, I would ask, can go to the bottom of any thing? Whose "learning" is not "little"? Whose "draughts" of knowledge are not "shallow"? Who of us has fathomed the depths of a single product of nature or a single event in history? Who of us is not baffled by the mysteries in a grain of sand? How contracted the range of the widest intellect! But is our knowledge, because so little, of no worth? Are we to despise the lessons which

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are taught us in this nook of creation, in this narrow round of human experience, because an infinite universe stretches around us, which we have no means of exploring, and in which the earth, and sun and planets, dwindle to a point? We should remember, that the known, however little it may be, is in harmony with the boundless unknown, and a step towards it. We should remember, too, that the gravest truths may be gathered from a very narrow compass of information. God is revealed in his smallest work, as truly as in his greatest. The principles of human nature may be studied better in a family, than in the history of the world. The finite is a manifestation of the infinite. The great Ideas, of which I have formerly spoken, are within the reach of every man, who thirsts for truth and seeks it with singleness of mind. I will only add, that the laboring class are not now condemned to draughts of knowledge so shallow as to merit scorn. Many of them know more of the outward world than all the philosophers of antiquity; and Christianity has opened to them mysteries of the spiritual world, which kings and prophets were not privileged to understand. And are they, then, to be doomed to spiritual inaction, as incapable of useful thought?

It is sometimes said, that the multitude may think on the common business of life, but not on higher subjects, and especially on religion. This, it is said, must be received on authority; on this, men in general can form no judgment of their own. But this is the last subject on which the individual should be willing to surrender himself to others' dictation. In nothing has he so strong an interest. In nothing is it so important that his mind and heart should be alive and engaged.

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In nothing has he readier means of judging for himself. In nothing, as history shows, is he more likely to be led astray by such as assume the office of thinking for him. Religion is a subject open to all minds. Its great truths have their foundation in the soul itself, and their proofs surround us on all sides. God has not shut up the evidence of his being in a few books, written in a foreign language, and locked up in the libraries of colleges and philosophers; but has written his name on the heavens and on the earth, and even on the minutest animal and plant; and his word, taught by Jesus Christ, was not given to scribes and lawyers, but taught to the poor, to the mass of men, on mountains, in streets, and on the sea-shore. Let me not be told that the multitude do actually receive religion on authority, or on the word of others. I reply, that a faith so received seems to me of little worth. The precious, the living, the effectual part of a poor man's faith, is that, of which he sees the reasonableness and excellence; that, which approves itself to his intelligence, his conscience, his heart; that, which answers to deep wants in his own soul, and of which he has the witness in his own inward and outward experience. All other parts of his belief, those which he takes on blind trust, and in which he sees no marks of truth and divinity, do him little or no good. Too often they do him harm, by perplexing his simple reason, by substituting the fictions and artificial systems of theologians for the plain precepts of love, and justice, and humility, and filial trust in God. As long as it was supposed that religion is to benefit the world by laying restraints, awakening fears, and acting as a part of the system of police, so long it was natural to rely on authority and tradition as the means of its propa-

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gation; so long it was desirable to stifle thought and inquiry on the subject. But now that we have learned, that the true office of religion is to awaken pure and lofty sentiments, and to unite man to God by rational homage and enlightened love, there is something monstrous in placing religion beyond the thought and the study of the mass of the human race.

I proceed to another prejudice. It is objected, that the distinction of Ranks is essential to social order, and that this will be swept away by calling forth energy of thought in all men. This objection, indeed, though exceedingly insisted on in Europe, has nearly died out here; but still enough of it lingers among us to deserve consideration. I reply, then, that it is a libel on social order to suppose, that it requires for its support the reduction of the multitude of human beings to ignorance and servility; and that it is a libel on the Creator to suppose, that he requires as the foundation of communities, the systematic depression of the majority of his intelligent offspring. The supposition is too grossly unreasonable, too monstrous, to require labored refutation. I see no need of ranks, either for social order or for any other purpose. A great variety of pursuits and conditions is indeed to be desired. Men ought to follow their genius, and to put forth their powers in every useful and lawful way. I do not ask for a monotonous world. We are far too monotonous now. The vassalage of fashion, which is a part of rank, prevents continually the free expansion of men's powers. Let us have the greatest diversity of occupations. But this does not imply that there is a need of splitting society into castes or ranks, or that a certain number

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should arrogate superiority, and stand apart from the rest of men as a separate race. Men may work in different departments of life, and yet recognise their brotherly relation, and honor one another, and hold friendly communion with one another. Undoubtedly, men will prefer as friends and common associates, those with whom they sympathize most. But this is not to form a rank or caste. For example, the intelligent seek out the intelligent; the pious, those who reverence God. But suppose the intellectual and the religious to cut themselves off by some broad, visible distinction from the rest of society, to form a clan of their own, to refuse admission into their houses to people of inferior knowledge and virtue, and to diminish as far as possible the occasions of intercourse with them; would not society rise up, as one man, against this arrogant exclusiveness? And if intelligence and piety may not be the foundations of a caste, on what ground shall they, who have no distinction but wealth, superior costume, richer equipages, finer houses, draw lines around themselves and constitute themselves a higher class? That some should be richer than others is natural, and is necessary, and could only be prevented by gross violations of right. Leave men to the free use of their powers, and some will accumulate more than their neighbours. But, to be prosperous is not to be superior, and should form no barrier between men. Wealth ought not to secure to the prosperous the slightest consideration. The only distinctions which should be recognised are those of the soul, of strong principle, of incorruptible integrity, of usefulness, of cultivated intellect, of fidelity in seeking for truth. A man, in proportion as he has these claims, should be honored and welcomed everywhere. I see

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not why such a man, however coarsely if neatly dressed, should not be a respected guest in the most splendid mansions, and at the most brilliant meetings. A man is worth infinitely more than the saloons, and the costumes, and the show of the universe. He was made to tread all these beneath his feet. What an insult to humanity is the present deference to dress and upholstery, as if silkworms, and looms, and scissors, and needles could produce something nobler than a man! Every good man should protest against a caste founded on outward prosperity, because it exalts the outward above the inward, the material above the spiritual; because it springs from and cherishes a contemptible pride in superficial and transitory distinctions; because it alienates man from his brother, breaks the tie of common humanity, and breeds jealousy, scorn, and mutual ill-will. Can this be needed to social order?

It is true, that in countries where the mass of the people are ignorant and servile, the existence of a higher and a worshipped rank tends to keep them from outrage. It infuses a sentiment of awe, which prevents more or less the need of force and punishment. But it is worthy of remark, that the means of keeping order in one state of society, may become the chief excitement of discontent and disorder in another, and this is peculiarly true of aristocracy or high rank. In rude ages, this keeps the people down; but when the people by degrees have risen to some consciousness of their rights and essential equality with the rest of the race, the awe of rank naturally subsides, and passes into suspicion, jealousy, and sense of injury, and a disposition to resist. The very institution which once restrained, now provokes. Through this process the old world is

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now passing. The strange illusion, that a man, because he wears a garter or riband, or was born to a title, belongs to another race, is fading away; and society must pass through a series of revolutions, silent or bloody, until a more natural order takes place of distinctions which grew originally out of force. Thus, aristocracy instead of giving order to society, now convulses it. So impossible is it for arbitrary human ordinations permanently to degrade human nature, or subvert the principles of justice and freedom.

I am aware, that it will be said, "that the want of refinement of manners and taste in the lower classes, will necessarily keep them an inferior caste, even though all political inequalities be removed." I acknowledge this defect of manners in the multitude, and grant that it is an obstacle to intercourse with the more improved, though often exaggerated. But this is a barrier which must and will yield to the means of culture spread through our community. This evil is not necessarily associated with any condition of human life. An intelligent traveller* tells us, that in Norway, a country wanting many of our advantages, good manners and politeness are spread through all conditions; and that the "rough way of talking to and living with each other, characteristic of the lower classes of society in England, is not found there." Not many centuries ago, the intercourse of the highest orders in Europe was sullied by indelicacy and fierceness; but time has worn out these stains, and the same cause is now removing what is repulsive among those who toil with their hands. I cannot believe, that coarse manners, boisterous conversation, slovenly negligences, filthy customs, surliness,

* See Laing's Travels in Norway.

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indecency, are to descend by necessity from generation to generation in any portion of the community. I do not see, why neatness, courtesy, delicacy, ease, and deference to others' feelings, may not be made the habits of the laboring multitude. A change is certainly going on among them in respect to manners. Let us hope, that it will be a change for the better; that they will not adopt false notions of refinement; that they will escape the servile imitation of what is hollow and insincere, and the substitution of outward shows for genuine natural courtesy. Unhappily they have but imperfect models on which to form themselves. It is not one class alone which needs reform in manners. We all need a new social intercourse, which shall breathe genuine refinement; which shall unite the two great elements of politeness, self-respect and a delicate regard to the rights and feelings of others; which shall be free without rudeness, and earnest without positiveness; which shall be graceful, yet warm-hearted; and in which, communication shall be frank, unlabored, overflowing, through the absence of all assumption and pretence, and through the consciousness of being safe from heartless ridicule. This grand reform, which I trust is to come, will bring with it a happiness little known in social life; and whence shall it come? The wise and disinterested of all conditions must contribute to it; and I see not why the laboring classes may not take part in the work. Indeed, when I consider the greater simplicity of their lives and their greater openness to the spirit of Christianity, I am not sure but that the "golden age" of manners is to begin among those who are now despaired of for their want of refinement.

In these remarks, I have given the name of "prej-

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udices" to the old opinions respecting rank, and respecting the need of keeping the people from much thought. But allow these opinions to have a foundation in truth; suppose high fences of rank to be necessary to refinement of manners; suppose that the happiest of all ages were the feudal, when aristocracy was in its flower and glory, when the noble, superior to the laws, committed more murders in one year, than the multitude in twenty. Suppose it best for the laborer to live and die in thoughtless ignorance. Allow all this, and that we have reason to look with envy on the past; one thing is plain; the past is gone, the feudal castle is dismantled, the distance between classes greatly reduced. Unfortunate as it may be, the people have begun to think, to ask reasons for what they do and suffer and believe, and to call the past to account. Old spells are broken, old reliances gone. Men can no longer be kept down by pageantry, state-robes, forms, and shows. Allowing it to be best, that society should rest on the depression of the multitude, the multitude will no longer be quiet when they are trodden under foot, but ask impatiently for a reason why they too may not have a share in social blessings. Such is the state of things, and we must make the best of what we cannot prevent. Right or wrong, the people will think; and is it not important that they should think justly? that they should be inspired with the love of truth, and instructed how to seek it? that they should be established by wise culture in the great principles on which religion and society rest, and be protected from skepticism and wild speculation, by intercourse with enlightened and virtuous men? It is plain, that in the actual state of the world, nothing can avail us, but a real improvement of the mass of the

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people. No stable foundation can be laid for us but in men's minds. Alarming as the truth is, it should be told, that outward institutions cannot now secure us. Mightier powers than institutions have come into play among us, the judgment, the opinions, the feelings of the many; and all hopes of stability, which do not rest on the progress of the many, must perish.

But a more serious objection, than any yet considered, to the intellectual elevation of the laboring class, remains to be stated. It is said, "that the laborer can gain subsistence for himself and his family, only by a degree of labor which forbids the use of means of improvement. His necessary toils leave no time or strength for thought. Political economy, by showing that population outstrips the means of improvement, passes an irrepealable sentence of ignorance and degradation on the laborer. He can live but for one end, which is to keep himself alive. He cannot give time and strength to intellectual, social, and moral culture, without starving his family, and impoverishing the community. Nature has laid this heavy law on the mass of the people, and it is idle to set up our theories and dreams of improvement against nature."

This objection applies with great force to Europe, and is not without weight here. But it does not discourage me. I reply, first, to this objection, that it generally comes from a suspicious source. It comes generally from men who abound, and are at ease; who think more of property than of any other human interest; who have little concern for the mass of their fellow-creatures; who are willing that others should bear all the burdens of life, and that any social order

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should continue which secures to themselves personal comfort or gratification. The selfish epicure and the thriving man of business easily discover a natural necessity for that state of things, which accumulates on themselves all the blessings, and on their neighbour all the evils of life. But no man can judge what is good or necessary for the multitude, but he who feels for them, and whose equity and benevolence are shocked by the thought, that all advantages are to be monopolized by one set of men, and all disadvantages by another. I wait for the judgment of profound thinkers and earnest philanthropists on this point, a judgment formed after patient study of political economy, and human nature and human history; nor even on such authority shall I readily despair of the multitude of my race.

In the next place, the objection under consideration is very much a repetition of the old doctrine, that what has been must be; that the future is always to repeat the past, and society to tread for ever the beaten path. But can any thing be plainer, than that the present condition of the world is peculiar, unprecedented? that new powers and new principles are at work? that the application of science to art is accomplishing a stupendous revolution? that the condition of the laborer is in many places greatly improved, and his intellectual aids increased? that abuses, once thought essential to society, and which seemed entwined with all its fibres, have been removed? Do the mass of men stand where they did a few centuries ago? And do not new circumstances, if they make us fearful, at the same time keep us from despair? The future, be it what it may, will not resemble the past. The present has new elements, which must work out new weal or woe. We have no right, then,

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on the ground of the immutableness of human affairs, to quench, as far as we have power, the hope of social progress.

Another consideration, in reply to the objection that the necessary toils of life exclude improvement, may be drawn not only from general history, but from the experience of this country in particular. The working classes here have risen and are still rising intellectually, and yet there are no signs of starvation, nor are we becoming the poorest people on earth. By far the most interesting view of this country, is the condition of the working multitude. Nothing among us deserves the attention of the traveller so much, as the force of thought and character, and the self-respect awakened by our history and institutions in the mass of the people. Our prosperous classes are much like the same classes abroad, though, as we hope, of purer morals; but the great working multitude leave far behind them the laborers of other countries. No man of observation and benevolence can converse with them without being struck and delighted with the signs they give of strong and sound intellect and manly principle. And who is authorized to set bounds to this progress? In improvement the first steps are the hardest. The difficulty is to wake up men's souls, not to continue their action. Every accession of light and strength is a help to new acquisitions.

Another consideration, in reply to the objection, is, that as yet no community has seriously set itself to the work of improving all its members, so that what is possible remains to be ascertained. No experiment has been made, to determine how far liberal provision can be made at once for the body and mind of the laborer.

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The highest social art is yet in its infancy. Great minds have nowhere solemnly, earnestly undertaken to resolve the problem, how the multitude of men may be elevated. The trial is to come. Still more, the multitude have nowhere comprehended distinctly the true idea of Progress, and resolved deliberately and solemnly to reduce it to reality. This great thought, however, is gradually opening on them, and it is destined to work wonders. From themselves, their salvation must chiefly come. Little can be done for them by others, till a spring is touched in their own breasts ; and this being done, they cannot fail. The people, as history shows us, can accomplish miracles under the power of a great idea. How much have they often done and suffered in critical moments for country, for religion ? The great idea of their own elevation is only beginning to unfold itself within them, and its energy is not to be foretold. A lofty conception of this kind, were it once distinctly seized, would be a new life breathed into them. Under this impulse they would create time and strength for their high calling, and would not only regenerate themselves but the community.

Again, I am not discouraged by the objection, that the laborer, if encouraged to give time and strength to the elevation of his mind, will starve himself and impoverish the country, when I consider the energy and efficiency of Mind. The highest force in the universe is Mind. This created the heavens and earth. This has changed the wilderness into fruitfulness, and linked distant countries in a beneficent ministry to one another's wants. It is not to brute force, to physical strength, so much as to art, to skill, to intellectual and moral energy, that men owe their mastery over the world. It is

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mind which has conquered matter. To fear, then, that by calling forth a people's mind, we shall impoverish and starve them, is to be frightened at a shadow. I believe, that with the growth of intellectual and moral power in the community, its productive power will increase, that industry will become more efficient, that a wiser economy will accumulate wealth, that unimagined resources of art and nature will be discovered. I believe, that the means of living will grow easier, in proportion as a people shall become enlightened, self-respecting, resolute, and just. Bodily or material forces can be measured, but not the forces of the soul; nor can the results of increased mental energy be foretold. Such a community will tread down obstacles now deemed invincible, and turn them into helps. The Inward moulds the Outward. The power of a people lies in its mind; and this mind, if fortified and enlarged, will bring external things into harmony with itself. It will create a new world around it, corresponding to itself. If, however, I err in this belief, if, by securing time and means for improvement to the multitude, industry and capital should become less productive, I still say, Sacrifice the wealth, and not the mind of a people. Nor do I believe that the physical good of a community would in this way be impaired. The diminution of a country's wealth, occasioned by general attention to intellectual and moral culture, would be followed by very different effects from those which would attend an equal diminution brought about by sloth, intemperance, and ignorance. There would indeed be less production in such a country, but the character and spirit of the people would effect a much more equal distribution of what would be produced; and the happiness of a community depends

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vastly more on the distribution than on the amount of its wealth. In thus speaking of the future, I do not claim any special prophetical gift. As a general rule, no man is able to foretell distinctly the ultimate, permanent results of any great social change. But as to the case before us, we ought not to doubt. It is a part of religion to believe, that by nothing can a country so effectually gain happiness and lasting prosperity, as by the elevation of all classes of its citizens. To question this, seems an approach to crime.

> "If this fail,
> The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
> And earth's base built on stubble."

I am aware, that in reply to all that has been said in favor of the possibility of uniting self-improvement with labor, discouraging facts may be brought forward from our daily experience. It may be said, that in this country, under advantages unknown in other lands, there is a considerable number on whom the burden of toil presses very heavily, who can scarcely live with all their efforts, and who are cut off by their hard condition from the means of intellectual culture; and if this take place now, what are we to expect hereafter in a more crowded population? I acknowledge, that we have a number of depressed laborers, whose state is exceedingly unpropitious to the education of the mind; but this argument will lose much of its power, when we inquire into the causes of this evil. We shall then see, that it comes not from outward necessity, not from the irresistible obstacles abroad, but chiefly from the fault or ignorance of the sufferers themselves; so that the elevation of the mind and character of the laborer tends directly to

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reduce if not remove the evil. Of consequence, this elevation finds support in what is urged against it. In confirmation of these views, allow me just to hint at the causes of that depression of many laborers, which is said to show that labor and self-improvement cannot go on together.

First, how much of this depression is to be traced to Intemperance? What a great amount of time and strength, and money, might multitudes gain for self-improvement, by a strict sobriety? That cheap remedy, pure water, would cure the chief evils in very many families of the ignorant and poor. Were the sums which are still lavished on ardent spirits, appropriated wisely to the elevation of the people, what a new world we should live in! Intemperance not only wastes the earnings, but the health and the minds of men. How many, were they to exchange what they call moderate drinking for water, would be surprised to learn, that they had been living under a cloud, in half-stupefaction, and would become conscious of an intellectual energy of which they had not before dreamed? Their labors would exhaust them less; and less labor would be needed for their support; and thus their inability to cultivate their high nature, would in a great measure be removed. The working class, above all men, have an interest in the cause of temperance, and they ought to look on the individual, who lives by scattering the means and excitements of drunkenness, not only as the general enemy of his race, but as their own worst foe.

In the next place, how much of the depression of laborers may be traced to the want of a strict Economy. The prosperity of this country has produced a wastefulness, that has extended to the laboring multitude. A

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man, here, turns with scorn from fare that in many countries would be termed luxurious. It is, indeed, important that the standard of living in all classes should be high; that is, it should include the comforts of life, the means of neatness and order in our dwellings, and such supplies of our wants as are fitted to secure vigorous health. But how many waste their earnings on indulgences which may be spared, and thus have no resource for a dark day, and are always trembling on the brink of pauperism? Needless expenses keep many too poor for self-improvement. And here let me say, that expensive habits among the more prosperous laborers, often interfere with the mental culture of themselves and their families. How many among them sacrifice improvement to appetite! How many sacrifice it to the love of show, to the desire of outstripping others, and to habits of expense which grow out of this insatiable passion! In a country so thriving and luxurious as ours, the laborer is in danger of contracting artificial wants and diseased tastes; and to gratify these, he gives himself wholly to accumulation, and sells his mind for gain. Our unparalleled prosperity has not been an unmixed good. It has inflamed cupidity, has diseased the imagination with dreams of boundless success, and plunged a vast multitude into excessive toils, feverish competitions, and exhausting cares. A laborer having secured a neat home and a wholesome table, should ask nothing more for the senses; but should consecrate his leisure, and what may be spared of his earnings, to the culture of himself and his family, to the best books, to the best teaching, to pleasant and profitable intercourse, to sympathy and the offices of humanity, and to the enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art. Unhappily, the laborer, if pros-

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perous, is anxious to ape the rich man, instead of trying to rise above him, as he often may, by noble acquisitions. The young in particular, the apprentice and the female domestic, catch a taste for fashion, and on this altar sacrifice too often their uprightness, and almost always the spirit of improvement, dooming themselves to ignorance, if not to vice, for a vain show. Is this evil without remedy? Is human nature always to be sacrificed to outward decoration? Is the outward always to triumph over the inward man? Is nobleness of sentiment never to spring up among us? May not a reform in this particular begin in the laboring class, since it seems so desperate among the more prosperous? Cannot the laborer, whose condition calls him so loudly to simplicity of taste and habits, take his stand against that love of dress, which dissipates and corrupts so many minds among the opulent? Cannot the laboring class refuse to measure men by outward success, and pour utter scorn on all pretensions founded on outward show or condition? Sure I am, that were they to study plainness of dress and simplicity of living, for the purpose of their own true elevation, they would surpass in intellect, in taste, in honorable qualities, and in present enjoyment, that great proportion of the prosperous who are softened into indulgence or enslaved to empty show. By such self-denial, how might the burden of labor be lightened, and time and strength redeemed for improvement!

Another cause of the depressed condition of not a few laborers, as I believe, is their ignorance on the subject of Health. Health is the working-man's fortune, and he ought to watch over it, more than the capitalist over his largest investments. Health lightens the efforts of body and mind. It enables a man to crowd much work

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into a narrow compass. Without it little can be earned, and that little by slow, exhausting toil. For these reasons, I cannot but look on it as a good omen, that the press is circulating among us cheap works, in which much useful knowledge is given of the structure, and functions, and laws of the human body. It is in no small measure through our own imprudence that disease and debility are incurred, and one remedy is to be found in Knowledge. Once let the mass of the people be instructed in their own frames; let them understand clearly that disease is not an accident, but has fixed causes, many of which they can avert, and a great amount of suffering, want, and consequent intellectual depression will be removed.—I hope I shall not be thought to digress too far, when I add, that were the mass of the community more enlightened on these points, they would apply their knowledge, not only to their private habits, but to the government of the city, and would insist on municipal regulations favoring general health. This they owe to themselves. They ought to require a system of measures for effectually cleansing the city; for supplying it with pure water, either at public expense or by a private corporation; and for prohibiting the erection or the letting of such buildings as must generate disease. What a sad thought is it, that in this metropolis, the blessings which God pours forth profusely on bird and beast, the blessings of air, and light, and water, should, in the case of many families, be so stinted or so mixed with impurities, as to injure instead of invigorating the frame. With what face can the great cities of Europe and America boast of their civilization, when within their limits, thousands and ten thousands perish for want of God's freest, most lavish gifts! Can we expect improvement among

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people who are cut off from nature's common bounties, and want those cheering influences of the elements which even savages enjoy? In this city, how much health, how many lives are sacrificed to the practice of letting cellars and rooms which cannot be ventilated, which want the benefits of light, free air, and pure water, and the means of removing filth? We forbid by law the selling of putrid meat in the market. Why do we not forbid the renting of rooms, in which putrid, damp, and noisome vapors are working as sure destruction as the worst food? Did people understand, that they are as truly poisoned in such dens, as by tainted meat and decaying vegetables, would they not appoint commissioners for houses as truly as commissioners for markets? Ought not the renting of untenantable rooms, and the crowding of such numbers into a single room as must breed disease, and may infect a neighbourhood, be as much forbidden as the importation of a pestilence? I have enlarged on this point, because I am persuaded that the morals, manners, decencies, self-respect, and intellectual improvement, as well as the health and physical comforts of a people, depend on no outward circumstances more than on the quality of the houses in which they live. The remedy of the grievance now stated lies with the people themselves. The laboring people must require, that the health of the city shall be a leading object of the municipal administration, and in so doing they will protect at once the body and the mind.

I will mention one more cause of the depressed condition of many laborers, and that is, Sloth, "the sin which doth most easily beset us." How many are there, who, working languidly and reluctantly, bring little to pass, spread the work of one hour over many, shrink

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from difficulties which ought to excite them, keep themselves poor, and thus doom their families to ignorance as well as to want.

In these remarks, I have endeavoured to show, that the great obstacles to the improvement of the laboring classes are in themselves, and may therefore be overcome. They want nothing but the Will. Outward difficulty will shrink and vanish before them, just as far as they are bent on progress, just as far as the great idea of their own elevation shall take possession of their minds. I know, that many will smile at the suggestion, that the laborer may be brought to practise thrift and self-denial, for the purpose of becoming a nobler being. But such skeptics, having never experienced the power of a grand thought or generous purpose, are no judges of others. They may be assured, however, that enthusiasm is not wholly a dream, and that it is not wholly unnatural for individuals or bodies to get the idea of something higher and more inspiring than their past attainments.

III. Having now treated of the elevation of the laborer, and examined the objections to it, I proceed, in the last place, to consider some of the circumstances of the times which encourage hopes of the progress of the mass of the people. My limits oblige me to confine myself to very few. — And, first, it is an encouraging circumstance, that the respect for labor is increasing, or rather that the old prejudices against manual toil, as degrading a man or putting him in a lower sphere, are wearing away; and the cause of this change is full of promise; for it is to be found in the progress of intelligence, Christianity, and freedom, all of which cry aloud against the old barriers created between the different

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classes, and challenge especial sympathy and regard for those who bear the heaviest burdens, and create most of the comforts of social life. The contempt of labor of which I have spoken, is a relic of the old aristocratic prejudices, which formerly proscribed trade as unworthy of a gentleman, and must die out with other prejudices of the same low origin. And the results must be happy. It is hard for a class of men to respect themselves, who are denied respect by all around them. A vocation, looked on as degrading, will have a tendency to degrade those who follow it. Away, then, with the idea of something low in manual labor. There is something shocking to a religious man in the thought, that the employment, which God has ordained for the vast majority of the human race, should be unworthy of any man, even of the highest. If indeed there were an employment which could not be dispensed with, and which yet tended to degrade such as might be devoted to it, I should say that it ought to be shared by the whole race, and thus neutralized by extreme division, instead of being laid, as the sole vocation, on one man or a few. Let no human being be broken in spirit, or trodden under foot, for the outward prosperity of the State. So far is manual labor from meriting contempt or slight, that it will probably be found, when united with true means of spiritual culture, to foster a sounder judgment, a keener observation, a more creative imagination, and a purer taste, than any other vocation. Man thinks of the few, God of the many; and the many will be found at length to have within their reach, the most effectual means of progress.

Another encouraging circumstance of the times is the creation of a popular literature, which puts within

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the reach of the laboring class the means of knowledge in whatever branch they wish to cultivate. Amidst the worthless volumes which are every day sent from the press for mere amusement, there are books of great value in all departments, published for the benefit of the mass of readers. Mines of inestimable truth are thus open to all, who are resolved to think and learn. Literature is now adapting itself to all wants; and I have little doubt, that a new form of it will soon appear for the special benefit of the laboring classes. This will have for its object, to show the progress of the various useful arts, and to preserve the memory of their founders, and of men who have laid the world under obligation by great inventions. Every trade has distinguished names in its history. Some trades can number, among those who have followed them, philosophers, poets, men of true genius. I would suggest to the members of this Association, whether a course of lectures, intended to illustrate the history of the more important trades, and of the great blessings they have conferred on society, and of the eminent individuals who have practised them, might not do much to instruct, and at the same time to elevate them. Such a course would carry them far into the past, would open to them much interesting information, and at the same time introduce them to men whom they may well make their models. I would go farther. I should be pleased to see the members of an important trade setting apart an anniversary for the commemoration of those who have shed lustre on it by their virtues, their discoveries, their genius. It is time, that honor should be awarded on higher principles than have governed the judgment of past ages. Surely the inventor of the press, the discoverer of the compass, the men

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who have applied the power of steam to machinery, have brought the human race more largely into their debt, than the bloody race of conquerors, and even than many beneficent princes. Antiquity exalted into Divinities the first cultivators of wheat and the useful plants, and the first forgers of metals; and we, in these maturer ages of the world, have still greater names to boast in the records of useful art. Let their memory be preserved to kindle a generous emulation in those who have entered into their labors.

Another circumstance, encouraging the hope of progress in the laboring class, is to be found in the juster views they are beginning to adopt in regard to the education of their children. On this foundation, indeed, our hope for all classes must chiefly rest. All are to rise chiefly by the care bestowed on the young. Not that I would say, as is sometimes rashly said, that none but the young can improve. I give up no age as desperate. Men who have lived thirty, or fifty years, are not to feel as if the door was shut upon them. Every man who thirsts to become something better, has in that desire a pledge, that his labor will not be in vain. None are too old to learn. The world, from our first to our last hour, is our school, and the whole of life has but one great purpose, education. Still, the child, uncorrupted, unhardened, is the most hopeful subject, and vastly more, I believe, is hereafter to be done for children, than ever before, by the gradual spread of a simple truth, almost too simple, one would think, to need exposition, yet up to this day wilfully neglected, namely, that education is a sham, a cheat, unless carried on by able, accomplished teachers. The dignity of the

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vocation of a teacher is beginning to be understood. the idea is dawning on us, that no office can compare in solemnity and importance with that of training the child; that skill to form the young to energy, truth, and virtue, is worth more than the knowledge of all other arts and sciences; and that, of consequence, the encouragement of excellent teachers, is the first duty which a community owes to itself. I say, the truth is dawning; and it must make its way. The instruction of the children of all classes, especially of the laboring class, has as yet been too generally committed to unprepared, unskilful hands, and of course the school is in general little more than a name. The whole worth of a school lies in the teacher. You may accumulate the most expensive apparatus for instruction; but without an intellectual, gifted teacher, it is little better than rubbish; and such a teacher, without apparatus, may effect the happiest results. Our university boasts, and with justice, of its library, cabinets, and philosophical instruments; but these are lifeless, profitless, except as made effectual by the men who use them. A few eminent men, skilled to understand, reach, and quicken the minds of the pupils, are worth all these helps. And I say this, because it is commonly thought that the children of the laboring class cannot be advanced, in consequence of the inability of parents to furnish a variety of books and other apparatus. But in education, various books and implements are not the great requisites, but a high order of teachers. In truth, a few books do better than many. The object of education is not so much to give a certain amount of knowledge, as to awaken the faculties, and give the pupil the use of his own mind; and one book, taught by a man who knows how to ac-

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complish these ends, is worth more than libraries as usually read. It is not necessary, that much should be taught in youth, but that a little should be taught philosophically, profoundly, livingly. For example, it is not necessary, that the pupil be carried over the history of the world from the deluge to the present day. Let him be helped to read a single history wisely, to apply the principles of historical evidence to its statements, to trace the causes and effects of events, to penetrate into the motives of actions, to observe the workings of human nature in what is done and suffered, to judge impartially of action and character, to sympathize with what is noble, to detect the spirit of an age in different forms from our own, to seize the great truths which are wrapped up in details, and to discern a moral Providence, a retribution, amidst all corruptions and changes; let him learn to read a single history thus, and he has learned to read all histories; he is prepared to study, as he may have time in future life, the whole course of human events; he is better educated by this one book, than he would be by all the histories in all languages as commonly taught. The education of the laborer's children need never stop for want of books and apparatus. More of them would do good, but enough may be easily obtained. What we want is, a race of teachers acquainted with the philosophy of the mind, gifted men and women, who shall respect human nature in the child, and strive to touch and gently bring out his best powers and sympathies; and who shall devote themselves to this as the great end of life. This good I trust is to come, but it comes slowly. The establishment of normal schools shows that the want of it begins to be felt. This good requires, that education shall be recognised

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by the community, as its highest interest and duty. It requires, that the instructors of youth shall take precedence of the money-getting classes, and that the woman of fashion shall fall behind the female teacher. It requires, that parents shall sacrifice show and pleasure to the acquisition of the best possible helps and guides for their children. Not that a great pecuniary compensation is to create good teachers; these must be formed by individual impulse, by a genuine interest in education; but good impulse must be seconded by outward circumstances; and the means of education will always bear a proportion to the respect in which the office of teacher is held in the community.

Happily, in this country, the true idea of education, of its nature and supreme importance, is silently working and gains ground. Those of us who look back on half a century, see a real, great improvement in schools and in the standard of instruction. What should encourage this movement in this country is, that nothing is wanting here to the intellectual elevation of the laboring class, but that a spring should be given to the child, and that the art of thinking justly and strongly should be formed in early life; for, this preparation being made, the circumstances of future life will almost of themselves carry on the work of improvement. It is one of the inestimable benefits of free institutions, that they are constant stimulants to the intellect; that they furnish, in rapid succession, quickening subjects of thought and discussion. A whole people at the same moment are moved to reflect, reason, judge, and act on matters of deep and universal concern; and where the capacity of thought has received wise culture, the intellect, unconsciously, by an almost irresistible sympathy, is kept

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perpetually alive. The mind, like the body, depends on the climate it lives in, on the air it breathes; and the air of freedom is bracing, exhilarating, expanding, to a degree not dreamed of under a despotism. This stimulus of liberty, however, avails little, except where the mind has learned to think for the acquisition of truth. The unthinking and passionate are hurried by it into ruinous excess.

The last ground of hope for the elevation of the laborer, and the chief and the most sustaining, is the clearer developement of the principles of Christianity. The future influences of this religion are not to be judged from the past. Up to this time it has been made a political engine, and in other ways perverted. But its true spirit, the spirit of brotherhood and freedom, is beginning to be understood, and this will undo the work which opposite principles have been carrying on for ages. Christianity is the only effectual remedy for the fearful evils of modern civilization; a system which teaches its members to grasp at every thing, and to rise above everybody, as the great aims of life. Of such a civilization, the natural fruits are, contempt of others' rights, fraud, oppression, a gambling spirit in trade, reckless adventure, and commercial convulsions, all tending to impoverish the laborer and to render every condition insecure. Relief is to come, and can only come from the new application of Christian principles, of universal justice, and universal love, to social institutions, to commerce, to business, to active life. This application has begun, and the laborer, above all men, is to feel its happy and exalting influences.

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Such are some of the circumstances which inspire hopes of the elevation of the laboring classes. To these might be added other strong grounds of encouragement, to be found in the principles of human nature, in the perfections and providence of God, and in the prophetic intimations of his word. But these I pass over. From all, I derive strong hopes for the mass of men. I do not, cannot see, why manual toil and self-improvement may not go on in friendly union. I do not see, why the laborer may not attain to refined habits and manners as truly as other men. I do not see, why conversation under his humble roof may not be cheered by wit and exalted by intelligence. I do not see, why amidst his toils he may not cast his eye around him on God's glorious creation, and be strengthened and refreshed by the sight. I do not see, why the great ideas which exalt humanity, those of the Infinite Father, of Perfection, of our nearness to God, and of the purpose of our being, may not grow bright and strong in the laborer's mind. Society, I trust, is tending towards a condition, in which it will look back with astonishment at the present neglect or perversion of human powers. In the developement of a more enlarged philanthropy, in the diffusion of the Christian spirit of brotherhood, in the recognition of the equal rights of every human being, we have the dawn and promise of a better age, when no man will be deprived of the means of elevation but by his own fault; when the evil doctrine, worthy of the arch-fiend, that social order demands the depression of the mass of men, will be rejected with horror and scorn; when the great object of the community will be to accumulate means and influences for awakening and expanding the best powers of all classes; when far less

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will be expended on the body and far more on the mind; when men of uncommon gifts for the instruction of their race, will be sent forth to carry light and strength into every sphere of human life; when spacious libraries, collections of the fine arts, cabinets of natural history, and all the institutions by which the people may be refined and ennobled, will be formed and thrown open to all; and when the toils of life, by a wise intermixture of these higher influences, will be made the instruments of human elevation.

Such are my hopes of the intellectual, moral, religious, social elevation of the laboring class. I should not, however, be true to myself, did I not add, that I have fears as well as hopes. Time is not left me to enlarge on this point; but without a reference to it, I should not give you the whole truth. I would not disguise from myself or others the true character of the world we live in. Human imperfection throws an uncertainty over the future. Society, like the natural world, holds in its bosom fearful elements. Who can hope, that the storms which have howled over past ages, have spent all their force? It is possible, that the laboring classes, by their recklessness, their passionateness, their jealousies of the more prosperous, and their subserviency to parties and political leaders, may turn all their bright prospects into darkness, may blight the hopes which philanthropy now cherishes of a happier and holier social state. It is also possible, in this mysterious state of things, that evil may come to them from causes which are thought to promise them nothing but good. The present anxiety and universal desire is to make the country rich, and it is taken for granted that its growing wealth is necessarily to benefit all conditions.

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But is this consequence sure? May not a country be rich, and yet great numbers of the people be wofully depressed? In England, the richest nation under heaven, how sad, how degraded the state of the agricultural and manufacturing classes! It is thought, that the institutions of this country give an assurance, that growing wealth will here equally benefit and carry forward all portions of the community. I hope so; but I am not sure. At the present time a momentous change is taking place in our condition. The improvement in steam navigation has half annihilated the space between Europe and America, and by the progress of invention the two continents are to be more and more placed side by side. We hail this triumph of the arts with exultation. We look forward to the approaching spring when this metropolis is to be linked with England by a line of steam-boats, as a proud era in our history. That a great temporary excitement will be given to industry, and that our wealth and numbers will increase, admits no dispute; but this is a small matter. The great question is, Will the mass of the people be permanently advanced in the comforts of life, and still more, in intelligence and character, in the culture of their highest powers and affections? It is not enough to grow, if our growth is to resemble that of other populous places. Better continue as we are, better even decline, than tread in the steps of any great city, whether of past or present times. I doubt not, that under God's providence, the approximation of Europe and America is ultimately to be a blessing to both; but, without our vigilance, the nearer effects may be more or less disastrous. It cannot be doubted that, for a time, many among us, especially in the prosperous classes, will be more and more infected

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from abroad, will sympathize more with the institutions, and catch more the spirit and manners of the old world. As a people we want moral independence. We bow to "the great" of other countries, and we shall become for a time more and more servile in our imitation. But this, though bad, may not be the worst result. I would ask, what is to be the effect of bringing the laboring classes of Europe twice as near us as they now are? Is there no danger of a competition that is to depress the laboring classes here? Can the workman here stand his ground against the half-famished, ignorant workmen of Europe, who will toil for any wages, and who never think of redeeming an hour for personal improvement? Is there no danger, that with increasing intercourse with Europe, we shall import the striking, fearful contrasts, which there divide one people into separate nations? Sooner than that our laboring class should become a European populace, a good man would almost wish, that perpetual hurricanes, driving every ship from the ocean, should sever wholly the two hemispheres from each other. Heaven preserve us from the anticipated benefits of nearer connexion with Europe, if with these must come the degradation, which we see or read of among the squalid poor of her great cities, among the overworked operatives of her manufactories, among her ignorant and half-brutalized peasants. Any thing, every thing should be done to save us from the social evils which deform the old world, and to build up here an intelligent, right-minded, self-respecting population. If this end should require us to change our present modes of life, to narrow our foreign connexions, to desist from the race of commercial and manufacturing competition with Europe; if it should require, that our great cities

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should cease to grow, and that a large portion of our trading population should return to labor, these requisitions ought to be obeyed. One thing is plain, that our present civilization contains strong tendencies to the intellectual and moral depression of a large portion of the community; and this influence ought to be thought of, studied, watched, withstood, with a stern, solemn purpose of withholding no sacrifice by which it may be counteracted.

Perhaps the fears now expressed may be groundless. I do not ask you to adopt them. My end will be gained, if I can lead you to study, habitually and zealously, the influence of changes and measures on the character and condition of the laboring class. There is no subject on which your thoughts should turn more frequently than on this. Many of you busy yourselves with other questions, such as the probable result of the next election of President, or the prospects of this or that party. But these are insignificant, compared with the great question, Whether the laboring classes here are destined to the ignorance and depression of the lower ranks of Europe, or whether they can secure to themselves the means of intellectual and moral progress. You are cheated, you are false to yourselves, when you suffer politicians to absorb you in their selfish purposes, and to draw you away from this great question. Give the first place in your thoughts to this. Carry it away with you from the present lecture; discuss it together; study it when alone; let your best heads work on it; resolve that nothing shall be wanting on your part, to secure the means of intellectual and moral well-being to yourselves, and to those who may come after you.

In these lectures, I have expressed a strong interest

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in the laboring portion of the community; but I have no partiality to them considered merely as laborers. My mind is attracted to them, because they constitute the majority of the human race. My great interest is in Human Nature, and in the working classes as its most numerous representatives. To those who look on this nature with contempt or utter distrust, such language may seem a mere form, or may be construed as a sign of the predominance of imagination and feeling over the judgment. No matter. The pity of these skeptics I can return. Their wonder at my credulity cannot surpass the sorrowful astonishment with which I look on their indifference to the fortunes of their race. In spite of all their doubts and scoffs, human nature is still most dear to me. When I behold it manifested in its perfect proportions in Jesus Christ, I cannot but revere it as the true Temple of the Divinity. When I see it as revealed in the great and good of all times, I bless God for these multiplied and growing proofs of its high destiny. When I see it bruised, beaten down, stifled, by ignorance and vice, by oppression, injustice, and grinding toil, I weep for it, and feel that every man should be ready to suffer for its redemption. I do, and I must hope for its progress. But in saying this, I am not blind to its immediate dangers. I am not sure, that dark clouds and desolating storms are not even now gathering over the world. When we look back on the mysterious history of the human race, we see that Providence has made use of fearful revolutions as the means of sweeping away the abuses of ages, and of bringing forward mankind to their present improvement. Whether such revolutions may not be in store for our own times, I know not. The present civilization of the Christian

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world presents much to awaken doubt and apprehension. It stands in direct hostility to the great ideas of Christianity. It is selfish, mercenary, sensual. Such a civilization cannot, must not endure for ever. How it is to be supplanted, I know not. I hope, however, that it is not doomed, like the old Roman civilization, to be quenched in blood. I trust, that the works of ages are not to be laid low by violence, rapine, and the all-devouring sword. I trust, that the existing social state contains in its bosom something better than it has yet unfolded. I trust, that a brighter future is to come, not from the desolation, but from gradual, meliorating changes of the present. Among the changes to which I look for the salvation of the Modern world, one of the chief is, the intellectual and moral elevation of the laboring class. The impulses which are to reform and quicken society, are probably to come, not from its more conspicuous, but from its obscurer divisions; and among these, I see with joy new wants, principles, and aspirations, beginning to unfold themselves. Let what is already won, give us courage. Let faith in a parental Providence give us courage; and if we are to be disappointed in the present, let us never doubt, that the great interests of human nature are still secure under the eye and care of its Almighty Friend.

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NOTE FOR THE THIRD HEAD

UNDER the third head of the Lectures, in which some of the encouraging circumstances of the times are stated, I might have spoken of the singular advantages and means of progress enjoyed by the laborer in this metropolis. It is believed that there cannot be found another city in the world, in which the laboring classes are as much improved, possess as many helps, enjoy as much consideration, exert as much influence, as in this place. Had I pursued this subject, I should have done what I often wished to do ; I should have spoken of the obligations of our city to my excellent friend, JAMES SAVAGE, Esq., to whose unwearied efforts we are chiefly indebted for two inestimable institutions, the Provident Institution for Savings, and the Primary Schools ; the former giving to the laborer the means of sustaining himself in times of pressure, and the latter placing almost at his door the means of instruction for his children from the earliest age. The union of the Primary Schools with the Grammar Schools and the High Schools in this place, constitutes a system of public education unparalleled, it is believed, in any country. It would not be easy to name an individual to whom our city is under greater obligations than to Mr. Savage. In the enterprises which I have named, he was joined and greatly assisted by the late Elisha Ticknor, Esq., whose name ought also to be associated with the Provident Institution and the Primary Schools. The subject of these Lectures brings to my mind the plan of an

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institution, which was laid before me by Mr. Ticknor, for teaching at once Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts. He believed, that a boy might be made a thorough farmer, both in theory and practice, and might at the same time learn a trade, and that by being skilled in both vocations, he would be more useful, and would multiply his chances of comfortable subsistence. I was interested by the plan, and Mr. Ticknor's practical wisdom led me to believe that it might be accomplished.

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A

DISCOURSE

OCCASIONED BY

THE DEATH OF THE REV. DR. FOLLEN.

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On the 13th of January, 1840, the steamboat Lexington was burned on Long Island Sound, about fifty miles from New York. Of the crew and passengers only four escaped. Among the lost was the Rev. CHARLES FOLLEN, LL. D. These circumstances gave occasion to the following discourse, which was deferred, until all hope of the escape of Dr. Follen was taken away

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1 PETER iv. 19: "Wherefore, let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator."

THESE words suggest a great variety of thoughts, and might furnish topics for many discourses. I ask now your attention to the clause, in which we read of "them that suffer according to the will of God," or by divine ordination. I wish to speak of the sufferings of life in general, of their greatness, of their being ordained or intended by God, and of their consistency with his goodness, and I shall close with reflections suggested by the particular suffering which we have recently been called to deplore.

Suffering fills a large place in the present system. It is not an accident, an exception to the course of nature, a "strange work" exciting wonder as a prodigy, but it enters into every life, and may I not say, enters largely into every life. Undoubtedly, a great amount of suffering may be traced to human ignorance and guilt; and this will gradually disappear, in proportion to the progress of truth and virtue. Still, under the

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imperfections which seem inseparable from this first stage of our being, a great amount will remain. Youth is slow to see this. Youth, unable to sympathize with and appreciate sorrows which it has not felt, and throwing the light of its own native joyousness over the future, dreams sometimes of a paradise on earth. But how soon does it find that blighting changes, solemn events, break in sternly, irresistibly on its path! And even when the outward life is smooth and prosperous, how soon does it find in its vehement affections, its unrequited friendships, its wounded pride, its unappeased thirst for happiness, fountains of bitterer grief than comes from abroad! Sometimes the religious man, with good intentions, but wanting wisdom and strength, tries to palliate the evils of life, to cover its dark features, to exaggerate its transient pleasures, for the purpose of sheltering God's goodness from reproach. But this will not avail. The truth cannot be hidden. Life is laid open to every eye, as well as known by each man's experience; and we do and must see that suffering, deep suffering, is one of the chief elements in our lot. It is not a slender, dark thread, winding now and then through a warp of dazzling brightness; but is interwoven with the whole texture. Not that suffering exceeds enjoyment; not that life, if viewed simply in reference to pleasure, is not a great good. But to every man it is a struggle. It has heavy burdens, deep wounds for each; and this I state, that we may all of us understand, that suffering is not accidental, but designed for us, that it enters into God's purpose, that it has a great work to do, and that we know nothing of life till we comprehend its uses, and have learned how to accomplish them.

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God intends that we shall suffer. It is sometimes said, that he has created nothing for the purpose of giving pain, but that every contrivance in the system has good for its object. The teeth are made to prepare food for digestion, not to ache; the lungs, to inhale the refreshing air, not to ripen the seeds of consumption. All this is true, and a beautiful illustration of kind purpose in the Creator. But it is also true, that every organ of the body, in consequence of the delicacy of its structure, and its susceptibility of influences from abroad, becomes an inlet of acute pain. It is a remarkable fact, that we know the inward organs chiefly by the pain they have given. The science of anatomy has grown almost wholly out of the exposure of the frame to suffering; and what an amount of suffering springs from this source? A single nerve may thrill us with agony. Sleep, food, friends, books, all may be robbed of their power to interest, by the irritation of a little bunch of fibres, which the naked eye can hardly trace. After the study of ages, the science of medicine has not completed the catalogue of diseases; and how little can its ministrations avert their progress, or mitigate their pains! Undoubtedly this class of pains may be much diminished by a wise self-restraint; but the body, inheriting disease from a long line of ancestors, and brought into conflicts with the mighty elements around it, must still be the seat of much suffering. These elements, how grand, how expressive of God's majesty and goodness; yet how fearful! What avails the strength of the body against thunders, whirlwinds, fierce waves, and fiercer flames, against "the pestilence which walketh in darkness," or the silent exhalation which wasteth at noon-day! Thus, pain comes from God's provisions for the animal frame: and how

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much comes from the spirit, and from the very powers and affections which make the glory of our nature! Our reason, how is it darkened by prejudice instilled in early years; how often is it called to decide amidst conflicting and nearly balanced arguments; how often does its light fail, in the most critical moments of life! How do we suffer from wrong judgments which we had not means to correct! How often does this high power sympathize with the suffering body, and, under nervous disease, sometimes undergo total eclipse! Then our Love, the principle which thirsts, burns for companionship, sympathy, confidence, how often is it repelled by coldness, or wounded by neglect, or tortured by inconstancy! Sometimes its faith in virtue is shaken by the turpitude of those to whom it has given its trust. And when true love finds true requital, the uncertainty of life mixes trembling with its joy, and bereavement turns it into anguish. There are still deeper pains, those of the conscience, especially when it wakes from long sleep, when it is startled by new revelations of slighted duties, of irreparable wrongs to man, of base unfaithfulness to God. The conscience! what misgivings, apprehensions, and piercing self-rebuke accompany its ministry, when it first enters on earnest warfare with temptation and passion! Thus, suffering comes to us through and from our whole nature. It cannot be winked out of sight. It cannot be thrust into a subordinate place in the picture of human life. It is the chief burden of history. It is the solemn theme of one of the highest departments of literature, the tragic drama. It gives to fictions their deep interest. It wails through much of our poetry. A large part of human vocations are intended to shut up some of its avenues. It has left traces on every human countenance, over which years

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have passed. It is, to not a few, the most vivid recollection of life.

I have thus taken a rapid survey of Life, to show you that suffering is not an accident, not something which now and then slides into the order of events, because too unimportant to require provision against its recurrence, but that it is one of the grand features of life, one of the chief ministers of providence. But all these details of suffering might be spared. There is one simple thought, sufficient of itself to show that suffering is the intention of the Creator. It is this. We are created with a susceptibility of pain, and severe pain. This is a part of our nature, as truly as our susceptibility of enjoyment. God has implanted it, and has thus opened in the very centre of our being a fountain of suffering. We carry it within us, and can no more escape it than we can our power of thought. We are apt to throw our pains on outward things as their causes. It is the fire, the sea, the sword, or human enmity which gives us pain. But there is no pain in the fire or the sword which passes thence into our souls. The pain begins and ends in the soul itself. Outward things are only the occasions. Even the body has no pain in it, which it infuses into the mind. Of itself, it is incapable of suffering. This hand may be cracked, crushed in the rack of the inquisitor, and that burned in a slow fire; but in these cases it is not the fibres, the blood-vessels, the bones of the hand which endure pain. These are merely connected by the will of the Creator with the springs of pain in the soul. Here, here is the only origin and seat of suffering. If God so willed, the gashing of the flesh with a knife, the piercing of the heart with a dagger, might be the occasion of exquisite delight. We know that, in the heat of

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battle, a wound is not felt, and that men, dying for their faith by instruments of torture, have expired with triumph on their lips. In these cases, the spring of suffering in the mind is not touched by the lacerations of the body, in consequence of the absorbing action of other principles of the soul. All suffering is to be traced to the susceptibility, the capacity of pain, which belongs to our nature, and which the Creator has implanted ineradicably within us. It is not enough to say, that the elements, or any outward or bodily influences, are the sources of suffering. This is to stop at the surface. The outward agent only springs a mine, a fountain within us. O the great deep of suffering in every human breast! Probably most of us have experienced pains more intense than any pleasures we have ever enjoyed. In the present stage of our being, the capacity of agony gets the start of, or is more largely developed, than the capacity of rapturous joy. Our most vehement emotions are those of sorrow; nor is there any way of escaping suffering. Among the most prosperous, the heart often aches, it knows not why. Sighs are heaved from the breast apparently without cause. Every soul has its night as well as its day; and a darkness sometimes gathers over nature and life which must come from within, for nothing abroad has occurred to depress us.

To diminish this weight of suffering is one great end of human toils and cares. A thousand arts are plied to remove outward causes of pain; and how many contrivances are there of amusement and dissipation, to quiet the restlessness, to soothe the irritations, to fill the aching void, which belong to the spirit! But, I apprehend, little has been yet achieved by all the labor; nor can much be done but by a deep working, which statesmen

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and the busy crowd seldom or never dream of. It is thought, indeed, that modern civilization has diminished very much the evils of life. But when we take into the account the immense amount of toil by which our accommodations are accumulated, and the tendencies of comforts and luxuries to soften the spirit, to weaken its self-command, and increase its sensibility to hardships and exposure, I suspect that our debt is not very great to civilization, considered as the antagonist of physical pain; and as to the sufferings which spring from mental causes, from the conscience, the passions, the affections, we cannot doubt, that as yet they have been vastly heightened by our civilization. Not that I deny, that arts and civilization are great goods; but they prove such, only when they make progress in union with the higher principles of our nature, only when they forward and are subordinated to a spiritual regeneration, of which society as yet gives few signs.

It may be said, that I have given a dark picture of the government of God; and I may be asked how his goodness is to be vindicated. I reply, that I am less and less anxious to make formal vindications of the goodness of God. It needs no advocate. It will take care of itself. In spite of clouds, men, who have eyes, believe in the sun, and none but the blind can seriously question the Creator's goodness. We hear, indeed, of men led into doubts on this point by their sufferings; but these doubts have generally a deeper source than the evils of life. Such skepticism is a moral disease, the growth of some open or lurking depravity. It is not created, but brought into light, by the pressure of suffering. It is indeed true, that a good man, in seasons of peculiar, repeated,

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pressing calamities, may fall into dejection and perplexity. His faith may tremble for the moment. The passing cloud may hide the sun. But deliberate, habitual questionings of God's benevolence, argue great moral deficiency. Whoever sees the glory, and feels within himself the power of disinterested goodness, is quick to recognise it in others, especially in his Creator. He sees in his own love a sign, expression, and communication of Uncreated, Unbounded, All-originating Love. The idea of malignity in the Infinite Creator shocks his moral nature just as a palpable contradiction offends his reason. He repels it with indignation and horror. Suffering has little to do towards creating a settled skepticism. The most skeptical men, the most insensible to God's goodness, the most prone to murmur, may be found among those who are laden above all others with the goods of life, whose cup overflows with prosperity, and who by an abuse of prosperity have become selfish, exacting, and all alive to inconveniences and privations. These are the cold-hearted and doubting. If I were to seek those whose conviction of God's goodness is faintest and most easily disturbed, I would seek them in the palace sooner than the hovel. I would go to the luxurious table, to the pillow of ease, to those among us who abound most, to the self-exalting, the self-worshipping, not to the depressed and forsaken. The profoundest sense of God's goodness which it has been my privilege to witness, I have seen in the countenance and heard from the lips of the suffering. I have found none to lean on God with such filial trust, as those whom he has afflicted. I doubt, indeed, if true gratitude and true confidence ever spring up in the human soul, until it has suffered. A superficial, sentimental recognition of God's

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goodness may indeed be found among those who have lived only to enjoy. But deep, strong, earnest piety strikes root in the soil which has been broken and softened by calamity. Such, I believe, is the observation of every man who has watched the progress of human character; and therefore I say, that I fear very little the influence of suffering in producing skepticism. Still, virtuous minds are sometimes visited with perplexities, with painful surprise; and in seasons of peculiar calamity, the question is asked with reverence, but still with anxiety, How is it, that so much suffering is experienced under a Being of perfect goodness? and such passing clouds are apt to darken us in earlier life, and in the earlier stages of the Christian character. On this account, it is right to seek and communicate such explanations as may be granted us of the ways of God.

One of the most common vindications of divine benevolence is found in the fact, that, much as men suffer, they enjoy more. We are told, that there is a great balance of pleasure over pain, and that it is by what prevails in a system, that we must judge of its author. This view is by no means to be overlooked. It is substantially true. There is a great excess of enjoyment, of present good in life. The pains of sickness may indeed be intenser than the pleasures of health, but health is the rule, and sickness the exception. A few are blind, or deaf, or speechless; but almost all men maintain, through the open eye and ear, perpetual communication with outward nature and one another. Some may be broken down with excessive toil; but to the great mass of men, labor is healthful, invigorating, and gives a zest to repose, and to the common blessings of life. We all suffer more or less from our connexion

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with imperfect fellow-creatures; but how much more of good comes to us from our social nature, from the sympathies and kind offices of families, friends, neighbours, than of pain from malignity and wrongs! There is indeed a great amount of suffering, and there is an intensity in suffering not found in pleasure; and yet, when we take a broad view, we must see a much greater amount of gratification. The world is not an hospital, an alms-house, a dungeon. A beautiful sun shines on it. Flowers and fruits deck its fields. A reviving atmosphere encompasses it, and man has power, by arts and commerce, to multiply and spread almost indefinitely its provision for human wants. Here is an eloquent testimony to the goodness of the Creator. And yet the obstinate skeptic may escape its power. He will say, Be it granted, that pleasure prevails over pain; still is not much pain inflicted? and how can this be reconciled with perfect goodness? Does a kind father satisfy himself with giving a greater amount of enjoyment than of suffering? Suppose a parent to heap on a child every possible indulgence for twenty hours of the day, and to visit him with severe pain the remaining four, should we celebrate his tenderness? Besides, it will be added, are there not individual cases, in which suffering outweighs enjoyment? Are there none, whose lives have been filled up with disease and want; and be these ever so few, they disprove God's love to every human being, if this love is to be vindicated by the excess of pleasure over pain. I state these objections, not because they weigh in the least on my own mind, but because they show, that the argument in favor of divine goodness, drawn from the passing events of life, is not of itself a sufficient foundation for faith to rest on.

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Whoever confines his view to the alternations of good and evil in every man's lot, cannot well escape doubt. We must take higher ground. We must cease to count pleasures and pains, as if working a sum in arithmetic, or to weigh them against each other as in scales. We need larger views of ourselves and the universe, and these will more and more establish our faith in the perfection of God.

There is a grand vindication of God's benevolence, not reaching indeed to every case of suffering, not broad enough to cover the whole ground of human experience, but still so comprehensive, so sublime, as to assure us, that what remains obscure would be turned into light, could all its connexions be discerned. This is found in the truth, that benevolence has a higher aim than to bestow enjoyment. There is a higher good than enjoyment; and this requires suffering in order to be gained. As long as we narrow our view of benevolence, and see in it only a disposition to bestow pleasure, so long life will be a mystery; for pleasure is plainly not its great end. Earth is not a paradise, where streams of joy gush out unbidden at our feet, and uncloying fruits tempt us on every side to stretch out our hands and eat. But this does not detract from God's love; because he has something better for us than gushing streams or profuse indulgence. When we look into ourselves, we find something besides capacities and desires of pleasure. Amidst the selfish and animal principles of our nature, there is an awful power, a sense of Right, a voice which speaks of Duty, an idea grander than the largest personal interest, the Idea of Excellence, of Perfection. Here is the seal of Divinity on us; here the sign of our descent from God. It is in this gift that we see the

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benevolence of God. It is in writing this inward law on the heart, it is in giving us the conception of Moral Goodness, and the power to strive after it, the power of self-conflict and self-denial, of surrendering pleasure to duty, and of suffering for the right, the true, and the good; — it is in thus enduing us, and not in giving us capacities of pleasure, that God's goodness shines; and of consequence, whatever gives a field, and excitement, and exercise, and strength, and dignity to these principles of our nature, is the highest manifestation of benevolence. I trust I speak a language, to which all who hear me in some measure respond. You know, you feel the difference between excellence and indulgence, between conscience and appetite, between right-doing and prosperity, between strivings to realize the idea of perfection and strivings for gain. No one can wholly overlook these different elements within us; and can any one question which is God's greatest gift, or for what ends such warring principles are united in our souls?

The end of our being is to educate, bring out, and perfect, the divine principles of our nature. We were made and are upheld in life for this as our great end, that we may be true to the principle of duty within us; that we may put down all desire and appetite beneath the inward law; that we may enthrone God, the infinitely perfect Father, in our souls; that we may count all things as dross, in comparison with sanctity of heart and life; that we may hunger and thirst for righteousness, more than for daily food; that we may resolutely and honestly seek for and communicate truth; that disinterested love and impartial justice may triumph over every motion of selfishness and every tendency to wrong-doing; in a word, that our whole lives, labors, conver-

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sation, may express and strengthen reverence for our selves, for our fellow-creatures, and above all for God. Such is the good for which we are made; and in order to this triumph of virtuous and religious principles, we are exposed to temptation, hardship, pain. Is suffering, then, inconsistent with God's love?

Moral, spiritual excellence, that which we confide in and revere, is not, and from its nature cannot be, an instinctive, irresistible feeling infused into us from abroad, and which may grow up amidst a life of indulgence and ease. It is, in its very essence, a free activity, an energy of the will, a deliberate preference of the right and the holy to all things, and a chosen cheerful surrender of every thing to these. It grows brighter, stronger, in proportion to the pains it bears, the difficulties it surmounts. Can we wonder that we suffer? Is not suffering the true school of a moral being? As administered by providence, may it not be the most necessary portion of our lot?

Had I time I might show how suffering ministers to human excellence; how it calls forth the magnanimous and sublime virtues, and at the same time nourishes the tenderest, sweetest sympathies of our nature; how it raises us to energy and to the consciousness of our powers, and at the same time infuses the meekest dependence on God; how it stimulates toil for the goods of this world, and at the same time weans us from it, and lifts us above it. I might tell you, how I have seen it admonishing the heedless, reproving the presumptuous, humbling the proud, rousing the sluggish, softening the insensible, awakening the slumbering conscience, speaking of God to the ungrateful, infusing courage and force and faith and unwavering hope of

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Heaven. I do not, then, doubt God's beneficence on account of the sorrows and pains of life. I look without gloom on this suffering world. True; suffering abounds. The wail of the mourner comes to me from every region under heaven; from every human habitation, for death enters into all; for the ocean, where the groan of the dying mingles with the solemn roar of the waves; from the fierce flame, encircling, as an atmosphere or shroud, the beloved, the revered. Still all these forms of suffering do not subdue my faith, for all are fitted to awaken the human soul, and through all it may be glorified. We shrink indeed with horror, when imagination carries us to the blazing, sinking vessel, where young and old, the mother and her child, husbands, fathers, friends, are overwhelmed by a common, sudden, fearful fate. But the soul is mightier than the unsparing elements. I have read of holy men, who, in days of persecution, have been led to the stake, to pay the penalty of their uprightness, not in fierce and suddenly destroying flames, but in a slow fire; and, though one retracting word would have snatched them from death, they have chosen to be bound; and, amidst the protracted agonies of limb burning after limb, they have looked to God with unwavering faith and sought forgiveness for their enemies. What, then, are outward fires to the celestial flame within us? And can I feel, as if God had ceased to love, as if man were forsaken of his Creator, because his body is scattered into ashes by the fire? It would seem, as if God intended to disarm the most terrible events of their power to disturb our faith, by making them the occasions of the sublimest virtues. In shipwrecks, we are furnished with some of the most remarkable examples, that history affords,

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of trust in God, of unconquerable energy, and of tender, self-sacrificing love, making the devouring ocean the most glorious spot on earth. A friend rescued from a wreck told me, that a company of pious Christians, who had been left in the sinking ship, were heard from the boat in which he had found safety, lifting up their voices not in shrieks or moans, but in a joint hymn to God, thus awaiting, in a serene act of piety, the last, swift approaching hour. How much grander was that hymn than the ocean's roar! And what becomes of suffering, when thus awkening into an energy, otherwise unknown, the highest sentiments of the soul. I can shed tears over human griefs; but thus viewed they do not discourage me; they strengthen my faith in God.

I will not say, that I have now offered a sufficient explanation of the evils of life, a complete vindication of God's Providence in the permission of suffering. Do not think me so presumptuous. What! shall a weak man, who is but dust and ashes, talk of vindicating fully the providence of God? That providence, could I explain it, would not be Infinite. In this our childhood, plunged as we are into the midst of a boundless universe, we must expect to find mysteries on every side of us. Darkness must hem in all our steps. I presume not to say why this or that event has befallen us. I bow my head with filial reverence before the Infinite Disposer. How little of him do I, can I, comprehend! Still he vouchsafes to us some light in this our darkness. Still he has given us, in our own spirits, some cheering revelations of the designs of his vast mysterious providence; and these we are gratefully to receive, and to use them as confirmations of our faith and hope.

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I have been led to this subject by the appalling calamity, which for a few days past has filled so many of our thoughts, and awakened universal sympathy in our community. I was driven by this awful visitation of God's providence to turn my mind to the sufferings of human life, and some of my reflections I have now laid before you. It is not my desire to bring back to your imaginations that affecting scene. Our imaginations in such seasons need no quickening. They often scare us with unreal terrors, and thus our doubts of God's goodness are aggravated by the fictions of our own diseased minds. Most of us are probably destined to pass through more painful, because more lingering deaths, than the lamented sufferers, who have within a few days been so suddenly summoned to the presence of God. The ocean is a softer, less torturing bed, than that which is to be spread for many here. It was not the physical pain which I shuddered at, when I first heard of that night of horrors. It was the mental agony of those, who, in a moment of health and security, were roused to see distinctly the abyss opening beneath them, to see God's awful ministers of fire and sea commissioned to sunder at once every hold on life, and to carry them so unwarned into the unknown world. Even this agony, however, in the first moment of our grief and horror, was perhaps exaggerated. When my mind, composed by time, now goes back to that flame-encircled boat, I search for one among the crowd, who was singularly dear to me, the close and faithful friend of many years; and as he rises to my mind, I see no terror on his countenance. I see him with collected mind and quick eye looking round him for means of escape, using every energy of a fearless spirit, thoughtful too of others as well

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as of himself, and desisting from no efforts of love and prudence till the power of effort failed. I see indeed one agony; it was the thought, that the dear countenances of wife and child and beloved friend were to be seen no more on earth. I see another, perhaps deeper agony; it was the thought of the woe, which his loss was to inflict on hearts dearer to him than life. But even at that hour his love was not all agony; for it had always lived in union with faith. He had loved spiritually; he had reverenced in his friends an infinite, undying nature; he had cherished in them principles and hopes stronger than death. I cannot doubt that in that fearful hour, he committed them and himself with filial trust to the all-merciful Father. I cannot doubt, that death was disarmed of its worst terrors, that the spirit passed away in breathings of unutterable love and immortal hope. Thus died one of that seemingly forlorn, desolate, forsaken company; I hope, thus others died. But one such example mingles with the terrors and agonies of that night so much that is heavenly, soothing, cheering, that I can look at the scene without overwhelming gloom, and without one doubt of the perfect goodness of God.

The friend to whom I have referred, was not only my friend, but most dear to several who worship in this house. For their sakes, more than my own, I would say something of his character; though in truth, I have a higher object than to minister to any private grief. This is not the place for the utterance of personal feeling. This house was reared not for the glory even of the best and the greatest of men, but for the glory of God, and for the spiritual edification of his worshippers. I feel, however, that God is honored and man edified,

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by notices of such of our race as have signally manifested the spirit of the Divinity in their lives, and have left a bright path to guide others to a better world.

The friend of whom I speak, was one of the few who seem set apart from the race by blamelessness of life and elevation of spirit. All who have had opportunities of knowing him will testify, by a spontaneous impulse, that they knew no purer, nobler human being. Some think, that on the whole he was the best man whom it has been their privilege to know. Such a man may be spoken of even in the house of God, in that place where flattery is profanation, and God, not man, is to be adored. Our friend did not grow up among us. He came here an exile from a distant land; and, poor and unfriended, was to earn his bread with toil; and under these disadvantages he not only won friends and a home, but was adopted with love and trust, which few inspire who have been known from infancy to age.

The character which secured such love it is not difficult to depict, because greatness is simple, artless, and lies open to every eye. It was his distinction, that he united in himself those excellences, which at first seem to repel each other, though in truth they are of one loving family. This union was so striking, as to impress even those who did not enjoy his intimacy. For example, he was a Hero, a man of a Lion-heart, victorious over fear, gathering strength and animation from danger, and bound the faster to duty by its hardships and privations; and at the same time he was a child in simplicity, sweetness, innocence, and benignity. His firmness, which I trusted perhaps more than that of any man, had not the least alloy of roughness. His countenance, which at times wore a stern decision, was generally

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lighted up with a beautiful benignity; and his voice, which expressed, when occasion required it, an inflexible will, was to many of us musicial beyond expression, from the deep tenderness which it breathed.

As another example of seemingly incongruous virtues, he was singularly alive to the domestic affections. Who, that saw him in the bosom of his family, can forget the deep sympathies and the overflowing joyousness of his spirit? His home was pervaded by his love as by the sun's light. A stranger might have thought that his whole soul was centred there; and yet with these strong domestic affections he joined a love of his race far more rare. His heart beat in unison with the mighty heart of humanity. He did not love mankind as these words are commonly used. He was knit to them by a strong living tie of brotherhood. He felt for all men, but above all for the depressed and the wronged. His mild countenance would flash fire at the mention of an injured man; not the fire of revenge, or unkindness, but of holy indignation, of unbounded love and reverence for invaded Right.

I can mention another union of qualities not always reconciled. He was a man of refined taste. He loved refined society. His manners, courteous, sweet, bland, fitted him for intercourse with the most cultivated, and he enjoyed it keenly; and yet his deepest sympathies were given to the mass of men. He was the friend of the laboring man. He had a great respect for minds which had been trained in simple habits, and amidst the toils of life; and could he have chosen the congregation to which he would minister, it would have been composed chiefly of such members.

I will mention one more union of seemingly dissimi-

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lar virtues. He was singularly independent in his judgments. He was not only uninfluenced by authority, and numbers, and interest, and popularity, but by friendship, by those he most loved and honored. He seemed almost too tenacious of his convictions. But with all this firmness of judgment, he never gave offence by positiveness, never challenged assent, never urged his dearest convictions with unbecoming warmth, never in argument passed the limits of the most delicate courtesy, and from a reverence of others' rights, encouraged the freest expression of opinion, however hostile to his own.

Such were some of the traits of this good and great man; and of these traits, which bore rule? Not a few, who saw him cursorily, remember most distinctly his singular sweetness and benignity. But had these predominated, I might not perhaps think myself authorized to pay him this extended tribute in a Christian congregation. I should confine the utterance of my grief to the circle of private friendship. It was his calm, enlightened, Christian Heroism, which imparted to his character its singular glory. His sweetness threw a lustre over this attribute, by showing that it was no morbid enthusiasm, no reckless self-exposure; that he was not raised above danger and personal regards by vehemence of emotion. His heroism had its root and life in reason, in the sense of justice, in the disinterested principles of Christianity, in deliberate, enlightened reverence for human nature and for the rights of every human being. It was singularly free from passion. Tender and affectionate as his nature was, his sense of justice, his reverence for right, was stronger than his affections; and this was the chief basis and element of

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his heroic character. Accordingly the love of freedom glowed as a central, inextinguishable fire in his soul; not the school-boy's passion for liberty, caught from the blood-stained pages of Greece and Rome, but a love of freedom, resting on and blended with the calmest knowledge, growing from clear, profound perceptions of the nature and destiny, and inalienable rights of man. He felt to the very depth of his soul, that man, God's rational, immortal creature, was worth living for and dying for. To him, the most grievous sight on earth was not misery in its most agonizing forms; but the sight of man oppressed, trodden down by his brother. To lift him up, to make him free, to restore him to the dignity of a man, to restore him to the holy hope of a Christian, — this seemed to him the grandest work on earth, and he consecrated himself to it with his whole soul. I felt habitually in his presence, that here was a man ready at any moment to shed his blood for truth and freedom. For his devotion to human rights, he had been exiled from his home and native country; he had been hunted by arbitrary power in foreign lands, and had sought safety beyond an ocean. But peril and persecution, whilst they had tempered his youthful enthusiasm, had only wrought more deeply into his soul the principles for which he had suffered, and his resolution, in growing calmer, had grown more invincible.

His greatness had one of the chief marks of reality; it was unpretending. He had no thought of playing the part of a hero. He was never more himself, never more unstudied, spontaneous, than in the utterance of generous sentiments. His greatness was immeasurably above show, and above the arts by which inferior minds thrust themselves on notice. There was a singular

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union in his character, of self-respect and modesty, which brought out both these qualities in strong relief. He was just to himself without flattery, and too single-hearted and truthful to seek or accept flattery from others. He made no merit, nor did he talk of the sufferings, past or present, which he had incurred by faithfulness to principle. In truth, he could hardly be said to suffer, except through solicitude for what he might bring on those who were dearer to him than himself. It was a part of his faith, that the highest happiness is found in that force of love and holy principle, through which a man surrenders himself wholly to the cause of God and mankind; and he proved the truth in his own experience. Though often unprosperous and often disappointed, his spirit was buoyant, cheerful, overflowing with life, full of faith and hope, often sportive, and always open to the innocent pleasures which sprung up in his path.

He was a true Christian. The character of Christ was his delight. His faith in immortality had something of the clearness of vision. He had given himself much to the philosophical study of human nature, and there were two principles of the soul on which he seized with singular force. One of these was "the Sense of the Infinite,"—that principle of our nature which always aspires after something higher than it has gained, which conceives of the Perfect, and can find no rest but in pressing forward to Perfection. The other was "the free will of man," which was to him the grand explanation of the mysteries of our being, and which gave to the human soul inexpressible interest and dignity in his sight. To him, life was a state, in which a free being is to determine himself, amidst sore trials and tempta-

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tions, to the Right and the Holy, and to advance towards perfection. His piety took a character from these views. It was eminently a filial piety. He might almost be said to have no name for God but Father. But then God was not to his view a fond, indulgent father, but a wise parent, sending forth his child, to be tried and tempted, to suffer and contend, to watch and pray, and, amidst such discipline, to approve and exalt his love towards God and mankind.

Such were the grand traits of our departed friend. He was not good as most of us are, faithful to duty, when duty is convenient, loyal to truth, when truth is shouted from the crowd. He loved virtue for herself, loved her when her dowry was suffering, and therefore I deem him worthy to be spoken of thus largely in Christ's church. The world has its temples in which its favorites, the powerful, the successful, may be lauded. But he only is fit to be commemorated in a Christian church, who has borne the cross, who has left all for duty and Christ. Not that I mean to speak of our friend as perfect. He fell below his standard. He was a partaker of human infirmities. He has gone not to plead his merits, but to cast himself on the mercy of his Creator.

My thoughts have been so attracted to his mora qualities, that I have neglected to speak of his intellectual powers. These were of a high order. His intellect had the strength, simplicity, and boldness of his character. Without rashness, it shrunk from nothing that bore the signature of truth. He was given chiefly to the higher philosophy, which treats of the laws, powers, and destinies of the human soul. He hoped to live to complete a work on this subject. I presume that, next to

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the discharge of all duty, this was the object he had most at heart; and though I differed from him as to some fundamental doctrines, I shared in his strong desire of giving his views to the world. His theory stood in direct hostility to Atheism, which confounds man with nature; to Pantheism and Mysticism, which confound man with God; and to all the systems of philosophy and religion, which ascribe to circumstances or to God an irresistible influence on the mind. The Free-Will, through which we create our own characters, through which we become really, not nominally, responsible beings, and are fitted to sustain, not physical, but moral relations to God and the universe, this was his grand principle; and he followed it out to all its consequences, with his characteristic decision. But he was not confined to abstract subjects. He had studied moral science, history, and the civil law profoundly. He had given much thought to Christianity and the Church. His acquisitions of knowledge were various, his taste refined, and his power of expression great. His thoughts, often original, were robed in beauty, from an imagination which received fresh, genial, quickening influences from his moral nature. His intellect, however, had one quality, which, whether justly or not, prevented its extensive action on our community. It did not move fast enough for us. It was too deliberate, too regular, too methodical, too anxious to do full justice to a subject, for such an impatient people as we are. He did not dazzle men by sudden, bold, exaggerated conceptions. In his writings he seemed compelled to unfold a subject in its order; and sometimes insisted on what might have been left to the quick conception of the hearer. Hence he was thought by some to want animation and interest as

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a preacher, whilst by others his religious instructions and his prayers were felt to be full of life and power. The effect of his eloquence was often diminished by his slow, deliberate utterance; a habit, which, as a foreigner anxious to pronounce our language with perfect accuracy, he could hardly help contracting. Of late, however, his freedom and earnestness had increased; and his preaching was listened to with delight by those, who insist most on animation of thought and manner. Indeed to his last moment he was growing in the desire and the power to do good.

Thus he lived; nor is he to be compassionated, because in the midst of such a life he was suddenly taken away. Our imaginations associate a peculiar terribleness with death, when it comes without warning, in the form of tempest, lightning, fire, and raging waves. But within and beneath these awful powers of nature, there is another and mightier power. These are only God's ministers; and through these he separates from earthly bonds the spirit, which he has watched over and prepared for nearer access to himself. Perhaps were our minds more elevated, it would seem to us worthier of a man, more appropriate to his greatness, to fall under these mighty powers, to find a grave in these unbounded elements, than to sink by slow disease and to be consigned to the dark, narrow tomb. Our friend lived the life of a man and a Christian to the last hour. His life, though not prosperous in our common language, had yet yielded him the best blessings of the present state. If strangers had not heard his name, he was cherished, honored, as few men are, by those who knew him best; and if extensive possessions were denied him, he owned what is worth more than the wealth of worlds, a happy

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home, consecrated by intelligence, piety, and a celestial love. Who had greater cause than he to rejoice in life? nor ought any tears, but those which we shed for ourselves, be called forth by his death.

I have thus, my friends, spoken of a good and noble man, and I have spoken not to give relief to a full heart, nor chiefly to soothe the wounded hearts of others. This house is consecrated to God. This excellent, honored man was still a ray, and a faint ray, from the Uncreated Light. What we loved in him was an inspiration from God; and all admiration, which does not rise above him, falls infinitely below its true object. Let us thank God, who has manifested himself to us in this his servant, who speaks to us in all holy and noble men. Let us not stop at these. If we do, we bury ourselves in the finite, we lose the most precious influences, the holiest ministry of living and departed virtuous friends. We say of the good man whom we have lost, that he has gone to God. Let us too go to God. Let us humble ourselves before him for our past impiety, irreverence, unthankful insensibility to his infinite perfection; and, with new affection and entire obedience, let us consecrate ourselves to him, from whose fulness all that is beautiful and glorious in the human soul and in the universe is derived.

I have spoken of the friend we have lost, that through him we should the more honor God. We may learn from him, now that he sleeps in the ocean, another lesson. We may learn the glorious power of virtue, how it can throw a brightness over the most appalling scenes of human life, and can rob the most awful forms of death of their depressing influence. To the eye of sense, what a sad spectacle was the friend we have lost,

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first circled with the flames, then weltering in the cold, lonely sea! At the moment of hearing the sad news, a feeling of horror oppressed me; but soon a light beamed in this darkness, and it beamed from his virtues. The thought of the spirit, which I had communed with, gradually took the place of the body, which had been taken from us under circumstances so appalling. I felt that the spirit, which had informed that body, had spoken through those lips, had beamed from that benign face, was mightier than the elements. I felt that all the waves of ocean could not quench that spark. I felt how vast, how unutterable the transition from that burning deck and pitiless sea to the repose and life of a better world. I felt, that the seal of immortality had been put on the virtue, which we had seen unfolding on our earth. Still more, his virtues have gradually brought back to my mind his outward form divested of painful associations. As I now think of the departed, his countenance is no longer defaced by death. It rises to me in the sweetest, noblest expression which it wore in life. Thus the body, through which virtue has shed its light, becomes hallowed and immortal to the memory and the heart. And if this be true, if goodness be so divine, as to gain and shed glory in that awful change, which dissolves the outward frame and tears us away from the earth, — shall we go on to live to the earth, to outward, material, perishing good? Shall we continue to slight, and refuse to secure, imperishable virtue?

Once more, a solemn teaching comes to us from this day's meditation. Our friend was called in the midst of life, and so may we be called. How thin the barrier between time and eternity! We think this earth firmer than the sea in which he found a grave. But one false

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step on this firm earth may precipitate us into the tomb. Human life is not so strong, that waves and fires must join for its extinction. One ruptured artery may suspend the breath as suddenly as an ocean. From that awful scene, where so many have perished, a voice comes to us, saying, Prepare to die. So live that sudden death may only be a swifter entrance into a higher life. So live, that survivors may shed over you tears of hope as well as of sorrow, that they may find, in their remembrances of you, springs of comfort, testimonies to religion, encouragements to goodness, and proofs and pledges of immortality. So live, that the injured and oppressed, the poor and forsaken, may utter blessings on your name. So live, that if by God's mysterious Providence you also are to die in flames or in the sea, you may commit your departing spirits to Him who gave them, with humble trust, with filial prayer, with undying hope

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ON PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE POOR:

CHARGE

AT THE ORDINATION

OF

CHARLES BARNARD AND FREDERICK T. GRAY,

AS MINISTERS AT LARGE, IN BOSTON.

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CHARGE:

ON

PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE POOR.

You have now been set apart to the Christian ministry, according to the rites of the Congregational Church. A principal design of these is to impress you with the importance and responsibleness of your office. That this impression may be strengthened, and that the duties now imposed on you may be brought distinctly to your minds, I have been appointed by the Council, here convened, to deliver to you the usual Charge. From the various topics which naturally occur to me on this occasion, I can select but a few. For full instruction in your sacred calling, I refer you to the Scriptures, to the example of Christ, the first and only perfect teacher of his religion, to the labors and sufferings of the Apostles, and to the precepts relating to the ministry scattered through their writings. These are able "to furnish you unto every good work, and to make you wise unto salvation."

Preaching and private intercourse with the poor are henceforth to be the labors of your lives. First, you are to preach; and in performing this office, let me exhort you to the scrupulous observance of a plain but often neglected precept. It is this, Reverence Truth.

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Preach what approves itself clearly to your own minds as true, and preach nothing else. Teach nothing because others teach it. Inculcate nothing about which you have doubts, because expected to inculcate it. Speak from no human master, from no human creed. Speak from your own calm convictions, and from nothing else. Do not use stronger language than your own minds warrant, for the sake of making greater impression. Do not seek the reputation of eloquence, by assuming a bold, confident tone, which exceeds your private belief. Exaggerate nothing. Paint nothing beyond the life. Be true, the hardest lesson to the minister. Preach nothing, however gratifying to the imagination or the heart, which cannot stand the scrutiny of the deliberate judgment. Distort no truth for the sake of effect. Never hope to make the sword of the spirit more powerful by any human alloy. I have said, beware of exaggeration. Beware also of the opposite vice, of softening down, diluting, obscuring the truth, till its power and pungency are gone, in order to accommodate it to the prejudices and passions of men. No man is fit to preach, who is not ready to be a martyr to truth. We indeed recommend to you prudence; but the great office of prudence is not to disfigure or conceal the truth, but to secure it against misapprehension, and to place it before men's minds in the light which will probably gain for it the readiest reception. Be prudent for the truth's sake, not for your own sake, not for the sake of popularity, not from weakness or timidity. Be cautious lest you be over cautious. Fear to stifle any great truth. Let your preaching be the frank expression of the workings and convictions of your own minds. There is a peculiar freshness, charm, energy, in perfect sincerity.

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The preaching which manifests a profound reverence for truth, which is seen and felt to spring from an inward fountain, which reveals the real and whole mind of the speaker, wins confidence, and works conviction, far more than the most vehement outpourings of imagination and passion.

I have said, preach what approves itself to your own minds as true, and nothing else. I now say, preach it in your own style. Give it forth in the form to which your own minds prompt you. Be not imitators. Be not anxious to wield other men's weapons. Do not think that the mode of preaching which is effectual in another, will therefore succeed in you. You surely would not mimic his tones, because they penetrate his hearers. Look at subjects with your own eyes. Utter them in your own words. Be yourselves. Be natural. There is no other road to the human heart.

Would you be increasingly useful? Then be just to your own minds. Let them act freely. Form yourselves from within more than from without. You ought indeed to seek benefit by hearing other preachers; but be benefited through sympathy, and by catching from them generous impulses, and not by making them models. So you must read what others have written; but read, that the action of other minds may awaken your own intellectual activity, and not be a substitute for it. Listen in the first place to the whispers of truth in your own souls, and prize them more than the teachings of your fellow-creatures. Whenever you catch a new glimpse of God's character, of human nature, of human perfection, of life, of futurity, of the Christian spirit; — whenever a familiar truth rises before you in a new aspect; whenever a new principle dawns on you from a number

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of facts, which had before lain without connexion in your minds; whenever a sentence in a human work, or a text of Scripture reveals to you, as by a flash, some depth in your own souls, or scatters suddenly the mist which had before hung over some important doctrine; whenever a new light of this kind gleams on you, prize it more than volumes or libraries. Feel that a higher teacher than man has approached you. Pray to the Father of lights, that this new ray may brighten within you. It is by this welcome to truth, springing up in our own souls, that we are to grow in energy of thought and feeling; and growth is the great condition of increasing usefulness. We charge you, then, to be just and generous to your own minds. Cherish every divine inspiration. Be no man's slaves. Seek truth for yourselves. Speak it from yourselves. Speak it in your own natural tones. You, of course, desire to avoid the greatest of all defects in a preacher, that of being tame and dull; and your security from this is to be found, not in starts and exclamations, not in noise and gesture, not in the commonplaces of passion, but in keeping your minds and hearts in free and powerful action. This inward life will give life to style and delivery, and nothing else will. This is the only secret of eloquence. Eloquence is not a trick of words. It is the utterance of great truths, so clearly discerned, so deeply felt, so bright, so burning, that they cannot be confined, that they create for themselves a style and manner, which carry them far into other souls; and of this eloquence there is but one fount, and that is inward life, force of thought, force of feeling.

Perhaps it may be said, that these remarks apply little to ministers of the poor; that the poor are as children;

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and that little spiritual energy is required for their instruction. We charge you, my friends, to beware of this common error. Do not dishonor your high calling by supposing it to require little force of thought and feeling. The poor are generally ignorant, but in some respects they are better critics than the rich, and make greater demands on their teachers. A congregation of the more affluent and educated can be satisfied with proprieties of style and manner, can be held together by local attachment, by the elegance or fashionableness of the edifice in which it worships, or by the strong bonds of a creed or a sect. The poor care for none of these things. Proprieties of style and manner, local feeling, fashion, show, or sectarian zeal, are not attractions to them. They can only be brought and held together by a preaching which fastens their attention, or pierces their consciences, or moves their hearts. They are no critics of words, but they know when they are touched or roused, and by this test, a far truer one than you find in fastidious congregations, they judge the minister, and determine whether to follow or forsake him. The duty of preaching to the poor is accordingly a difficult one. Their minister has much to learn, and, what is harder, much to forget. He must forget the modes of address under which he was himself educated. He is to speak to those who cannot find a meaning in the vague language, which he has generally heard from the pulpit. He must find a new tongue. He must reach the understanding through the imagination and the heart. He must look not upon his notes, but into the eyes of his hearers. He must appeal to the simple, universal principles of human nature. There must be a directness, freedom, earnestness of manner, which are not required

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in the church of more refined worshippers. To accomplish all this, books will do him little good. His best study is the poor man's narrow room. His best teacher is a keen observation of the workings of the poor man's heart, of his passions, perils, and spiritual wants. We charge you to beware of aiming to resemble ministers in other situations. You must invent modes of action for yourselves. You must make a new path. Cultivate by perpetual practice the power of extemporaneous address. Take your texts, as your Master did, from scenes, events, objects which are pressing on the notice of your hearers. Find your way to their minds and hearts. Be any thing but formal and mechanical. Better forsake your ministry, than make it a monotonous repetition of the common modes of teaching and action.

But preaching is not your whole or chief work. Private intercourse is to you a more important instrument than the pulpit. You must not wait for the poor in the church. Go to them in their houses. Go where no other will go. Let no squalidness, or misery, or crime repel you. Seek the friendless, the forsaken, the desponding, the lost. Penetrate the depths of poverty, the haunts of intemperance, the strongholds of sin. Feel an attraction in what others shun, in the bleak room open to the winter's wind, in the wasted form, and the haggard countenance, in the very degradation of your race. Go where suffering and guilt summon you; and what weapon shall you take with you for this contest with physical and moral evil? You will be told to arm yourselves with caution, to beware of deception, to take the shield of prudence, and to put on the breastplate of distrust; and this lesson is indeed important; but prudence and caution are only defensive armour. They

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will be security to yourselves; they give no power over misery, poverty, and vice. That power is to be found in a higher principle, and take heed lest this be quenched by that distrust in which you will be so plentifully instructed. The only power to oppose to evil is Love, strong, enduring love, a benevolence which no crime or wretchedness can conquer, and which therefore can conquer all. Miserable indeed will be your office, if this spirit do not possess you, if a deep sympathy with your suffering fellow-creatures do not compel you, as it were, to seek their abodes, and do not identify you with them. Nothing but Christ's spirit, that which carried him to his cross, can carry you through your work. Go then with his love; and it will be mightier than the sword of the magistrate, or the armies of monarchs, to conquer evil. It will touch the heart which has hardened itself against all other influences. It will pierce the conscience, which is impregnable against the most vehement rebuke. It will say to the reckless transgressor, in the only language he can understand, that he is not an outcast from his race; and it will reveal to the despending sufferer a love higher than your own, and bring back his lost faith in God. Love gives a new tongue, the only one which all men can comprehend. But by this I mean something more than the common kindness of the world. I mean the spirit of Christ and his Apostles, a love not born on the earth, but which came from heaven in the person of the Saviour, and is only to be nourished by communion with heaven. Seek it as your chief power. Guard it against the contagion of the spirit of this world. Cherish it by meditation and prayer, by intimacy with Christ and his true disciples, and by perpetual exercise in your intercourse with the poor.

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You must love the poor; you must also respect them; and in truth, respect is the very soul of the love which I have enjoined. Honor the poor man. Let not his poverty for a moment hide you from his participation of your own nature and of the divine image. Never let the man be lost in the beggar. If you have not power to penetrate to the spirit within him, and to reverence that divine principle more than all outward magnificence, you are unfit for your office. If there seem to you exaggeration, or a false sentimentality, in the language which pronounces the soul of one poor man worth more than the wealth of worlds, or than all material nature, then you want the spirit of your function, and cannot lay it aside too soon. Go to the poor, to awaken in them the consciousness of their relation to God, and of their immortality. Do not go as the representatives of the richer classes, to keep them in order; but go in the name of Christians, to make them partakers of the highest distinctions and blessings in which any of us rejoice. Carry to them the Gospel, not for purposes of worldly policy, but as a life-giving truth, imparted by God to lift them above all worldly greatness, to subject them to a nobler law than that of the state, to make them citizens of heaven. Present religion to them in a generous form. Carry to them the very truths you would bear to the most prosperous and enlightened. Stir up the poor man to be active for his own improvement, and teach him that the power of improvement is communicated to him as liberally as to his prosperous neighbour. Because he is poor, do not think that he is put into your hands as a passive material, to be shaped at your pleasure. Remember that he is as free as yourselves, and can only be carried forward by a spring of improvement

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in his own soul. The work of his salvation you cannot do for him. Awaken him to strive, watch, and pray for himself. Do not depress him. Do not, through a false sympathy, speak discouragingly of his condition. Show him that in his poverty he still has God's best gifts, — an immortal soul, and the means of its redemption and glory. Show him how much can be done for human nature in the humblest lot. Teach him that his condition has all the elements of virtue and of the only durable happiness; that suffering may be the occasion and incitement of fervent prayer, filial trust, and fervent fortitude; that the dews of God's spirit descend alike on rich and poor; that every grace may strike root in the soil of penury, and may gain strength from life's storms; that like the poor widow in the Gospel, he can give even more generously, can be more charitable in the sight of God, than the richest of his race; and that even greatness is within his reach, for greatness lies not in what is outwardly done, but in strength of love and holy purpose put forth under sore temptation. Beware of depressing or degrading the poor, by giving them a low form of religion, or low views of their lot. Christ has pronounced blessings on them, and help them to put faith in his life-giving words.

There is one particular on which I cannot forbear speaking. Would you promote the present as well as future happiness of the poor? Then labor much, let it be a leading aim, to cherish among them the domestic and benevolent affections. Whoever knows the poor, must know how greatly the aspect of their abodes would be changed, and what a large proportion of their sufferings would be removed, by the substitution of a true love, for selfishness, passion, and envy, for unkind

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words and unkind deeds. Open within them the fountain of kindness. Urge on them Christianity as a spring of disinterested and tender affection. Teach the poor, that we who are prosperous find our chief earthly happiness in our domestic and other social bonds, and not in wealth; and that without love magnificence is a vain show, and the palace embosoms less peace than many a hovel. I insist on this, because it is the common doctrine of the day, that the poor are to be raised by being taught to save, to hoard, to economize their scanty earnings. By all means teach prudence, but do not make the poor anxious, selfish, sordid. Teach prudence; but still more teach love; and so doing you will teach economy. Inspire the poor with strong and tender affections towards their families and fellow-creatures, and they will deny themselves, and practise thrift with a cheerfulness and fidelity, not often learned from the maxims of worldly wisdom.

I must not enlarge more on particular duties. In general, I would say to you, Honor your work. Think of it reverently. I use no exaggeration, when I give it a place among the most important labors of the times; for it bears on the very evil from which the social state has most to fear. We are accustomed to speak of the improvement of society; but its progress has been attended with one disastrous circumstance, which at times almost makes us doubt, whether the good has not been too dearly bought. I refer to the fact, that the elevation of one part of the community has been accompanied with the depression of another. Society has not gone forward as a whole. By the side of splendid dwellings you descry the abodes of squalid poverty; and within the city walls, which enclose the educated and refined,

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you may meet a half-civilized horde, given up to deeper degradation than the inhabitants of the wilderness. In England, the country advanced above all others in agriculture, manufactures, refinement, and literary institutions, are miserable multitudes, degraded by dependence, uninstructed even in the being of a God, and dying of want before their time; and such is the tendency of modern civilization through the world. Society is not only disfigured but endangered by the poverty, and ignorance, and vice of a multitude of its members; and its security and happiness demand nothing so imperiously, as that this wretched mass should be enlightened, elevated, redeemed. Here is the chief sphere for philanthropy. Inequalities of property must indeed exist. But can it be necessary, that multitudes of human beings should writhe under wants and hardships, which palsy and almost extinguish their spiritual and moral power? This greatest social evil is beginning to arrest the attention of the statesman, as well as of the philanthropist and Christian. A louder and louder cry is beginning to break forth through the civilized world for a social reform, which shall reach the most depressed ranks of the community. I see and rejoice to see in your office, my friends, a sign of this new movement, an earnest of this grand and holy revolution. I see in it a recognition of the right of every human being to the means of spiritual developement, of moral and intellectual life. This is the most sacred right of humanity. Blessed are our eyes which see the day of its recognition. Feel, then, that you are consecrated to the greatest work of your age; and feel that you will be sustained in it by the prayers and zeal of our churches and their pastors. If indeed *your* ministry for the poor should be suffered to

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decline and fail, it would be a melancholy proof that *our* ministry for the rich is of little avail. If in this age, when the improvement of society is the theme even of the unbeliever, if, with every help from the spirit of the times, we, the pastors of these churches, cannot awaken in them a sensibility to the intellectual and moral wants of multitudes around them, cannot carry home to their consciences and hearts the duty of raising up their depressed fellow-creatures, of imparting Christian light, strength, and comfort to the ignorant and poor, then it is time that we should give up our pulpits to others, who will better understand and inculcate the spirit of Christ and his Apostles. It is time that our lips should be closed, if we can do nothing towards breathing into men the peculiar benevolence of the Gospel; a benevolence which feels for, and seeks to elevate and save the human soul. It is time, too, that as a class of Christians, we should disappear, if we will not take our part in the great work of regenerating society. It is the order of nature, that the dead should be buried; and the sooner a dead, lifeless, soulless sect is buried and forgotten the better. But, my friends, I cannot fear that you will be abandoned. Christian love, I trust, has called you to this work, and will cheer and strengthen you in your heavenly mission.

Go forth, then, my friends, with a confiding spirit. Go forth in the strength of faith, hope, and charity. Go forth to increase the holiness of earth, and the happiness of heaven. Go to the dark alleys and the darker dwellings of the poor. Go in the spirit of that God, to whom the soul of the poor man is as precious as your own. Go in the spirit of him, who for our sakes was poor, and had not where to lay his head. Go in reliance

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on that omnipotent grace, which can raise up the most fallen, cleanse the most polluted, enrich the poorest with more than royal wealth, console the deepest sorrows, and sanctify the sorest trials of life. Go cheerfully, for into the darkest dwellings you carry the light of life. And think not that you alone visit these humble habitations. God is there, — Christ is there, — angels are there. Feel their presence; breathe their love; and through your wise, unwearied, effectual labors, may the poor man's dwelling become a consecrated place, the abode of love, "the house of God and the gate of heaven."

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CHARGE

FOR THE ORDINATION

OF

MR. ROBERT C. WATERSTON,

AS MINISTER AT LARGE.

Nov. 24, 1839.

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[The following CHARGE, although prepared for the occasion, was not delivered, on account of the Author's state of health.]

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CHARGE

FOR THE

ORDINATION OF REV. ROBERT C. WATERSTON.

My Young Friend and Brother,

The Council here assembled for your ordination, have assigned me the office of giving you the Charge; and I perform this work the more cheerfully, because of the relation which has long subsisted between you and myself. You have grown up from childhood under my ministry, and you have given me reason to believe, that impressions received in the church where you have worshipped, have, in concurrence with other causes, led you to this consecration of yourself to the pastoral office. Another consideration, which renders this occasion still more interesting, is, that you seem now to be placed, by a kind Providence, in the sphere for which you are particularly fitted, and in which all your faculties and affections may be expected to act and unfold freely, cheerfully, vigorously, and beneficially to yourself and others. I remember how, long ago, you felt the attraction of this ministry; how a thirst for it followed you to your place of business, and overcame the spirit of gain; and how

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patiently you have labored to furnish yourself thoroughly for the work. These are good auguries, and they shed a bright hope over these solemnities. Listen now, my Brother, to a few counsels which may help you to fulfil our hopes. Many topics, belonging to this occasion, I formerly enlarged upon, in the Charge given to your predecessor, to which I refer you. There are others, then omitted or slightly touched upon, to which I now ask attention.

You are now set apart to be a Minister at Large This is the distinction of your office. Whilst other ministers gather worshippers into their churches from all the conditions of life, you expect to labor chiefly among the less prosperous, the destitute. It may be thought, at first, that this peculiarity must make a wide distinction between your office and the common ministry; that it must demand almost a totally different style of preaching; that all your labors must take a hue and impress from the condition of those whom you teach. I counsel you not to be misled by this natural impression. I see no great distinction between you and other ministers. I advise you to bring habitually to your mind not the outward condition of men but their spiritual nature, their participation of that "divine humanity," which is the only wealth of rich or poor. The distinction of rich and poor, what is it in the eye of reason? And what should it be to the Christian teacher? It does not penetrate the skin, but is a distinction of clothes, fuel, meat, and drink. During life, it avails little or nothing against pain, illness, bereavement. Death turns it to utter scorn. The costliest winding-sheet, the most splendid coffin cannot shut out the worm, or protect against the humiliation of the tomb. In the next world, how often will present dis

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tinctions be reversed! The first will be last; the last first. It belongs, then, to the Christian teacher to look through, and for the most part to forget, outward distinctions. To the Christian teacher, all men of all ranks are much the same; all rational, spiritual, immortal; all stained with guilt; all needing to be born again. Undoubtedly he is to adapt himself to differences of age and education. But in all there is the same human heart; in all the same deep wants, the same chords to be touched, the same mighty obstacles to purity to be overcome. They all need essentially the same truths, though modified slightly as to phraseology and form. There are not different gospels for different conditions of men; but one and the same truth for all; just as the same sun sheds the same beams into every human dwelling, and is equally needed and equally welcome wherever he shines.

I would not have any class habitually addressed with reference to outward condition. It is a great object in all preaching, no matter to whom addressed, to raise the hearer above his outward condition, to make it seem as nothing to him in comparison with his immortal spirit and his inward wants. The poor should be spoken to as men, and as standing on the same ground with all other men. They are not to be condoled with as objects of peculiar commiseration, but addressed as those who have the essential goods of life, who may do its great work, and win its highest prize. The deepest vice of our present civilization is, that we count the distinction between wealth and poverty the greatest on earth. Do you show, that you count it as nothing.

My Brother, look on your hearers as children and heirs of God; and remember that your work is to call

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out and to build up the divine nature within them; and let such thoughts give you a consciousness of the dignity of your office. Do not measure this by the outward condition of those to whom you preach. Measure it by their souls, and feel that these are the equals of the most favored in outward lot. Some of the community undoubtedly think of you as having little more to do, than to aid in keeping order in the city. You look infinitely above the order of the city, though that in its right place is not to be despised. Your function is to bring men to obey, not the laws of the land, but the eternal, immutable, celestial law of righteousness; not to make them quiet citizens, but members of the universal kingdom of God. It is in seeking this highest end, that you will secure the lower. Religion only serves the state, when it is infinitely exalted above the state, and taught and cherished for its own peerless worth. Nothing has so stripped Christianity of its power, as the conversion of it into a state machine, as the polluting touch of the politician, who has caused it to be preached to the lower ranks, and to be professed by the higher, in order that the old polity, with its inveterate abuses, may stand fast, and that the accumulation of property in a few hands may be undisturbed. Religion, taught for such ends, is among the worst foes of social progress. It loses its vitality; it paralyzes the intellect; it strives to crush by persecution or disabilities those who would restore its primitive purity, or unfold more distinctly its higher truths; it teaches pretence to the great, and breathes servility into the multitude whom it ought especially to imbue with nobleness of mind. You, my young friend, have learned that religion has a higher work to accomplish than that of

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police; that its aim is to bring the individual, be his rank what it may, to a comprehension of his relation to the Infinite Father and the Everlasting World, and to inspire him with disinterested love of God and man; and that in this way alone it makes good citizens, tender and faithful husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, neighbours and friends.

In these remarks I do not mean that you are never to allude to outward distinctions. The poor have peculiar difficulties; but they must never be left to imagine that they have all the difficulties of life. Their burden is heavy, but there are still heavier on earth; and the same high truths are needed to sustain all the suffering children of humanity. So they have peculiar temptations; and yet, temptations to the very vices, which abound most among the poor, are exceedinly powerful among the more prosperous. The poor, it is said, are peculiarly incited by their condition to envy; and yet are we sure that there is less envy among the rich, that there are fewer jealousies and heartburnings growing out of competitions and neglects in fashionable life, than spring from indigence? I am not sure, that there is more discontent among the needy than among those who abound. I incline to think, that, on the whole, there is among the latter less submission to God's Providence; and for this plain reason, that success and abundance increase self-will. You must not, therefore, preach to your congregation, as if they monopolized any vice; but speak to all as partakers of the universal corruption. Never expect to reclaim men from a vice by singling them out for denunciation; but by addressing to them those solemn truths and motives, which are to stir up all men to resist moral evil

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The sum of what I have now said is, do nothing to discourage your hearers. If cheering, animating language is to be used anywhere, it is among the poor. As a minister of Christ you are to encourage. Unhappily the Gospel is too often used to break men's spirits. The Gospel, as too often preached, instead of being glad tidings, is the saddest news ever told on earth. From your lips, may it raise the dispirited to effort, and reveal to the indigent their boundless wealth.

At the beginning of this ministry, it was thought that its chief benefit would come from visiting; and little comparatively was expected from the pulpit. Experience, however, has proved, that public preaching is a powerful instrument for the moral recovery of the poor. The multitudes, who throng the Chapel where you are to labor, and who devour with earnest attention the words of the minister, indicate that this is a sphere of action, to which you are to devote much of your energies. You must labor to perfect yourself as a preacher. I say, to perfect yourself; for you will do little unless you aim at perfection. I might, had I time, repeat many exhortations as to preaching; but two short rules may suffice you. They are these; Preach the Truth, and preach it *as* the truth.

First; Preach the Truth, and for this end you must seek and get it; and this is among the hardest labors of life. To see things as they are, to see them through a clear, uncolored medium, to strip them of every disguise, to put to silence our own passions and prejudices, to resist the intolerance, the servility, the established errors and earthly modes of thought, the arrogant pretensions and the nervous fears of the multitude around us, and, amidst all these hindrances and obscu-

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rations, to discern the truth in its simplicity and majesty; this is a labor which turns to sport the toil of the hands and the sweat of the brow; and to hold fast this truth openly, fearlessly, amidst outcry, scorn, desertion, persecution, is a heroism, before which the exploits of conquerors grow vulgar and tame.

It is a common notion, that it is no great task to acquire religious truths, in a country which enjoys, as we do, a revelation from God. The revelation is thought to save us the trouble of research, to do our work for us. But this is a great error. You should learn, that the very familiarity of a revelation hides its truths from us, or is an obstacle to clear comprehension. Abstract words, continually sounded in our ears, lose their meaning and force, and are among the last words which we really understand. The language of Christianity, which has come down from distant ages; which in every age has received a coloring from prevalent errors, passions, and corruptions; on which men of different conditions, interests, feelings, and mental powers, have fastened different interpretations; which we heard before we could think, and to which we attached the narrow, earthly conceptions of the opening intellect; this language it is an immense toil to divest of all false associations, and to restore to its original significance. Add to this the difficulty which springs from the refined, spiritual, sublime character of moral and religious truth, and you will learn what you must do to seize this pearl of great price. What a work is it to form a true idea of God; to separate from him all material forms and attributes, all human passions and human limitations! How hard to separate from him all self-reference and arbitrariness, all love of rule, of homage, and kingly power! How hard

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to contemplate him as calm, unimpassioned reason; as impartial, disinterested, all-comprehending love; as having no will but the everlasting law of righteousness; as having no favorites; as the ever-present inspirer and judge of every soul! How hard to look through the multiplied forces and agencies of the universe, to one central, all-pervading Power; beyond the endless mutations and conflicts of human life, to one unchangeable, all-reconciling Wisdom! The true idea of God, that highest thought of angels, demands for its developement, the study of a life. How hard, too, is it to attain to the true idea of Christian Duty; to purify this from all debasing mixtures; to keep it from being stained by the sophistry of the passions, by the interpretations of theologians, by the moral standard of our age, by the spirit and practice of the world and the church! How hard, again, to attain to the true idea of a Man; to discern the greatness of our nature and its affinity with God, amidst its present ruins; to comprehend it as revealed in the character and life of Christ!

My Brother, do not think that you know the truth because you are familiar with the words which envelope it. I repeat it, the very commonness of Christianity throws over it a mist not easily penetrated. You have to break the spell of habit, the spell of mental associations stronger than adamant. You must put forth more force of thought on the religion, because it is so familiar. A true faith is as hard an attainment now as in the first age of Christianity. A revelation is not given to deliver us from the toil of seeking truth. This is the great work of every rational being, especially the great work of him who aspires to be a teacher. Thirst for the truth. Study, inquire, and pray for it. Welcome it

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from whatever quarter it may shine. Be willing to pay for it the price of ease, honor, life. Of all crimes, dread none more than that of shutting out God's light from your mind.

But it is not enough to get the truth; you must preach it *as* the truth. Christianity is often preached as false, or at least as a matter of doubt. God, Christ, duty, immortality, the soul, its greatness, its destiny,—these are spoken of as vague rumors which the teacher has chanced to hear, and not as realities; not as what he knows; not as matters of deliberate and deep conviction. Preaching is too often traditional, conventional, professional, the repetition of what is expected, of what it is the custom to say; not the free, natural utterance of persuasion, of experience, of truths which have a substantial being within our souls. Undoubtedly the hearer is culpable for remaining dead under the light of God's word; but how often does the want of life in the teacher put down the life of the taught! Do you ask me, how you may come to feel the reality of the spiritual truth you are to dispense? I answer, do not hope to accomplish this end by the methods commonly used by fanatics; that is, by inflaming the imagination; by representing to yourself, in material forms, God, Heaven, Hell, the suffering of Christ; or by applying perpetual stimulants to the passions. You must unite the forces of the intellect, the heart, and the life, and bring them all to bear on this great end. You must accustom yourself to concentrate thought on the truth which you have gained; you must cultivate the hard but necessary art of meditation; and must exalt meditation into prayer to the Father of light for his quickening spirit. Nor is this all. You must inwardly and out

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wardly live up to the truth. You must strive against those appetites and passions, which cloud the inward eye and shut the inward ear. You must be true without compromise to your convictions of duty. You must cherish and express disinterested affection. It is only by this joint and vigorous action of the moral and intellectual nature, that spiritual vision becomes clear; that the spiritual world is opened to us; that God, and duty, and immortality come forth from the clouds which ordinarily envelope them, into clear and beautiful light; that God's spirit becomes a distinct voice in the soul. You cannot labor too devoutly, that the religion which you preach may become thus real to you, may live in your understanding and heart. Without this, preaching is a tinkling cymbal, a vain show. Without it, there may be prodigies of theological learning. Without it, there may be eloquent declaimers, much admired and run after. But they work on the surface only. They show themselves, not the truth. They may excite transient emotions, but do not strike the deep fountains of thought and feeling in the human soul. He, alone, within whom Christian truth is a living, substantial presence, can give it forth in fresh, genial, natural, quickening tones. Covet, as the minister's best gift, the divine art of speaking the truth as truth. Do not speak as a machine, an echo, but from a living soul.

So important do I hold it to speak the truth, as truth, that, were I able, I would describe more particularly this style of preaching. But words do little to make it intelligible. I might say, that the truth-preacher is free from all artifices and affectation of style and manner; that he is distinguished by simplicity, earnestness, naturalness, freedom. But your own observation and

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consciousness can alone explain to you the characteristics of that truth in preaching, which all feel though none can describe. I would observe, however, that all, who are distinguished by this style, bear one mark. They preach with faith, hope, confidence. Truth, when seen as a reality, always breathes faith and trust. Doubt and despondence belong to error or superficial views. Truth is of God, and is bright with promise of that infinite good which all his perfections make sure to his creation. God's supreme interest and joy in moral excellence; the immutable glory and the omnipotence of rectitude and disinterested love; and the utter feebleness of human passion and prejudice, of sects and armies, of opinion and physical force, when arrayed against the cause of holiness, of Christ, of God,—these are among the clearest manifestations of truth, and indeed its very essence; and, of consequence, he who knows the truth, must be strong in faith, must tread doubt and fear under foot, and must speak with the energy of a living hope. One great reason of the inefficacy of the ministry is, the want of faith in a higher operation of Christianity, in a higher developement of humanity, than is now witnessed. As long as the present wretched condition of the Christian world shall be regarded as ultimate, as long as our religion shall be thought to have done already its chief work on earth, as long as the present corruptions of the church and the state shall be acquiesced in as laws of nature, and shall stir up no deep, agonizing desire of reform, so long the ministry will be comparatively dead.

My Brother, may you receive from Christ and his disciples this glorious inheritance, a spirit of faith. May you read every truth of the Gospel with a prophet's eye,

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and see in it the promise of that new spiritual creation, which Christ came to accomplish on earth. May you discover in God's attributes, in the perfection of the Saviour, in the virtues of eminent men, and in the workings and aspirations of your own soul, pledges, omens, predictions of a higher state of the church and of humanity. This is indeed to know the truth, and this is the knowledge which gives power to preaching. Alas for that community, civil or religious, which binds itself to the past and has no faith in a higher futurity. That community which ceases to grow, begins to decay. In losing hope, it loses the breath of life. Where there is no faith there is no courage, and, of consequence, no victory over evil. You, in particular, will need faith; for you will have continually to do with what is to many minds full of discouragement; I mean, with Pauperism, that dark cloud which hangs ominously over our modern civilization. But fear not. Study this great social evil, its causes, its prevention, its cure, with full confidence, that in society, as in the natural body, there is a healing power, and that no evil is desperate except despair.

Had I time, I might suggest several rules or cautions, particularly needed in such a ministry as yours. I will offer but one or two suggestions. In one important respect your work is to differ from the common ministry, that is, in the distribution of your time. Your life is to be spent, not in retired study, but very much in visits from house to house; and this has its advantages. It will bring you near to the poor, awaken your sympathies with them, acquaint you with their wants, and give them a confidence in your attachment, which will open their hearts to your public instructions. But it has, too, its disadvantages. There is danger

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that your mind may be frittered away by endless details, by listening continually to frivolous communications and suspicious complaints. To escape these narrowing influences, you should steadily devote a part of every day to solitary study; and still more, you should make it your rule to regard the events and experiences of every day as lessons, and strive to extract from them general truths, so that the intellect may enlarge itself in the midst of the humblest concerns. In the meanest hovel, the great principles of human nature and of God's moral providence will be set before you for study and observation. Every man is a volume, if you know how to read him. To seize the Universal in the particular, is the great art of wisdom, and this is especially important to one who is to live amidst details.

Another peculiarity of your ministry is, that you are to see human nature more undisguised, naked, than as it falls under our common notice. You are to go among those, who have not learned to cover up the deformities of the soul by courtesy and graceful speech. You will see more of the coarser appetites and passions. Not that you are to meet more guilt than the rest of us. The selfishness and deceit of the exchange or of fashionable life, however wrapped up in refined manners, are not a whit the fairer in God's sight, than the artful or grasping habits of the poor. Still we are in peculiar danger of losing our respect for human nature, when it offers itself to us in repulsive, uncouth, vulgar forms and language. Remember to be candid and just to the poor. Treasure up in memory the instances, which you will often meet among them, of generosity, patience, domestic love and self-control; and do not forget, that their destitution and suffering add to these virtues a

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moral worth, not belonging to the good deeds of prosperous life. Look beneath the outward to the spiritual, the immortal, the divine. Feel that each of the poor is as dear to God as the most exalted in condition, and approach them with humanity and respect. I do not mean by this, that you should use flattering words. Be true, honest, plain. Speak to them your mind. Rebuke wrong-doing openly, firmly. The respect, won by manly courage and simplicity, will give you greater power, than any attachment gained by soft and soothing words. Be rough rather than affectedly complacent. But with plain dealing you can join a sympathizing heart, and in the union of these you will find strength.

I might multiply instructions, and indeed I know not where to stop; but I have already transgressed the usual limits of this service, and I will add but a single admonition, which, if followed, will render all others useless. Go to Jesus Christ for guidance, inspiration, and strength in your office. This precept is easily uttered, but not easily obeyed. Nothing indeed is harder than to place ourselves near Jesus Christ. The way to him is blocked up on every side. Interpreters, churches, sects, past and present, creeds, authorities, the influences of education, all stand in our way. So many voices, declaring what Christ has said, break on our ears, that his own voice is drowned. The old cry still resounds, "Lo here! and lo there!" How hard is it to get near the true Christ, to see him as he was and is, to hear his own voice, and to penetrate beneath his works and words to his spirit, to his mind and heart, to the great principles of his religion, to the grand spiritual purpose of all which he said and did! How hard to escape our age, to penetrate through the disguises

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in which works of art and of theology have wrapped up Jesus, and to receive immediate, unmixed impulses from his teaching and life! And yet the privilege of communing with such a spirit is so great, and the duty of going from man to Christ is so solemn, that you must spare no effort to place yourself nearer and nearer to the Divine Master. Learn from him how to look on men, how to feel for them, how to bear with them, how to meet them courageously yet tenderly, how to awaken in them the consciousness of their spiritual nature and destiny, and how to stir them up to the desire and pursuit of a new, inward, everlasting life.

My Brother, I conclude with reminding you of your great responsibilities. Your office is important; but this is not all. You enter on it at a critical moment. The ministry for the poor has indeed ceased to be an experiment; its success has surpassed our hopes; and yet it is not established as firmly as it should be. It awakens little interest in our churches. It receives little aid from them. The contributions to it from most of our congregations are small, and do little honor to us as a body of Christians. The success of the ministry thus far is due, under Providence, not to the zeal of the churches, but to the devotion, the martyr-spirit of the men who have been charged with its duties. More faithful laborers, I believe, are not to be found in the ranks of the ministry through Christendom. Our brother, that faithful servant of God, who began this work, still lives; but almost, if not quite, worn down by unremitted toils, he is waging a doubtful conflict with disease brought on him in the pulpit and in the hovels of the poor. How his successor has labored you need not be told. And now you are to enter into the labors of these faithful men, and to

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commend by like labors, the cause for which they have struggled, to the honor and confidence of our churches. Whether this good work shall go on, rests not a little with you. This I say, not to stimulate you to labors beyond your strength. I beseech you not to waste in a few spasmodic efforts the strength and usefulness of years. I beseech you to regard the care of your health as a duty to yourself, to us, and to the poor. But within this limit, work with life, with courage, with strength of purpose, with unfaltering faith in God. My Brother, go forth to your labors with the spirit and power of Him who first preached the Gospel to the poor; and may you, in fulfilment of his promise, perform greater works than those outward miracles which signalized his earthly ministry. Through your teaching, may the spiritually blind see and the deaf hear, the lost be found and the dead raised. May the blessing of them that are ready to perish come upon you. May the poor, consoled, strengthened, sanctified by your ministry, be your crown and joy in the day of the Lord.

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CHARGE

AT THE ORDINATION

OF THE

REV. JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT,

AS

PASTOR OF THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
IN NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS,

MAY 20, 1840

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CHARGE

AT THE

ORDINATION OF REV. JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT.

My Young Friend,

The ecclesiastical Council, assembled here to introduce you to the office of a Christian minister, according to the simple and affecting rites of the Congregational churches, have appointed me to deliver the Charge; or, in other words, to expound to you and to enforce the duties of the sacred office. In doing this, I claim no right to dictate to your faith, I ask no passive obedience or assent; and yet there is an authority of Divine Truth, and in proportion as a man is possessed by it, he cannot but speak with the energy of a divine messenger, and with the consciousness of a right to respectful attention.

I shall confine myself to your duties as a public teacher of religion; not that the more private labors of your office want importance; but because it will be more useful to enter with some thoroughness into a part, than to give superficial notices of the whole, of your functions.

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It is well to start with some comprehensive view of our work, be it what it may; and I therefore begin with observing, that the great idea which ought to shine out in all preaching, is that of Moral Perfection. This is the very essence of God; our highest conception of the Divinity being that of absolute, unbounded, eternal, omnipotent rectitude and love. Of this perfection, Christ is the bright, unsullied image. To bring men to this, was the grand purpose of his coming, teaching, miracles, and cross. In this, we have the explanation of our present being, the end of all its duties, temptations, conflicts, and pains. This is in truth the everlasting life, the heaven, which he came to unfold and promise to mankind. Your fitness for your office is to be measured by your comprehension of this perfection, by your faith in it, by your aspirations after it, by the power with which this supreme beauty smites and stirs your soul, and by your power of awakening the thought and desire of it in the souls of others. Your work, then, is to preach the Perfect. Preach the perfection of God, that He may be loved, not with passion or selfish regards, but with enlightened, disinterested, ever-growing love. Preach the perfection of Christ. Strive to seize the true idea of his character, to penetrate the mists with which the errors of ages have shrouded him, to see him in his simple majesty, to trace in his history the working of his soul, the peculiarity of his love, the grandeur of his purpose. Be not anxious to settle his rank in the universe, but to comprehend the divinity of his spirit, that you may awaken towards him generous, purifying affections. Preach the perfection to which man is called by Christianity. Preach the nobleness and beauty of human virtue. Believe in man as destined to make progress

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without end. Help him to understand his high calling as a Christian, and to see God working within and around him for his perfection. These views might easily be extended, but these are sufficient to show you the grandeur of thought which belongs to your profession. Moral perfection is its beginning and end. How sublime and awakening the theme of the ministry! And yet religion, in consequence of its being so familiar, and of its having been cramped so long in human creeds, shrinks in most minds into a small compass, and wears any form but that of grandeur. You have seen in schools the solar system, with its majestic worlds, represented by circles of wire and balls of pith. In like manner, religion is dwarfed and degraded. Strive to think of it nobly, justly, vividly, and hold it forth as the sublimest reality.

You are to preach the perfect; and for what end? Not simply that men may discern and admire it. This is but the beginning of your work. The great aim must be to stir up men to the solemn, stern, invincible purpose of doing, of becoming, what they acknowledge and admire, of realizing their conceptions of the right, the perfect, the divine. The highest office of the ministry, is to breathe this energy, this indomitable force of will. It is not enough to awaken enthusiasm by touching manifestations of moral beauty, of Christian greatness of soul. Sensibility without moral resolution, avails nothing. All duties, and especially the highest, are resisted in the breasts of our hearers, by strong temptations, by the senses, the passions, by selfish hopes and fears, by bad habits and sins; and unless you can awaken energy to put down this resistance, you preach in vain. It is the existence of this mighty antagonist force to virtue in human nature, which makes Christianity necessary, which

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makes the ministry necessary. The grand purpose of all the doctrines, teachings, promises, institutions, and spiritual aids of our religion, is to infuse an all-conquering will in opposition to temptation, to bind the soul to the choice and pursuit of perfection, in the face of pleasure, pain, honor, interest, loss, and death. Propose distinctly to yourself as your grand work, the excitement of this energy of the will; and this single thought will do much to give a living power to your preaching.

Having spoken of the end of the Christian teacher, I proceed to consider the means by which it is to be accomplished. His great instrument is the Truth revealed by God through Jesus Christ, and through his own soul. To gain this, must of course be the labor of his life; and he is to gain it chiefly by study and by Inward Experience. A minister must be a student; a patient, laborious student. There are those, indeed, who seem to think, that religious truth comes by inspiration; and it is certain, that light often flashes on the mind as from heaven. But inspiration does not visit the idle, passive mind. We receive it in the use and faithful use of our powers. You must study, you must work. Your parish must contain no harder laborer than yourself. To study is not to read, that we may know what others have thought; but to put forth the utmost strength of our faculties, for the acquisition of just, strong, living convictions of truth. It is to concentrate the mind; to pierce beneath the apparent and particular, to the real and permanent and universal; to grapple with difficulties; to separate false associations and accidental adjuncts from the truth. Study human nature and the divine. Study human life, that you may penetrate through its mysteries and endless mutations to its one all-comprehending

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design. Study God's works, that amidst their infinite agencies you may discern the one power and spirit from which all spring. Study, especially, the Holy Scriptures, the records of God's successive revelations to the human race. Strive to gain profound, generous, and fruitful conceptions of Christianity; to penetrate into the import of its records; to seize its distinctive character, and to rise above what was local, temporary, partial in Christ's teaching, to his universal, all-comprehending truth. To gain this knowledge of Christianity, your first and chief resort will be, of course, to the New Testament; but remember, that there are difficulties in the way of a just interpretation of this venerable record. Other books are left to act on our minds freely and without control, to exert on us their native, genuine influence; but such a host of interpreters thrust themselves between the sacred volume and the reader, so many false associations of ideas with its phraseology are formed from the cradle, and long familiarity has so hardened us to its most quickening passages, that it is more difficult to bring ourselves into near communication with a sacred writer, than with any other. The student in theology must labor earnestly to escape the power of habit, and to receive immediate impressions from the Scriptures; and when by his efforts he is able to catch the spirit which had before lain hid beneath the letter; to feel a new power in words which had often fallen lifelessly on his ear; to place himself in the midst of the past, and thus to pierce into the heart of passages, which he had been accustomed to interpret according to modern modes of thought; he ought to rejoice as in the acquisition of untold treasure, and to feel that he is arming

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himself with the most effectual weapons for his spiritual warfare.

You will, of course, read other books beside the Bible; but beware lest these diminish your power. Perhaps in no department of literature are works of vigorous and original thought rarer than in theology. No profession is so overwhelmed with commonplace, weak, worthless books, as ours. No text has been so obscured and oppressed by undiscerning commentators, as the Bible. In theology, as in all branches of knowledge, confine yourself very much to the works of men who have written not from tradition or imitation, but from consciousness, experience, reflection, and research; and study these, that your own faculties may be roused to a kindred energy. Especially beware of giving yourself up to the popular literature of the day; which, however innocent or useful as an amusement, is the last nutriment to form a powerful mind, and which I fear is more pernicious to men of our profession than of any other.

Study laboriously, for much is to be learned. Do not destroy your intellectual life, by imagining that all truth is discovered, and that you have nothing to do but to repeat what others have taught. I know not a more fatal mistake to a teacher. It were better for you to burn your books, and to devote yourself to solitary, painful researches after truth, than to sleep on others' acquisitions, than to make the activity of others' minds a substitute for your own. It is intended by our Creator, that truth should be our own discovery, and therefore he has surrounded us with fallible beings, whom we are impelled to distrust. Paradoxical as it may seem, we ought to discover the truths which we have been taught by others; for the light which our own earnest free thought will

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throw on these, will make them so different from what they were when first passively received, that they will be virtually rediscovered by ourselves.

Study laboriously, for much is to be learned. Do not feel as if Christianity had spoken its last word, and had nothing more to say. It is the characteristic of Divine Truth, that it is inexhaustible, infinitely fruitful. It does not stand alone in the mind, but combines with, explains, irradiates our other knowledge. It is the office of a great moral truth to touch the deep springs of thought within us, to awaken the soul to new activity, to start a throng of suggestions to be followed out by patient contemplation. An arid, barren religion, which reveals a precise, rigid doctrine, admitting no expansion, and kindling no new life in the intellect, cannot be from God. It wants an essential mark of having come from the Creator of the human soul, for the great distinction of soul, is its desire to burst its limits and grow for ever.

But I need not in this town urge the importance of study. Can a minister breathe the atmosphere in which Edwards lived, and content himself with taking passively what others teach? I exhort you to visit the spot where Edwards brought forth his profound works; and let the spiritual presence of that intensest thinker of the new world and of the age in which he lived, stir you up to energy of thought. His name has shed a consecration over this place. In many things indeed you differ from him; but you will not therefore reverence the less his single-hearted and unwearied devotion of his great powers to the investigation of truth; and in the wide and continued influence of his writings, you will learn, that secret study, silent thought, is after all the mightiest agent in human affairs.

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I have enlarged beyond my purpose on study; I proceed to observe, that something more than the action of intellect is needed to secure to you a living knowledge of Christian truth. On moral subjects no study can avail us without Inward Experience. To comprehend religion, you must be religious. A new revelation of truth is gained, by bringing the truth to bear on our own hearts and lives. Study the best books; but remember that no "tongue of men or angels," no language of heaven or earth, can give you that intimate perception of God, that faith in the invisible, which comes from inward purity, from likeness to the Divinity. There is a light, to which others are strangers, that visits the inward eye of the man who contends with evil in himself, and is true to his convictions of duty. This is the highest inspiration, surpassing that of prophets; for the ancient prophet comprehended but imperfectly the revelation with which he was charged, and sometimes shrunk from communicating it to the world. Christian truth will never become your own, until something congenial with it is unfolded in your own soul. We learn the Divinity through a divine principle within ourselves. We learn the majesty and happiness of virtue by consciousness, by experience, by giving up all to virtue, and in no other way. Disinterested, impartial love, is the perfection of the intellect as well as of the heart. Without it, thought is barren and superficial, clinging to things narrow, selfish, and earthly. This love gave being, unity, harmony to the universe, and is the only light in which the universe can be read. Preach from this highest inspiration, and you will preach with power. Without this inward experience, intellect, imagination, passion, rhetoric, genius, may dazzle, and be rapturously praised and ad

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mired, but they cannot reach the depths of the human soul. Watch, then, over your own spiritual life; be what you preach; know by consciousness what you inculcate. Remember that the best preparation for enforcing any Christian virtue, is to bring it into vigorous action in your own breast. Let the thirst for perfection grow up in you into a holy enthusiasm, and you will have taken the most effectual step towards perfecting them that hear you.

I have now spoken of the two principal means of obtaining Christian truth; they are study and inward experience. Having thus sought the truth, how shall it be communicated? A few suggestions only can be made. I exhort you, first, to communicate it with all possible plainness and simplicity. Put confidence in the power of pure, unsophisticated truth. Do not disguise or distort it, or overlay it with ornaments or false colors, to make it more effectual. Bring it out in its native shape and hues, and, if possible, in noonday brightness. Beware of ambiguous words, of cant, of vague abstractions, of new-fangled phrases, of ingenious subtileties. Especially exaggerate nothing for effect, that most common sin of the pulpit. Be willing to disappoint your hearers, to be unimpressive, to seem cold, rather than to "o'erstep the modesty" of truth. In the long run, nothing is so strong as simplicity. Do not, to be striking, dress up truth in paradoxes. Do not make it virtually falsehood, by throwing it out without just modification and restraint. Do not destroy its fair proportions by extravagance. Undoubtedly strong emotion often breaks out in hyperboles. It cannot stop to weigh its words; and this free, bold language of nature, I do not mean to condemn; for this, even when most daring, is simple and intelligible

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I would caution you, not against nature, but against artificial processes, against distrust of simple truth, against straining for effect, against efforts to startle or dazzle the hearer, against the quackery which would pass off old thoughts for new, or common thoughts for more than their worth, by means of involved or ambitious phraseology. Prefer the true to the dazzling, the steady sunlight to the meteor. Truth is the power which is to conquer the world; and you cannot toil too much to give clear perceptions of it. I may seem to waste words on so plain a point; but I apprehend, that few ministers understand the importance of helping men to see religious truth distinctly. No truth, I fear, is so faintly apprehended. On the subject of religion, most men walk in a mist. The words of the Bible and of the preacher convey to multitudes no definite import. Theology, being generally taught without method, and as a matter of authority, and before the mind can comprehend it, is too often the darkest and most confused of all the subjects of thought. How little distinct comprehension is carried away by multitudes from our most important discourses. My Brother, help men to *see*. Christianity was called Light, and you will be its worthy teacher only by being, like its first ministers, a "light of the world." It is a common error, that to avoid dulness, the most unpardonable sin of the pulpit, the preacher can find more effectual means than the clear expression of simple truth. Accordingly, some have recourse to crude novelties; some to mysticism, as if truth to be imposing, must be enthroned in clouds; some to vehemence; some to strong utterance of feeling. Of course, I would say nothing in disparagement of feeling; but I am satisfied, that there is no more effect-

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ual security against dulness, than the unfolding of truth distinctly and vividly, so that the hearer can lay a strong hold on great principles, can take in a larger extent of thought, and can feel that he has a rock for faith and opinion to rest on. In the natural world it is Light that wakes us in the morning, and keeps us awake through the day ; and I believe that to bring light into God's house is one of the surest ways of driving slumber out of its walls. Let me add, that, to give at once clearness and interest to preaching, nothing is more necessary than that comprehensive wisdom, which discerns what is prominent and commanding in a subject, which seizes on its great points, its main features, and throws lesser matters into the back ground, thus securing unity and, of consequence, distinctness of impression. Nothing is so dull as a dead level, as monotony, as want of relief and perspective, want of light and shade ; and this is among the most common causes of the dulness of the pulpit.

The remarks, made under the present head, are liable to a misapprehension, which may be usefully guarded against. I have condemned affected and obscure phraseology. Do not imagine that I would recommend to you a hackneyed style. The minister, to give distinct, vivid impression, must especially beware of running the round of commonplace expressions. He must break away from the worn-out phraseology of the pulpit. He must not confine himself to terms and modes of speech which familiarity has deadened. So mighty is the influence of time and habit in emptying words of life and significance, that truth in every age needs new forms, fresh manifestations. Happy the teacher, who is able to give out truth in language original and bold, yet simple and unforced, and such as causes no offence to cultivated taste or religious feeling.

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Perhaps it may be objected to the advice now given, that I have recommended a plainness and distinctness not to be attained by the preacher. It may be said, that religion relates to the Infinite; that its great object is the Incomprehensible God; that human life is surrounded with abysses of mystery and darkness; that the themes on which the minister is to speak, stretch out beyond the power of imagination, and of course do not admit of mathematical preciseness of statement; that he has aspirations and feelings too high, and deep, and vast, to be accurately defined; that at times he only catches glimpses of truth, and cannot set it forth in all its proportions. All this is true. But it is also true, that a minister speaks to be understood; and if he cannot make himself intelligible, he should hold his peace. Language has but one function, and that is to help another to understand what passes in the speaker's breast. What though he is surrounded with the imcomprehensible? Is he, therefore, authorized to speak in an unknown tongue? Amid the vague and the obscure, are there not facts, principles, realities, of unutterable moment, on which he and others may lay hold? Even when he catches broken glimpses, he can report these simply and faithfully, so as to be apprehended by a prepared mind. The more difficult the subject, the more anxiously the art of clear expression should be cultivated; and the pulpit, which gathers together the multitude, and addresses its rapid instruction to the ear, demand such culture above all other spheres. This is the last place for dark sayings; and yet he who carefully studies expression, will find the pulpit a place for communicating a great amount of profound and soul-stirring thought to the world.

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I have said, you must preach plainly. I now add, preach with zeal, fervor, earnestness. To rouse, to quicken, is the end of all preaching, and plainness which does not minister to this is of little worth. This topic is too familiar to need expansion; and I introduce it simply to guard you against construing it too narrowly. The minister is often exhorted to be earnest in the pulpit. You will be told, that fervor in delivering your discourse is the great means of impression. I would rather exhort you to be fervent in preparing it. Write with earnestness, and you will find little difficulty in preaching earnestly; and if you have not poured out your soul in writing, vehemence of delivery will be of little avail. To enunciate with voice of thunder and vehement gestures a cold discourse, is to make it colder still. The fire which is to burn in the pulpit, must be kindled in the study. Preach with zeal. But let it be a kindly zeal. Always speak in love. Let not earnestness be a cover for anger, or for a spirit of menance and dictation. Always speak as a brother. With the boldest, sternest, most scornful, most indignant reproofs of baseness and crime, let the spirit of humanity, of sorrowful concern be blended. In too much of the zeal of the pulpit, there is a hardness, unfeelingness, inhumanity, more intolerable to a good mind, than sleepy dulness or icy indifference.

I have said, preach plainly and preach earnestly; I now say, preach with moral courage. Fear no man, high or low, rich or poor, taught on untaught. Honor all men; love all men; but fear none. Speak what you account great truths frankly, strongly, boldly. Do not spoil them of life to avoid offence. Do not seek to propitiate passion and prejudice by compromise and con-

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cession. Beware of the sophistry, which reconciles the conscience to the suppression, or vague, lifeless utterance of unpopular truth. Do not wink at wrong deeds or unholy prejudices, because sheltered by custom or respected names. Let your words breathe an heroic valor. You are bound indeed to listen candidly and respectfully to whatever objections may be urged against your views of truth and duty. You must also take heed lest you baptize your rash, crude notions, your hereditary or sectarian opinions with the name of Christian doctrine. But having deliberately, conscientiously sought the truth, abide by your conviction at all hazards. Never shrink from speaking your mind, through dread of reproach. Wait not to be backed by numbers. Wait not till you are sure of an echo from a crowd. The fewer the voices on the side of truth, the more distinct and strong must be your own. Put faith in truth as mightier than error, prejudice, or passion, and be ready to take a place among its martyrs. Feel that truth is not a local, temporary influence, but immutable, everlasting, the same in all worlds, one with God and armed with his omnipotence. Courage even on the side of error is power. How must it prove on the side of truth! A minister speaking not from selfish calculation, but giving out his mind in godly sincerity, uttering his convictions in natural tones, and always faithful to the light which he has received, however he may give occasional offence, will not speak in vain; he will have an ally in the moral sense, the principle of justice, the reverence for virtue, which is never wholly extinguished in the human soul.

You are peculiarly called to cherish moral courage, because it is not the virtue of our times and country,

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and because ministers are especially tempted to moral weakness. The Protestant minister, mixing freely with society, sustaining all its relations, and depending on opinion for bread, has strong inducements to make a compromise with the world. Is there not reason to fear, that, under these influences, religion and the world often shake hands? Is there not a secret understanding, that the ministry, while it condemns sin in the mass, must touch gently the prejudices, wrongs, and abuses which the community has taken under its wing? Is not preaching often disarmed by this silent, almost unconscious, concession to the world? Whether a ministry sustained as it now is, can be morally free, is a problem yet to be solved. If not, the minister must now, as of old, leave all for Christ, looking solely for aid to those, however few or poor, who share his own deep interest in the Christian cause. Better earn your bread with the sweat of your brow, than part with moral freedom.

It is natural that you should desire to win the affection of your people; but beware, lest this interfere with moral courage. There is always danger to dignity and force of character, in aiming to win the hearts of others. Dear as affection is, we must be able to renounce it, to live without sympathy, to forfeit this man's confidence and that man's friendship by speaking truth. I exhort you to prize respect more than affection. Respect, gradually won by faithfulness to principle, is more unwavering than personal attachment, and secures more intelligent attention to preaching. We are indeed told, that truth is never so effectual as from the lips of him whom we love. But it is to be desired, that truth should be received for its own sake, that it should have

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its root in the hearer's reason and conscience, and not in the partiality of friendship. I wish for you the love of this congregation; but still more, that they may reverence you as ever ready to sacrifice human love and honor to principle and truth.

Hitherto I have guarded you against selfish fear. There is a more refined fear, to which ingenuous minds are liable. I refer to the apprehension, which springs from a consciousness of inferiority and inability. This often disheartens the minister, subdues his voice, tames his countenance, dims the eye, throws an air of constraint over his form and motions, locks up his soul, suffering no sensibility to gush out, no quickening communication to be established between his own and other souls. To defend yourself from this fear, impress yourself deeply with the divine original and the infinite dignity of the religion you are to preach. You will indeed often stand before your superiors in age and acquisitions. But do not fear. Remember that you are preaching a religion, in the presence of which all human wisdom ought to be humble, and that you are teaching a virtue, which ought to strike a conviction of deep deficiency into the most improved, and by which the most gifted and powerful are soon to be judged. In the contemplation of the majesty of Christian truth, of the work which it is appointed to accomplish, and of the omnipotence by which it is sustained, you should forget yourself; you should forget the world's ephemeral dignities, and speak with the native unaffected authority of a witness to immortal verities, of a messenger of the Most High.

I am aware, that what has been said to encourage a spirit of fearlessness and independence is liable to abuse.

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There are those who confound moral courage with defiance of established opinion, and Christian independence with an overweening fondness for their own conceits. I trust to your humility and soundness of mind for a sober construction of my counsels. I trust you will feel such a respect for past times, and for the maxims and institutions of the society to which you belong, as will induce you to weigh cautiously and with self-distrust whatever peculiar views spring up in your mind. You are too wise to bolt from the beaten path, in order to prove that you do not tamely follow others' steps; too wise to be lawless, that you may escape the reproach of servility. The authority of usage is a wholesome restraint on the freaks, follies, and rash experiments of youth and inexperience. But usage must not restrain the intellect and heart. Whilst deferring to the rules which society has settled, you must still act from your own convictions. You must stand out as an individual, and not be melted in the common mass. Whilst you honor antiquity, you must remember that the past has not done and could not do the work of the present; that in religion, as in all things, progress is the law and happiness of the race; that our own time has its task, and has wants which the provisions of earlier times cannot satisfy. Remember, too, that each man has his own way of working, and can work powerfully in no other, and do not anxiously and timidly model yourself after those whom you admire. To escape the sin of presumption, do not be mechanical. To escape eccentricity, do not shut your eyes on what is peculiar in your lot, and fear to meet it by peculiar efforts. The minister too often speaks feebly, because his voice is only the echo of echoes, because he dares not trust to the

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inspirations of his own soul. To conclude this head, —be humble, be modest, but be not weak. Fear God and not man. Respect your deliberately consulted conscience. This energy of spirit will give a greater power to your ministry than all the calculations of selfish prudence or all the compromises of selfish fear.

My Brother, one exhortation more. Feel the greatness of your office. Let not its humble exterior, or the opinion of the world, or its frequent inefficacy, hide from you its unspeakable dignity. Regard it as the highest human vocation, as greater than thrones, or any other distinctions which relate merely to the present life. The noblest work on earth, or in heaven, is to act on the soul; to inspire it with wisdom and magnanimity, with reverence for God, and love towards man. This is the highest function of sages and inspired poets, and also of statesmen worthy of the name, who comprehend that a nation's greatness is to be laid in its soul. Glory in your office. Feel that it associates you with the elect of past ages, with Jesus Christ, and apostles, and confessors, and martyrs, and reformers; with all who have toiled and suffered to raise men to intelligence and moral greatness; and let the consciousness of this spiritual brotherhood fortify you for like suffering and toil. Glory in your office. You delight in poetry and the fine arts; but remember that the divinest art is that which studies and creates the beauty, not of outward form, but of immortal virtue; which creates not statues and pictures, but holy and disinterested men; which awakens the godlike in the breast of our brother. No poem is so glorious as a Christian life; and he who incites a fellow-creature to this, produces a work which will outlast all other works of the mind Glory in your

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office, especially, as instituted to carry forward the human soul to wider and higher action than it has yet attained. Other men are laboring with instruments, the power of which can be measured; but who can measure the energy which resides in Christian truth, or the spiritual life and elevation which this truth, rightly administered, may communicate? Regard your office, as meant not to perpetuate what exists, but to introduce a higher condition of the church and the world. Christ was eminently the Reformer; and Reform is the spirit of the ministry. Without this spirit, our churches are painted sepulchres, and the preaching in them but sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Comprehend the greatness of your spiritual function. You are intrusted with a truth that is to create a new heaven and a new earth, to prostrate the abuses and corruptions of ages, to unite men by new ties to God and to one another, to revive the Divine Image in the human soul. Keep your mind in harmony with this great end. Let not pleasures, cares, honors, common example, or opinion, or any worldly interest, sever you from it. Cherish a living faith in a higher operation of Christianity, than is yet seen in any community or any church. This faith is far from being universal, and for want of it the ministry is weak. But is there no ground for it? Is it an illusion? I know not a weightier question for a minister to answer. Other points of controversy will solicit your attention. But the greatest question which you have to determine is, Whether Christianity has done its work and spent its force, or whether a more regenerating manifestation of truth is not to be hoped? Whether a new application of the Christian law to private and public life is not to be longed for, and prayed for, and con-

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fidently expected? Whether Christendom is not to wear another aspect? whether the idea of perfection, of disinterested virtue, which shone forth in the character of Jesus, is not to possess more livingly the human soul, and to be more and more realized in human life? Your answer to this question will decide very much whether your ministry shall be a mechanical round, a name, a sleep, or be fraught with life and power. In answering it, do not consult with flesh and blood; but listen to the prophetic words of Jesus Christ; listen to the aspirations of your own soul; listen to that deep discontent with the present forms of Christianity which is spreading in the community, which breaks out in murmurs, now of scorn, now of grief, and which hungers and thirsts for a new coming of the kingdom of God.

My Brother, much might be added, but I hasten to the close of this unusually protracted service. We wish you prosperity. May you establish yourself in the hearts of this people. May you find a lasting home in this beautiful part of our land. Here may you live in peace, here grow old in honor, here close your eyes amid the tears of a grateful people. This we hope; and we have ground of hope in the spirit of the congregation to which you are to minister. But we cannot speak of your prospects as sure. You live in a trying day. The spirit of change which characterizes our times has penetrated the church, and shaken the old stability of the ministry. In no profession are men exposed to greater changes than in ours. Prepare yourself for the worst, while you hope for the best. Cherish as among the first virtues of your office, a firm, manly, self-denying spirit. Let not the comforts of life grow into your soul. Be simple in your habits, in

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food, raiment, pleasures. Be frugal, that you may be just, may "have to give to him that needeth," and may be fitted to sustain privations with dignity. Build up in yourself an energy of purpose, an iron strength of principle, a loftiness of sentiment, which will disarm outward changes, and give power to your ministry, whether in a prosperous or adverse lot. "Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." "Be thou faithful unto death, and He shall give thee a crown of life."

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MISCELLANIES.

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DAILY PRAYER.

THE Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments agree in enjoining prayer. Let no man call himself a Christian, who lives without giving a part of life to this duty. We are not taught how often we must pray; but our Lord in teaching us to say, "Give us this day our daily bread," implies that we should pray daily. He has even said to us, "pray always;" an injunction to be explained indeed with that latitude which many of his precepts require, but which is not to be satisfied, we think, without regular and habitual devotion. As to the particular hours to be given to this duty, every Christian may choose them for himself. Our religion is too liberal and spiritual to bind us to any place or any hour of prayer. But there are parts of the day particularly favorable to this duty, and which, if possible, should be redeemed for it. On these we shall offer a few reflections.

The first of these periods is the morning, which even nature seems to have pointed out to men of different religions, as a fit time for offerings to the Divinity. In the morning our minds are not so much shaken by worldly

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cares and pleasures, as in other parts of the day. Retirement and sleep have helped to allay the violence of our feelings, to calm the feverish excitement so often produced by intercourse with men. The hour is a still one. The hurry and tumults of life are not begun, and we naturally share in the tranquillity around us. Having for so many hours lost our hold on the world, we can banish it more easily from the mind, and worship with less divided attention. This, then, is a favorable time for approaching the invisible Author of our being, for strengthening the intimacy of our minds with him, for thinking upon a future life, and for seeking those spiritual aids which we need in the labors and temptations of every day.

In the morning there is much to feed the spirit of devotion. It offers an abundance of thoughts friendly to pious feeling. When we look on creation, what a happy and touching change do we witness! A few hours past, the earth was wrapped in gloom and silence. There seemed "a pause in nature." But now, a new flood of light has broken forth, and creation rises before us in fresher and brighter hues, and seems to rejoice as if it had just received birth from its Author. The sun never sheds more cheerful beams, and never proclaims more loudly God's glory and goodness, than when he returns after the coldness and dampness of night, and awakens man and inferior animals to the various purposes of their being. A spirit of joy seems breathed over the earth and through the sky. It requires little effort of imagination to read delight in the kindled clouds, or in the fields bright with dew. This is the time when we can best feel and bless the Power which said, "let there be light;" which "set a tabernacle for the sun in the

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heavens," and made him the dispenser of fruitfulness and enjoyment through all regions.

If we next look at ourselves, what materials does the morning furnish for devout thought! At the close of the past day, we were exhausted by our labors, and unable to move without wearisome effort. Our minds were sluggish, and could not be held to the most interesting objects. From this state of exhaustion, we sunk gradually into entire insensibility. Our limbs became motionless; our senses were shut as in death. Our thoughts were suspended, or only wandered confusedly and without aim. Our friends, and the universe, and God himself were forgotten. And what a change does the morning bring with it! On waking, we find that sleep, the image of death, has silently infused into us a new life. The weary limbs are braced again. The dim eye has become bright and piercing. The mind is returned from the region of forgetfulness to its old possessions. Friends are met again with a new interest. We are again capable of devout sentiment, virtuous effort, and Christian hope. With what subjects of gratitude, then, does the morning furnish us! We can hardly recall the state of insensibility from which we have just emerged, without a consciousness of our dependence, or think of the renovation of our powers and intellectual being, without feeling our obligation to God. There is something very touching in the consideration, if we will fix our minds upon it, that God thought of us when we could not think; that he watched over us when we had no power to avert peril from ourselves; that he continued our vital motions, and in due time broke the chains of sleep, and set our imprisoned faculties free. How fit is it, at this hour, to raise to God the eyes which he has opened, and

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the arm which he has strengthened; to acknowledge his providence; and to consecrate to him the powers which he has renewed! How fit that he should be the first object of the thoughts and affections which he has restored! How fit to employ in his praise the tongue which he has loosed, and the breath which he has spared.

But the morning is a fit time for devotion, not only from its relation to the past night, but considered as the introduction of a new day. To a thinking mind, how natural at this hour are such reflections as the following: —I am now to enter on a new period of my life, to start afresh in my course. I am to return to that world where I have often gone astray; to receive impressions which may never be effaced; to perform actions which will never be forgotten; to strengthen a character which will fit me for heaven or hell. I am this day to meet temptations which have often subdued me; I am to be intrusted again with opportunities of usefulness which I have often neglected. I am to influence the minds of others, to help in moulding their characters, and in deciding the happiness of their present and future life. How uncertain is this day! What unseen dangers are before me! What unexpected changes may await me! It may be my last day! It will certainly bring me nearer to death and judgment! —Now, when entering on a period of life so important, yet so uncertain, how fit and natural is it, before we take the first step, to seek the favor of that Being on whom the lot of every day depends, to commit all our interests to his almighty and wise providence, to seek his blessing on our labors and his succour in temptation, and to consecrate to his service the day which he raises upon us! This morning devotion, not only agrees

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with the sentiments of the heart, but tends to make the day happy, useful, and virtuous. Having cast ourselves on the mercy and protection of the Almighty, we shall go forth with new confidence to the labors and duties which he imposes. Our early prayer will help to shed an odor of piety through the whole life. God, having first occupied, will more easily recur to our mind. Our first step will be in the right path, and we may hope a happy issue.

So fit and useful is morning devotion, it ought not to be omitted without necessity. If our circumstances will allow the privilege, it is a bad sign when no part of the morning is spent in prayer. If God find no place in our minds at that early and peaceful hour, he will hardly recur to us in the tumults of life. If the benefits of the morning do not soften us, we can hardly expect the heart to melt with gratitude through the day. If the world then rush in and take possession of us, when we are at some distance and have had a respite from its cares, how can we hope to shake it off when we shall be in the midst of it, pressed and agitated by it on every side? Let a part of the morning, if possible, be set apart to devotion; and to this end we should fix the hour of rising, so that we may have an early hour at our own disposal. Our piety is suspicious, if we can renounce, as too many do, the pleasures and benefits of early prayer, rather than forego the senseless indulgence of unnecessary sleep. What! we can rise early enough for business. We can even anticipate the dawn, if a favorite pleasure or an uncommon gain requires the effort. But we cannot rise, that we may bless our great Benefactor, that we may arm ourselves for the severe conflicts to which our principles are to be exposed! We are willing

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to rush into the world, without thanks offered, or a blessing sought! From a day thus begun, what ought we to expect but thoughtlessness and guilt?

Let us now consider another part of the day, which is favorable to the duty of prayer; we mean the evening. This season, like the morning, is calm and quiet. Our labors are ended. The bustle of life has gone by. The distracting glare of the day has vanished. The darkness which surrounds us, favors seriousness, composure, and solemnity. At night the earth fades from our sight, and nothing of creation is left us but the starry heavens, so vast, so magnificent, so serene, as if to guide up our thoughts above all earthly things to God and immortality.

This period should in part be given to prayer, as it furnishes a variety of devotional topics and excitements. The evening is the close of an important division of time, and is therefore a fit and natural season for stopping and looking back on the day. And can we ever look back on a day, which bears no witness to God, and lays no claim to our gratitude? Who is it that strengthens us for daily labor, gives us daily bread, continues our friends and common pleasures, and grants us the privilege of retiring after the cares of the day, to a quiet and beloved home? The review of the day will often suggest not only these ordinary benefits, but peculiar proofs of God's goodness, unlooked for successes, singular concurrences of favorable events, signal blessings sent to our friends, or new and powerful aids to our own virtue, which call for peculiar thankfulness. And shall all these benefits pass away unnoticed? Shall we retire to repose as insensible as the wearied brute? How fit and natural is it, to close with pious acknowl-

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edgment, the day which has been filled with Divine beneficence!

But the evening is the time to review, not only our blessings, but our actions. A reflecting mind will naturally remember at this hour that another day is gone, and gone to testify of us to our Judge. How natural and useful to inquire, what report it has carried to heaven. Perhaps we have the satisfaction of looking back on a day, which, in its general tenor, has been innocent and pure, which, having begun with God's praise, has been spent as in his presence; which has proved the reality of our principles in temptation; and shall such a day end without gratefully acknowledging Him, in whose strength we have been strong, and to whom we owe the powers and opportunities of Christian improvement? But no day will present to us recollections of purity unmixed with sin. Conscience, if suffered to inspect faithfully and speak plainly, will recount irregular desires and defective motives, talents wasted and time misspent; and shall we let the day pass from us without penitently confessing our offences to Him who has witnessed them, and who has promised pardon to true repentance? Shall we retire to rest with a burden of unlamented and unforgiven guilt upon our consciences? Shall we leave these stains to spread over and sink into the soul? A religious recollection of our lives, is one of the chief instruments of piety. If possible, no day should end without it. If we take no account of our sins on the day on which they are committed, can we hope that they will recur to us at a more distant period, that we shall watch against them to-morrow, or that we shall gain the strength to resist them, which we will not implore?

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One observation more, and we have done. The evening is a fit time for prayer, not only as it ends the day, but as it immediately precedes the period of repose. The hours of activity having passed, we are soon to sink into insensibility and sleep. How fit that we resign ourselves to the care of that Being who never sleeps, to whom the darkness is as the light, and whose providence is our only safety! How fit to entreat him, that he would keep us to another day; or, if our bed should prove our grave, that he would give us a part in the resurrection of the just, and awake us to a purer and immortal life. The most important periods of prayer have now been pointed out. Let our prayers, like the ancient sacrifices, ascend morning and evening. Let our days begin and end with God.

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MEANS OF PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY.

We live at a time when the obligation of extending Christianity, is more felt than in many past ages. There is much stir, motion, and zeal around us in this good cause. Even those who seem not to be burdened by an excess of piety themselves, are in earnest to give it to others. The activity of multitudes is taking strongly this direction; and as men are naturally restless, and want room for action, and will do mischief rather than do nothing, a philanthropist will rejoice that this new channel is opened for carrying off the superabundant energies of multitudes, even if no other good should result from it.

We hope, however, much other good. We trust, that, whilst many inferior motives and many fanatical impulses are giving birth and action to large associations in Christendom; whilst the love of sway in some, and the love of congregating in others, and the passion for doing something great and at a distance in all, are rearing mighty institutions among us, — still many sincere Christians are governed in these concerns by a supreme desire of spreading Christianity. They have found the Gospel an infinite good, and would communicate it to

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their fellow-beings. They have drunk from the Fountain of Life, and would send forth the stream to gladden every wilderness and solitary place, and to assuage the thirst of every anxious and afflicted mind. They turn with continual pleasure to the prophetic passages of Scripture, and, interpreting them by their wishes, hope a speedy change in the moral state of the world, and are impatient to bear a part in this stupendous renovation. That they are doing good we doubt not, though perhaps not in the way which they imagine or would prefer. The immediate and general success of their attempts would perhaps be ultimately injurious to Christianity. They are sending out, together with God's Word, corrupt interpretations of some parts of it, which considerably neutralize its saving power, and occasionally make it a positive injury. They are perhaps to do good, not by success, so much as by failure. Almost all great enterprises are accomplished gradually, and by methods which have been learned from many unsuccessful trials, from a slow accumulation of experience. The first laborers often do little more than teach those who come after them, what to avoid and how to labor more effectually than themselves. But be the issue what it may, sincere Christians, who embark in this good work, not from party spirit and self-conceit, as if they and their sect were depositaries of all truth and virtue, but from unaffected philanthropy and attachment to Jesus Christ, will have their reward. Even a degree of extravagance in such a cause may be forgiven. Men are willing that the imagination should be kindled on other subjects; that the judgment should sometimes slumber, and leave the affections to feed on hopes brighter than reality; that patriotism, and philanthropy, and the do-

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mestic affections, should sometimes break out in chivalrous enterprises, and should seek their ends by means on which the reason may look coldly. Why, then, shall we frown on every deviation from the strictest judiciousness in a concern which appeals so strongly to the heart, as the extension of Christianity? Men may be too rational as well as too fervent; and the man whose pious wish of the speedy conversion of the world, rises into a strong anticipation of the event, and who, taking his measure of duty from the primitive disciples, covets sacrifices in so good a cause, is an incomparably nobler spirit than he, who, believing that the moral condition of the world is as invariable as the laws of material nature, and seeking pretexts for sloth in a heart-chilling philosophy, has no concern for the multitudes who are sitting in darkness, and does nothing to spread the religion which he believes to have come from Heaven.

There is one danger, however, at a period like the present, when we are aiming to send Christianity to a distance, which demands attention. It is the danger of neglecting the best methods of propagating Christianity, of overlooking much plainer obligations than that of converting Heathens, of forgetting the claims of our religion at home and by our firesides. It happens, that on this, as on almost every subject, our most important duties are quiet, retired, noiseless, attracting little notice, and administering little powerful excitement to the imagination. The surest efforts for extending Christianity, are those which few observe, which are recorded in no magazine, blazoned at no anniversaries, immortalized by no eloquence. Such efforts, being enjoined only by conscience and God, and requiring steady, patient, unwearied toil, we are apt to overlook, and per-

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haps never more so than when the times furnish a popular substitute for them, and when we can discharge our consciences by labors, which, demanding little self-denial, are yet talked of as the highest exploits of Christian charity. Hence it is, that when most is said of labors to propagate Christianity, the least may be really and effectually done. We hear a torrent roaring, and imagine that the fields are plentifully watered, when the torrent owes its violence to a ruinous concentration of streams which before moved quietly in a thousand little channels, moistening the hidden roots, and publishing their course, not to the ear but to the eye, by the refreshing verdure which grew up around them. It is proper, then, when new methods are struck out for sending Christianity abroad, to remind men often of the oldfashioned methods of promoting it, to insist on the superiority of the means which are in almost every man's reach, which require no extensive associations, and which do not subject us to the temptations of exaggerated praise. We do not mean that any exertion, which promises to extend our religion in any tolerable state of purity, is to be declined. But the first rank is to be given to the efforts which God has made the plain duties of men in all ranks and conditions of life. Two of these methods will be briefly mentioned.

First, every individual should feel, that whilst his influence over other men's hearts and character is very bounded, his power over his own heart is great and constant, and that his zeal for extending Christianity is to appear chiefly in extending it through his own mind and life. Let him remember that he as truly enlarges God's kingdom by invigorating his own moral and religious principles, as by communicating them to others. Our

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first concern is at home, our chief work is in our own breasts. It is idle to talk of our anxiety for other men's souls, if we neglect our own. Without personal virtue and religion, we cannot, even if we would, do much for the cause of Christ. It is only by purifying our own conceptions of God and duty, that we can give clear and useful views to others. We must first feel the power of religion, or we cannot recommend it with an unaffected and prevalent zeal. Would we, then, promote pure Christianity? Let us see that it be planted and take root in our own minds, and that no busy concern for others take us from the labor of self-inspection, and the retired and silent offices of piety.

The second method is intimately connected with the first. It is example. This is a means within the reach of all. Be our station in life what it may, it has duties, in performing which faithfully, we give important aid to the cause of morality and piety. The efficacy of this means of advancing Christianity cannot be easily calculated. Example has an insinuating power, transforming the observer without noise, attracting him without the appearance of effort. A truly Christian life is better than large contributions of wealth for the propagation of Christianity. The most prominent instruction of Jesus on this point is, that we must let men "see our good works," if we would lead them to "glorify our Father in heaven." Let men see in us, that religion is something real, something more than high sounding and empty words, a restraint from sin, a bulwark against temptation, a spring of upright and useful action; let them see it, not an idle form, nor a transient feeling, but our companion through life, infusing its purity into our common pursuits, following us to our homes, setting a guard round

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our integrity in the resorts of business, sweetening our tempers in seasons of provocation, disposing us habitually to sympathy with others, to patience and cheerfulness under our own afflictions, to candid judgment, and to sacrifices for others' good; and we may hope that our light will not shine uselessly, that some slumbering conscience will be roused by this testimony to the excellence and practicableness of religion, that some worldly professor of Christianity will learn his obligations and blush for his criminal inconsistency, and that some, in whom the common arguments for our religion may have failed to work a full belief, will be brought to the knowledge of the truth, by this plain practical proof of the heavenly nature of Christianity. Every man is surrounded with beings who are moulded more or less by the principles of sympathy and imitation; and this social part of our nature he is bound to press into the service of Christianity.

It will not be supposed from these remarks on the duty of aiding Christianity by our example, that religion is to be worn ostentatiously, and that the Christian is studiously to exhibit himself and his good works for imitation. That same book which enjoins us to be patterns, tells us to avoid parade, and even to prefer entire secrecy in our charities and our prayers. Nothing destroys the weight of example so much as labor to make it striking and observed. Goodness, to be interesting, must be humble, modest, unassuming, not fond of show, not waiting for great and conspicuous occasions, but disclosing itself without labor and without design, in pious and benevolent offices, so simple, so minute, so steady, so habitual, that they will carry a conviction of the singleness and purity of the heart

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from which they proceed. Such goodness is never lost. It glorifies itself by the very humility which encircles it, just as the lights of heaven often break with peculiar splendor through the cloud which threatened to obscure them.

A pure example, which is found to be more consistent in proportion as it is more known, is the best method of preaching and extending Christianity. Without it, zeal for converting men brings reproach on the cause. A bad man, or a man of only ordinary goodness, who puts himself forward in this work, throws a suspiciousness over the efforts of better men, and thus the world come to set down all labor for spreading Christianity as mere pretence. Let not him who will not submit to the toil of making himself better, become a reformer at home or abroad. Let not him who is known to be mean, or dishonest, or intriguing, or censorious, or unkind in his neighbourhood, talk of his concern for other men's souls. His life is an injury to religion, which his contributions of zeal, or even of wealth, cannot repair, and its injuriousness is aggravated by these very attempts to expiate its guilt, to reconcile him to himself.

It is well known, that the greatest obstruction to Christianity in heathen countries, is the palpable and undeniable depravity of Christian nations. They abhor our religion, because we are such unhappy specimens of it. They are unable to read our books, but they can read our lives; and what wonder, if they reject with scorn a system under which the vices seem to have flourished so luxuriantly. The Indian of both hemispheres has reason to set down the Christian as little better than himself. He associates with the name, perfidy,

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fraud, rapacity, and slaughter. Can we wonder that he is unwilling to receive a religion from the hand which has chained or robbed him? Thus, bad example is the great obstruction to Christianity, abroad as well as at home; and perhaps little good is to be done abroad, until we become better at home, until real Christians understand and practise their religion more thoroughly, and by their example and influence spread it among their neighbours and through their country, so that the aspect of Christian nations shall be less shocking and repulsive to the Jew, Mahometan, and Pagan. Our first labor should be upon ourselves; and indeed if our religion be incapable of bearing more fruit among ourselves, it hardly seems to deserve a very burning zeal for its propagation. The question is an important one, — Would much be gained to heathen countries, were we to make them precisely what nations called Christians now are? That the change would be beneficial, we grant; but how many dark stains would remain on their characters! They would continue to fight and shed blood as they now do, to resent injuries hotly, to worship present gain and distinction, and to pursue the common business of life on the principles of undisguised selfishness; and they would learn one lesson of iniquity which they have not yet acquired, and that is, to condemn and revile their brethren who should happen to view the most perplexed points of theology differently from themselves. The truth is, Christian nations want a genuine reformation, one worthy of the name. They need to have their zeal directed, not so much to the spreading of the Gospel abroad, as to the application of its plain precepts to their daily business, to the education of their children, to the treatment of their domestics and dependents, and to their

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social and religious intercourse. They need to understand, that a man's piety is to be estimated, not so much by his professions or direct religious exercises, as by a conscientious surrender of his will, passions, worldly interests, and prejudices, to the acknowledged duties of Christianity, and especially by a philanthropy resembling in its great features of mildness, activity, and endurance, that of Jesus Christ. They need to give up their severe inquisition into their neighbours' opinions, and to begin in earnest to seek for themselves, and to communicate to others, a nobler standard of temper and practice than they have yet derived from the Scriptures. In a word, they need to learn the real value and design of Christianity, by the only thorough and effectual process; that is, by drinking deeply into its spirit of love to God and man. If, in this age of societies, we should think it wise to recommend another institution for the propagation of Christianity, it would be one, the members of which should be pledged to assist and animate one another in living according to the Sermon on the Mount. How far such a measure would be effectual, we venture not to predict; but of one thing we are sure, that should it prosper, it would do more for spreading the Gospel, than all other associations which are now receiving the patronage of the Christian world.

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IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO SOCIETY.

Few men suspect, perhaps no man comprehends, the extent of the support given by religion to the virtues of ordinary life. No man perhaps is aware, how much our moral and social sentiments are fed from this fountain; how powerless conscience would become without the belief of a God; how palsied would be human benevolence, were there not the sense of a higher benevolence to quicken and sustain it; how suddenly the whole social fabric would quake, and with what a fearful crash it would sink into hopeless ruins, were the ideas of a Supreme Being, of accountableness, and of a future life, to be utterly erased from every mind. Once let men thoroughly believe that they are the work and sport of chance; that no superior intelligence concerns itself with human affairs; that all their improvements perish for ever at death; that the weak have no guardian, and the injured no avenger; that there is no recompense for sacrifices to uprightness and the public good; that an oath is unheard in heaven; that secret crimes have no witness but the perpetrator; that human existence has no purpose, and human virtue no unfailing friend; that this brief life is every thing to us, and death is total, everlasting ex-

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tinction; once let men thoroughly abandon religion, and who can conceive or describe the extent of the desolation which would follow? We hope, perhaps, that human laws and natural sympathy would hold society together. As reasonably might we believe, that were the sun quenched in the heavens, our torches could illuminate and our fires quicken and fertilize the earth. What is there in human nature to awaken respect and tenderness, if man is the unprotected insect of a day? and what is he more, if Atheism be true? Erase all thought and fear of God from a community, and selfishness and sensuality would absorb the whole man. Appetite, knowing no restraint, and poverty and suffering having no solace or hope, would trample in scorn on the restraints of human laws. Virtue, duty, principle, would be mocked and spurned as unmeaning sounds. A sordid self-interest would supplant every other feeling, and man would become in fact, what the theory of Atheism declares him to be, a companion for brutes.

It particularly deserves attention in this discussion, that the Christian religion is singularly important to free communities. In truth, we may doubt whether civil freedom can subsist without it. This at least we know, that equal rights and an impartial administration of justice, have never been enjoyed where this religion has not been understood. It favors free institutions, first, because its spirit is the very spirit of liberty; that is, a spirit of respect for the interests and rights of others. Christianity recognises the essential equality of mankind; beats down with its whole might those aspiring and rapacious principles of our nature, which have subjected the many to the few; and, by its refining influence, as well as by direct precept, turns to God, and to Him only, that

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supreme homage which has been so impiously lavished on crowned and titled fellow-creatures. Thus its whole tendency is free. It lays deeply the only foundations of liberty, which are, the principles of benevolence, justice, and respect for human nature. The spirit of liberty is not merely, as multitudes imagine, a jealousy of our own particular rights, an unwillingness to be oppressed ourselves, but a respect for the rights of others, and an unwillingness that any man, whether high or low, should be wronged and trampled under foot. Now this is the spirit of Christianity; and liberty has no security, any farther than this uprightness and benevolence of sentiment actuates a community.

In another method, religion befriends liberty. It diminishes the necessity of public restraints, and supersedes in a great degree the use of force in administering the laws; and this it does, by making men a law to themselves, and by repressing the disposition to disturb and injure society. Take away the purifying and restraining influence of religion, and selfishness, rapacity, and injustice will break out in new excesses; and amidst the increasing perils of society, government must be strengthened to defend it, must accumulate means of repressing disorder and crime; and this strength and these means may be, and often have been, turned against the freedom of the state which they were meant to secure. Diminish principle, and you increase the need of force in a community. In this country, government needs not the array of power which you meet in other nations; no guards of soldiers, no hosts of spies, no vexatious regulations of police; but accomplishes its beneficent purposes by a few unarmed judges and civil officers, and operates so silently around us, and comes so seldom in

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contact with us, that many of us enjoy its blessings with hardly a thought of its existence. This is the perfection of freedom; and to what do we owe this condition? I answer, to the power of those laws which religion writes on our hearts, which unite and concentrate public opinion against injustice and oppression, which spread a spirit of equity and good will through the community. Thus religion is the soul of freedom, and no nation under heaven has such an interest in it as ourselves.

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MEMOIR OF JOHN GALLISON, ESQ.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1821.

Our last number contained a brief notice of Mr. Gallison; but his rare excellence, and the singular affection, esteem, and confidence which he enjoyed, have been thought to demand a more particular delineation of his character. And the office is too grateful to be declined. In the present imperfect condition of human nature, when strange and mournful inconsistencies so often mix with and shade the virtues of good men; when Truth, that stern monitor, almost continually forbids us to give free scope to admiration, and compels us to dispense our praise with a measured and timid liberality; it is delightful to meet an example of high endowments, undebased by the mixture of unworthy habits and feelings; to meet a character whose blamelessness spares us the pain of making deductions from its virtues. And our satisfaction is greatly increased, when Providence has seen fit to unfold this character in the open light of a conspicuous station, so that many around us have had opportunity to observe it as well as ourselves, and we can give utterance to our affection and respect, with the confidence of finding sympathy and a full response in the hearts of our readers.

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But we have a higher motive than the relief and gratification of personal feelings, for paying this tribute to Mr. Gallison. We consider his character as singularly instructive, particularly to that important class of the community, young men. His life, whilst it bore strong testimony to those great principles of morality and religion, in which all ranks and ages have an interest, and on which society rests, seems to us peculiarly valuable, as a commentary on the capacities and right application of youth; as demonstrating what a young man may become, what honor, love, and influence he may gather round him, and how attractive are the Christian virtues at that age which is generally considered as least amenable to the laws of religion. For young men we chiefly make this record; and we do it with a deep conviction, that society cannot be served more effectually than by spreading through this class a purer morality, and a deeper sense of responsibility, than are now enforced by public opinion; for our young men are soon to be the fathers, guides, and defenders of the community; and however examples may now and then occur of early profligacy changed by time into purity and virtue, yet too often the harvest answers to the seed, the building to the foundation; and perhaps it will appear on that great day which is to unfold the consequences of actions, that even forsaken vice leaves wounds in the mind, which are slowly healed, and which injure the moral powers, and predispose to moral disease, through the whole life.

In this connexion it may be proper to observe, that there is no country, in which society has such an interest in bringing strong moral and religious influences to bear on young men, as in this; for our country has been distinguished by the premature growth of those to whom

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it gives birth. Various circumstances here develope the mind and active powers earlier than in Europe. Our young men come forward sooner into life; mix sooner in the stir and conflicts of business and politics; and form sooner the most important domestic relations. It has often been suggested, that the mind suffers under this forcing system, that it is exhausted by excess of action, that a slower growth would give it greater strength and expansion. But be this true or not (and we trust that the suggestion is founded on remote analogies rather than on observation), one thing is plain, that in proportion as the young advance rapidly in intellect and activity, there should be powerful application of moral and religious truths and sanctions to their consciences and hearts. Their whole nature should grow at once. The moral sense, the sense of God, should not slumber, whilst the intellect and the passions are awake and enlarging themselves with a fearful energy. A conviction of their responsibility to God and society, should be deeply wrought into the opening reason, so as to recur through life with the force of instinct. Mr. Gallison was a striking example of the early and harmonious unfolding of the moral and intellectual nature, and in this view his character is particularly fitted to the wants and dangers of our state of society.

When we know or hear of uncommon excellence, it is natural to inquire by what propitious circumstances it was formed: and hence the curiosity which has sifted so diligently the early history of eminent men. But such investigations, we believe, generally teach us, that character is more independent on outward circumstances than is usually thought, that the chief causes which form a superior mind are within itself. Whilst the Supreme

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Being encourages liberally the labors of education, by connecting with them many good and almost sure results, still, as if to magnify his own power and to teach men humility and dependence, he often produces, with few or no means, a strength of intellect and principle, a grace and dignity of character, which the most anxious human culture cannot confer. In the early years of Mr. Gallison, we find no striking circumstances or incidents which determined the peculiarities of his future character. The processes, by which he became what he was, were inward; and the only voice, which could disclose them, is now silent in death.

He was born in Marblehead, October, 1788. His mother, a sister of the late Chief Justice Sewall, survived his birth but a few hours; and his life began with one of the heaviest of life's afflictions, the loss of a mother's love. He was so happy, however, as to be the object of singular and never-failing kindness to his surviving parent, whom he requited with no common filial attachment; and he may be cited as a proof of the good effects of that more unrestrained and tender intercourse between parents and children, which distinguishes the present from the past age. He was early placed under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Harris, now President of Columbia College, New York, then preceptor of an academy, and rector of an Episcopal church, in Marblehead. He is said to have endeared himself to his revered instructor, by his docility, industry, modesty, love of truth, and steady improvement. He held a high but unenvied rank at school; and it may be mentioned as an evidence of early judgment and a constant mind, that some of the friendships of that early period went with him to the grave, and were among the best enjoyments of his life.

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He entered the University at Cambridge, A. D. 1803, in the fifteenth year of his age; and whilst his unremitting application give him the full benefit of its various provisions for literary improvement, his consistent character and social virtues won for him universal confidence and esteem. On leaving the University, he commenced the study of the law under the Hon. John Quincy Adams, and, having completed his preparation under the Hon. Joseph Story, began the practice of his profession at Marblehead, A. D. 1810. By the advice of his friends, he soon removed to this metropolis, a more proper, because wider sphere of action. Here he experienced, for a time, those anxieties and depressions which form the common trial of young men who enter a crowded profession. But his prospects were brightened by a connexion in business, which he formed with the Hon. William Prescott, and which, as it was unsolicited and attended by other flattering circumstances, gave him a gratifying assurance of the confidence which he had inspired. The progress of his reputation as a lawyer, was soon a matter of common remark; and those who were most capable of understanding the depth and extent of his legal attainments, were confident, that, should his life be spared, he would attain the highest honors of his profession.

He died, December, 1820, at the age of 32. The shock given to the community by this event, was unusual, and the calamity was heightened by its unexpectedness. His general health, cheerfulness, and activity, had given the promise of a long life, and his friends were not alarmed for him until a week before his death. His disease was an inflammation of the brain, which first discovered itself in slight aberrations of mind, and terminated in

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delirium. This awful eclipse of reason continued to the last, so that his friends were denied the satisfaction of receiving from his dying lips assurances of his Christian hope. Some of them, however, recollect with pleasure, that at the beginning of his disease, when his intellect was rather exalted than deranged, his expressions of religious feeling and joy were unusually strong; and he has left them higher consolation than a dying testimony, even the memory of a blameless and well-spent life.

Having given this brief record of a life too peaceful and prosperous to furnish matter for biography, we proceed to give our views of the character of Mr. Gallison. — His chief distinction was not talent, although he had fine powers of intellect, and a capacity of attention, which, in usefulness if not in splendor, generally surpasses genius. His primary characteristic, and that which gave him his peculiar weight in the community, was the force of moral and religious principle; a force, which operated with the steadiness of a law of nature, a paramount energy, which suffered no portion of life or intellect to be wasted, which concentrated all his faculties and feelings on worthy objects. His powers did not astonish, but none of them were lost to himself or society. His great distinction was the singleness of his mind, the sway which duty had gained over him, his habit of submitting to this, as to an inviolable ordinance of the universe. Conscience was consulted reverently as an oracle of God. The moral power seemed always at work in his breast, and its control reached to his whole life.

We sometimes witness a strong regard to duty, which confers little grace or interest on the character, because partial and exclusive views are taken of duty, and God

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is thought to require a narrow service, which chains and contracts instead of unfolding the mind. In Mr. Gallison, the sense of duty was as enlightened and enlarged as it was strong. To live religiously, he did not think himself called to give up the proper pursuits and gratifications of human nature. He believed, that religion was in harmony with intellectual improvement, with the pleasures of imagination and society, and especially with the kind affections. His views of the true excellence of a human being, were large and generous ; and hence, instead of that contracted and repulsive character, which has often been identified with piety, his virtue, though of adamantine firmness, was attractive, cheerful, lovely.

This union of strength and light, in his sense of duty, gave a singular harmony to his character. All his faculties and sensibilities seemed to unfold together, just as the whole body grows at once ; and all were preserved, by a wise, presiding moral sentiment, in their just proportions. He was remarkably free from excess, even in the virtues and pursuits to which he was most prone. His well balanced mind was the admiration of his friends. He had strong feeling, yet a calm judgment ; and unwearied activity, without restlessness or precipitancy. He had vigor and freedom of thought, but not the slightest propensity to rash and wild speculation. He had professional ardor, but did not sacrifice to his profession the general improvement of his intellect and heart. He loved study, and equally loved society. He had religious sensibility, but a sensibility which never rested until it had found its true perfection and manifestation in practice. His mind was singularly harmonious, a well adjusted whole ; and this was the secret of the

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signal confidence which he had inspired; for confidence, or the repose of our minds on another, depends on nothing so much as on the proportion which we observe in his character. Even a good feeling, when carried to excess, though viewed with indulgence and affection, always shakes in a measure our trust.

From this general survey, we pass to some particulars of the character of Mr. Gallison. His religion was a trait which claims our first consideration. He believed in God, and in the revelation of his will by Jesus Christ; and he was not a man in whom such a belief could lie dead. That great and almost overwhelming doctrine of a God, the Maker of all things, in whom he lived, and from whom all his blessings came, wrought in him powerfully. He was not satisfied with a superficial religion, but was particularly interested in those instructions from the pulpit which enjoined a deep, living, all-pervading sense of God's presence and authority, and an intimate union of the mind with its Creator. A friend, who knew him intimately, observes, —"In our frequent walks, his conversation so naturally and cheerfully turned on the attributes and dispensations of God, as convinced me that his religion was no less the delight of his heart than the guide of his life. Though habitually temperate in his feelings, I have sometimes known him kindle into rapture while conversing on these holy themes."

But his religion, though strong and earnest, was in unison with his whole character, calm, inquisitive, rational. Uninfected by bigotry or fanaticism, and unseduced by the fair promises of the spirit of innovation, he formed his views of the Christian system with caution, and held them without asperity. In regard to that

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important doctrine, which has lately agitated the community, he was a Unitarian, believing in the preëxistence of the Saviour, and as firmly believing that he was a distinct being from the Supreme God, derived from and dependent on him; and he considered the Gospel of John, which is often esteemed as the strong-hold of opposite sentiments, as giving peculiar support to these views. We mention this, not because the conclusions of so wise and good a man were necessarily true, but because reproach is often thrown on the opinions which he adopted, as wanting power to purify and save. He may have erred, for he was a man; but who that knew him can doubt, that whatever were his errors, he held the most important and efficacious doctrines of Christianity? His religious friends, and they were not a few, can testify to the seriousness and reverence with which he approached the Scriptures, and to the fidelity with which he availed himself of the means of a right interpretation.

His religion was not ostentatiously thrust on notice; but he thought as little of hiding it, as of concealing his social feelings, or his love of knowledge. It was the light by which he walked, and his daily path showed whence the light came. Of his decision in asserting the principles of that religion which he received as from God, he gave a striking proof in his Address to the Peace Society of this Commonwealth, which breathes the very morality of Christ, and is throughout a mild but firm remonstrance against great practical errors, which have corrupted the Church almost as deeply as the world. It was so natural to him to act on the convictions of his mind, that he seemed on this occasion utterly unconscious that there was a degree of heroism

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in a young man of a secular calling, and who mixed occasionally in fashionable life, enlisting so earnestly in the service of the most neglected, yet most distinguishing virtues of Christianity.

That a man, to whom Christianity was so authoritative, should be characterized by its chief grace, benevolence, we cannot wonder. Nature formed him for the kind affections, and religious principle added tenderness, steadiness, dignity, to the impulses of nature. That great maxim of Christianity, "No man liveth to himself," was engraven on his mind. Without profession, or show, or any striking discoveries of emotion, he felt the claim of every thing human on his sympathy and service. His youth and professional engagements did not absolve him to his own conscience from laboring in the cause of mankind; and his steady zeal redeemed from business sufficient time for doing extensive good. In the institutions for useful objects, with which he connected himself, he gave more than his property; he contributed his mind, his judgment, his well-directed zeal; and the object which he was found to favor, derived advantage from his sanction, no less than from his labors.

He felt strongly, what a just view of human nature always teaches, that society is served by nothing so essentially, as by the infusion of a moral and religious spirit into all its classes; and this principle, like every other when once recognised, became to him a law. We cannot but mention with great pleasure, the earnestness with which he entered into a plan for collecting the poor children, in the neighbourhood of the church where he worshipped, into a school for religious instruction on the Lord's day. He visited many poor fami-

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lies on this errand of charity, offering at once Christian instruction and the pecuniary means by which the children might be clothed decently to receive it; and he gave a part of every Sunday to this office. The friend, whom we formerly quoted, observes, "I was much delighted to see him one Sunday, leading one of his little flock (who being a stranger had not become familiarized to his home) through our dirtiest lanes, and inquiring at the humblest sheds for his dwelling." To a man, crowded with business, and accustomed to the most refined society, this lowly and unostentatious mode of charity could only have been recommended by a supreme sense of religious and social obligation. He was one of the few among us, who saw that the initiation of the poor into moral and religious truth, was an office worthy of the most cultivated understanding, and that to leave it, as it is sometimes left, to those whose zeal outstrips their knowledge, was to expose to hazard and reproach one of the most powerful means of benefiting society.

Another cause to which he devoted himself, was the Peace Society of this Commonwealth, and to this institution his mind was drawn and bound by perceiving its accordance with the spirit of Christianity. Accustomed as he was to believe that every principle which a man adopts is to be carried into life, he was shocked with the repugnance between the Christian code and the practice of its professed followers on the subject of war; and he believed that Christianity, seconded as it is by the progress of society, was a power adequate to the production of a great revolution of opinion on this point, if its plain principles and the plain interests of men were earnestly unfolded. There was one part of

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this extensive topic, to which his mind particularly turned. He believed that society had made sufficient advances, to warrant the attempt to expunge from the usages of war, the right of capturing private property at sea. He believed that the evils of war would be greatly abridged, and its recurrence checked, were the ocean to be made a safe, privileged, unmolested pathway for all nations, whether in war or peace; and that the minds of men had become prepared for this change, by the respect now paid by belligerents to private property on shore: a mitigation of war, to be wholly ascribed to the progress of the principles and spirit of Christianity. His interest in this subject led him to study the history of maritime warfare, and probably no man among us had acquired a more extensive acquaintance with it. Some of the results he gave in an article in the North American Review, on Privateering, and in a Memorial to Congress against this remnant of barbarism. To this field of labor he certainly was not drawn by the hope of popularity; and though he outstripped the feelings of the community, his efforts will not be vain. He was a pioneer in a path, in which society, if it continue to advance, will certainly follow him, and will at length do justice to the wisdom as well as purity of his design.

Other institutions shared his zeal and countenance; but we pass from these to observe, that his benevolence was not husbanded for public works or great occasions. It entered into the very frame and structure of his mind, so that, wherever he acted, he left its evidences and fruits. Even in those employments where a man is expected to propose distinctly his own interest, he looked beyond himself; and those who paid him for his

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services, felt that another debt was due, and personal attachment often sprung from the intercourse of business. In his social and domestic connexions, how he felt and lived, and what spirit he breathed, we learn from the countenances and tones of his friends, when they speak of his loss. The kind of praise which a man receives after death, corresponds generally with precision to his character. We can often see on the decease of a distinguished individual, that whilst all praise, few feel; that the heart has no burden, on oppression. In the case of Mr. Gallison, there was a general, spontaneous conviction, that society had been bereaved; and at the same time, a feeling of personal bereavement, as if a void which no other could fill, were made in every circle in which he familiarly moved; and this can only be explained by the genuine benevolence, the sympathy with every human interest, which formed his character. His benevolence, indeed, was singularly unalloyed. Those feelings of unkindness which sometimes obscure for a moment the goodness of excellent men, seldom or never passed over him Those who best knew him, cannot, by an effort of imagination, put an acrimonious speech into his lips, any more than they can think of him under an entirely different countenance. The voice ceases to be his, its tones do not belong to him, when they would make it the vehicle of unkindness. We have understood, what we should not doubt, that in his profession, amidst the collision of rivals, his ambition, which undoubtedly degenerated sometimes into excess, was still so controlled by his generosity and uprightness, that he was never known to sully with an envious breath, the honest fame of another, or to withhold a ready testimony to another's worth. So great was the kindliness of his heart, that

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his many pressing employments did not exclude those little attentions to his kindred, for which multiplied cares are generally admitted as an excuse. He made leisure for minute as well as important services, and thus it is that a feeling of tenderness as well as of respect, is spread through the whole circle of his relatives.

In regard to his intellectual powers, they derived their superiority not only from the liberality of nature, but from the conscientiousness with which they were improved. He early felt the importance of a generous and extensive culture of the mind, and systematically connected with professional studies the pursuit of general literature. He was a striking example of the influence of an operative and enlightened moral sense over the intellect. His views were distinguished not so much by boldness and excursiveness as by clearness, steadiness, judiciousness, and truth; and these characteristic properties of his understanding derived their strength, if not existence, from that fairness, rectitude, simplicity, and that love of the true and useful, which entered so largely into his moral constitution. The objects on which he thought and wrote, did not offer themselves to him in the bright hues of inspired imagination, but in the forms, dimensions, and colors of reality; and yet there was no tameness in his conception, for the moral relations of things, the most sublime of all relations, he traced with eagerness and delighted to unfold. Accordingly, in all his writings we perceive the marks of an understanding surrounded by a clear and warm moral atmosphere. His intellect, we repeat it, was excited and developed very much by moral and religious principle. It was not naturally creative, restless, stirred by a bright and burning imagination. The strong power within was conscience, enlightened and

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exalted by religion; and this sent life through the intellect, and conferred or heightened the qualities by which it was distinguished.

Of his professional character we know nothing by personal observation; but we do know, that in a metropolis where the standard of professional talent and purity is high, he was eminent. We have understood, that he was at once a scientific and practical lawyer, uniting comprehensive views of jurisprudence and laborious research into general principles, with a singular accuracy and most conscientious fidelity in investigating the details of the causes in which he was engaged. The spontaneous tribute of the members of the Suffolk Bar, to so young a brother, is perhaps without precedent. It deserves to be mentioned among his claims to esteem, that he was not usurped by a profession to which he was so devoted; that his thirst for legal knowledge and distinction, though so ardent, left him free for such a variety of exertions and acquisitions.

Of his industry, we have had occasion frequently to speak, and it was not the least striking trait in his character. We need no other proof of this, than his early eminence in a profession which offers no prizes to genius unaccompanied by application, and whose treasures are locked up in books which hold out no lures to imagination or taste, and which can only interest a mind disposed to patient and intense exertion. We recur, however, to his industry, not so much because it distinguished him, as from the desire of removing what seems to us a false impression, that he fell a victim to excessive application. That he was occasionally guilty of intemperate study (a crime in the eye of a refined morality, because it sacrifices future and extensive usefulness to immediate acqui-

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sition,) is probably true; but less guilty, we apprehend, than many who are not charged with excess. His social nature, his love of general literature, and his regular use of exercise, gave as great and frequent relaxation to his mind as studious men generally think necessary; nor ought his example to lose its power, by the apprehension that to follow his steps will be to descend with him to an early grave.

This excellent man it has pleased God to take from us; and to take without warning, when our hope was firmest, and his prospects of usefulness and prosperity were, to human eyes, unclouded. That such a course should be so short, is the general sorrow. But ought we to think it short? In the best sense his life was long. To be the centre of so many influences; to awaken through so large a circle sentiments of affection and esteem; to bear effectual testimony to the reality of religion; to exalt the standard of youthful character; to adorn a profession to which the administration of public justice and the care of our civil institutions are peculiarly confided; to uphold and strengthen useful associations; to be the friend of the poor and ignorant, and a model for the rich and improved; to live in the hearts of friends, and to die amidst general, deep, unaffected lamentation; these surely are not evidences of a brief existence. "Honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor which is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age."

Still the question may be asked, "Why was he taken from so much usefulness?" Were that state laid open to us, into which he is removed, we should have an answer. We should see, that this world is not the only

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one where intellect is unfolded, and the heart and active powers find objects. We might see, that such a spirit as his, was needed now in another and nobler province of the creation; and that all God's providence towards him, had been training and fitting him to be born, if we may so speak, at this very time, into the future world, there to perform offices and receive blessings which only a mind so framed and gifted could sustain and enjoy. He is not lost. Jesus, whom he followed, "hath abolished death." Thought, affection, piety, usefulness, do not die. If they did, we should do well to hang his tomb with sackcloth, or rather to obliterate every trace and recollection of his tomb and his name, for then a light, more precious than the sun's, is quenched for ever. But he is not lost, nor is he exiled from his true happiness. An enlightened, just, and good mind is a citizen of the universe, and has faculties and affections which correspond to all God's works. Why would we limit it to earth, perhaps the lowest world in this immense creation? Why should not the spirit, which has given proof of its divine origin and heavenly tendency, be suffered to rise to its proper abode, to a holier community, to a vision of God, under which earthly and mortal natures would sink and be dissolved?

One benefit of the early removal of such a man as Mr. Gallison, is obvious. We learn from it, how early in life the great work of life may begin, and how successfully be prosecuted. Had he lived to advanced years, the acquisitions of his youth would have been forgotten and lost in those of riper years. His character would have been an invaluable legacy, but chiefly to the mature and aged. And surely if his early death shall exalt the aims and purposes of the young; if piety, now postponed

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to later years, to a winter which bears no such fruit, shall be esteemed the ornament and defence of that interesting and tempted age; if our young men shall learn from him, that they belong to God and society; then his early death may prove as useful as a protracted life.

We shall add but one more remark. The general sorrow which followed Mr. Gallison to the tomb, was not only honorable to him, but to the community. For he had no dazzling qualities. His manners were not imposing, nor was he aided by uncommon patronage. His worth was unobtrusive, mild, retiring, and left to win its own way to notice and honor. Yet how few young men have reared such a monument in the memories and hearts of the community? Amidst charges of degeneracy, and with real grounds of humiliation, we should deem it a privilege to live in a state of society, in which such a character as Mr. Gallison's is so generally understood, and is recompensed with such heartfelt and generous praise.

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APPENDIX

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I have thrown into an Appendix parts of certain Tracts and Discourses, which were called forth by passing events in the political and religious world. I have aimed, in making the selections, to take passages, which contain general views, retaining only such references to personal, local, and temporary topics, as seem necessary to a full understanding of the extracts.

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EXTRACTS

FROM

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPOSITION

FOR INCREASING THE MEANS OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY IN CAMBRIDGE.—1816.

As a proposition is now before the public for increasing the means of theological education at Harvard University, it is thought that a few observations on the subject may be acceptable to those who have not been able to give to it much attention, and whose aid and patronage may be solicited.

It may perhaps be asked by some, though I hope the question will be confined to a few, Why ought we to be so solicitous for the education of ministers? The answer is obvious. The object of the ministry is peculiarly important. To the Christian minister are intrusted in a measure the dearest and most valuable interests of the human race. He is called to watch over the morals of society, and to awaken and cultivate the principles of piety and virtue in the hearts of individuals. He is set apart to dispense that religion, which, as we believe, came from God, which was given to reform, exalt, and console us, and on the reception of which the happiness of the future life depends. Ought we not to be solicitous for the wise and effectual training of those by whom this religion is to be unfolded and enforced, and to whose influence our own minds and those of our children are to be so often exposed?

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Our interest in a minister is very peculiar. He is to us what no other professional man can be. We want him, not to transact our business and to receive a compensation, but to be our friend, our guide, an inmate in our families ; to enter our houses in affliction ; and to be able to give us light, admonition, and consolation, in suffering, sickness, and the last hours of life.

Our connexion with men of other professions is transient, accidental, rare. With a minister it is habitual. Once in the week, at least, we are to meet him and sit under his instructions. We are to give up our minds in a measure to his influence, and to receive from him impressions on a subject, which, more than all others, concerns us, and with which our improvement and tranquillity through life and our future peace are intimately connected.

We want the minister of religion to address our understandings with clearness ; to extend and brighten our moral and religious conceptions ; to throw light over the obscurities of the sacred volume ; to assist us in repelling those doubts which sometimes shake our convictions of Christian truth ; and to establish us in a firm and rational belief.

We want him, not only to address the understanding with clearness, but still more to speak to the conscience and heart with power ; to force, as it were, our thoughts from the world ; to rouse us from the slumbers of an unreflecting life ; to exhibit religion in an interesting form, and to engage our affections on the side of duty. Such are the offices and aids which we need from the Christian minister. Who does not see in a moment, that much preparation of the intellect and heart is required to render him successful in these high and generous labors ?

These reasons for being interested in the education of ministers, grow out of the nature and importance of reli-

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gion. Another important remark is, that the state of our country demands that greater care than ever should be given to this object. It will not be denied, I presume, that this country is on the whole advancing in intelligence. The means of improvement are more liberally and more generally afforded to the young than in former times. A closer connexion subsists with the cultivated minds in other countries. A variety of institutions are awakening our powers, and communicating a degree of general knowledge, which was not formerly diffused among us. Taste is more extensively cultivated, and the finest productions of polite literature find their way into many of our families. Now in this state of things, in this increasing activity of intellect, there is peculiar need of an enlightened ministry. Religion should not be left to feeble and ignorant advocates, to men of narrow and unfurnished minds. Its ministers should be practical proofs, that it may be connected with the noblest improvements of the understanding; and they should be able to convert into weapons for its defence, the discoveries of philosophy and the speculations of genius. Religion must be adapted, in its mode of exhibition, to the state of society. The form in which we present it to the infant, will not satisfy and interest the advanced understanding. In the same manner, if in a cultivated age religious instruction does not partake the general elevation, it will be slighted by the very minds whose influence it is most desirable to engage on the side of virtue and piety.

I have observed, that an enlightened age requires an enlightened ministry. On the other hand, it may be observed, that an enlightened ministry is a powerful agent in continuing and accelerating the progress of light, of refinement, and of all social improvements. The limits of this essay will not admit the full developement of this sentiment. I will only observe, that perhaps the most re-

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flecting men are not aware how far a society is indebted for activity of intellect, delicacy of manners, and the strength of all its institutions, to the silent, subtile influence of the thoughts and feelings which are kept alive in the breasts of multitudes by religious instruction.

There is another most important consideration for promoting an enlightened ministry. Religious teachers there certainly will be, of one description or another; and if men of well furnished minds cannot be found for this office, we shall be overwhelmed by the ignorant and fanatical. The human heart is disposed, by its very nature, to religious impressions, and it wants guidance, wants direction, wants the light and fervor of other minds, in this most interesting concern. Conscious of weakness, and delighting in excitement, it will follow the blindest guide who speaks with confidence of his communications with God, rather than advance alone in the religious life. An enlightened ministry is the only barrier against fanaticism. Remove this, and popular enthusiasts would sweep away the multitude as with a torrent, would operate with an unresisted power on the ardent imagination of youth, and on the devotional susceptibility of woman, and would even prostrate cultivated minds in which feeling is the most prominent trait. Few of us consider the proneness of the human heart to extravagance and fanaticism, or how much we are all indebted for our safety to the good sense and intellectual and religious improvement of ministers of religion.

Ignorant ministers are driven almost by necessity to fanaticism. Unable to interest their hearers by appeals to the understanding, and by clear, judicious, and affecting delineations of religion, they can only acquire and maintain the ascendency which is so dear to them, by inflaming the passions, by exciting a distempered and ungoverned sensibility, and by perpetuating ignorance and error.

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Every man of observation must have seen melancholy illustrations of this truth, and what an argument does it afford in favor of an enlightened ministry!

Nothing more is needed to show the great interest which the community ought to feel in the education of young men for the ministry. But it will be asked, Are not our present means sufficient? Are not our pulpits filled with well furnished and enlightened teachers? Why seek to obtain additional aids for this important end? I answer, first, that a sufficient number of enlightened ministers is not trained for our pulpits. There is a demand beyond the supply, even if we look no farther than this Commonwealth; and if we look through the whole country, we shall see an immense tract of the spiritual vineyard uncultivated, and uncultivated for want of laborers. — I answer, in the second place, that whilst in our pulpits we have ministers whose gifts and endowments entitle them to respect, we yet need and ought to possess a more enlightened ministry. Many of our religious teachers will lament to us the deficiencies of their education, will lament that the narrowness of their circumstances compelled them to too early an entrance on their work, will lament that they were deprived, by the imperfection of our institutions, of many aids which the preparation for the ministry requires. We have indeed many good ministers. But we ought to have better. We may have better. But unless we will sow more liberally, we cannot expect a richer harvest. The education of ministers decides very much their future character, and where this is incomplete, we must not expect to be blessed with powerful and impressive instruction. The sum is, we need an increase of the means of theological education.

But it will be asked, Why shall we advance funds for the education of ministers, rather than of physicians or

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lawyers? Why are such peculiar aid and encouragements needed for this profession? Will not the demand for ministers obtain a supply, just as the demand for every other species of talent? This reasoning is founded on a principle generally true, that demand creates a supply; but every general rule has its exceptions, and it is one of the highest offices of practical wisdom to discern the cases where the rule fails in its application.

All reasoning should give place to fact. Now it is an undeniable fact, that whilst the other learned professions in our country are crowded and overstocked, whilst the supply vastly surpasses the demand, the profession of the ministry is comparatively deserted, and candidates of respectable standing, instead of obtruding themselves in crowds, are often to be sought with a degree of care and difficulty.

The reason of this is to be found in the difference between the ministry and other professions. Other professions hold out the strong lures of profit and distinction. They appeal to the ambition, the love of gain, the desire of rising in the world, which are so operative on youthful minds. These lures are not, and ought not to be, exhibited by the ministry. This profession make its chief appeal to the moral and religious feelings of the young; and we all know, how much fainter these are than those which I have previously mentioned. Can we wonder, then, that the ministry is less crowded?

I proceed to another remark. The professions of law and medicine do not imperiously demand any high moral qualifications in those who embrace them. A young man, whose habits are not altogether pure, or whose character is marked by levity, may enter on the study of these professions, without incurring the reproach of impropriety or inconsistency of conduct. The ministry, on the other hand, demands not merely unexceptionable morals, but a

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seriousness of mind, and a propensity to contemplative and devout habits, which are not the ordinary characteristics of that age when a choice must be made of the business of life. On this account, the number of the young who are inclined by their own feelings, and advised by others, to enter the ministry, is comparatively small.

I am now led to another reflection, growing out of the last. The profession of the ministry has an aspect not inviting to the young. Youth is the period of animation and gayety. But to the hasty observation of youth, there is a gloominess, a solemnity, a painful self-restraint belonging to the life of a minister. Even young men of pure morals and of devotional susceptibility, shrink from an employment which they think will separate them from the world, and impose a rigorous discipline and painful circumspection. That path, which they would probably find most tranquil and most flowery, seems to them beset with thorns. Do we not see many obstructions to a sufficient supply of students of theology?

I now proceed to another most important consideration. We have seen, that a large number of young men, qualified by their habits and feelings for the ministry, is not to be expected. It is also a fact, and a very decisive fact, that young men, thus qualified, generally belong to families whose circumstances are confined, and whose means of educating their children are exceedingly narrow. From this class of society, the ministerial profession, as is well known, receives its largest supplies. Do we not at once discover from this statement, that this profession demands from the community peculiar encouragement? — Let me briefly repeat what I have said. From the nature of the ministry, but a small proportion of the young are disposed or fitted to enter it, and of this number a considerable part are unable to defray the expenses of their education; and yet the community has the high

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est possible interest in giving them the best education which the improvements of the age and the opulence of the country will admit. Is it not clear, that there ought to be provided liberal funds for this most valuable object?

Will it here be asked, why the candidate for the ministry cannot borrow money to defray the charges of his education? I answer, it is not always easy for him to borrow. Besides, a debt is a most distressing incumbrance to a man who has a prospect of a salary so small, that, without exertions foreign to his profession, it will hardly support him. Can we wonder that the profession is declined, in preference to such a burden?

Where this burden, however, is chosen, the effect is unhappy, and the cause of religion is often a sufferer. The candidate, unwilling to contract a larger debt than is indispensable to his object, hurries through his studies, and enters unfurnished and unprepared on the ministry. His first care is, as it should be, to free himself from his pecuniary obligations; and for this end he endeavours to unite some secular employment with his sacred calling. In this way the spirit of study and of his profession is damped. He forms negligent habits in his preparation for the pulpit, which he soon thinks are justified by the wants of a growing family. His imperfect education, therefore, is never completed. His mind remains stationary. A meagre library, which he is unable to enlarge, furnishes the weekly food for his flock, who are forced to subsist on an uninteresting repetition of the same dull thoughts.

This is the melancholy history of too many who enter the ministry. Few young men among us are in fact sufficienly prepared, and the consequence is, that religious instruction is not what it should be. The community at large cannot perhaps understand how extensive a preparation the ministry requires. There is one idea, however, which should teach them, that it ought to be more

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extensive than that which is demanded for any other profession. A lawyer and physician begin their employment with a small number of clients or patients, and their practice is confined to the least important cases within their respective departments. They have therefore much leisure for preparation after entering on their pursuits, and gradually rise into public notice. Not so the minister. He enters at once on the stage. All the duties of a parish immediately devolve upon him. His connexion at the first moment, extends to as large a number as he will ever be called to serve. His station is at first conspicuous. He is literally burdened and pressed with duties. The mere labor of composing as many sermons as are demanded of him, is enough to exhaust his time and strength. If, then, his education has been deficient, how is it to be repaired? Amidst these disadvantages, can we wonder that the mind loses its spring, and soon becomes satisfied with very humble productions? How important is it, that a good foundation should be laid, that the theological student should have time to accumulate some intellectual treasures, and that he should be trained under circumstances more suited to give him an unconquerable love of his profession, of study, and of the cause to which he is devoted!

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THE

SYSTEM OF EXCLUSION AND DENUNCIATION IN RELIGION CONSIDERED.

1815.

NOTHING is plainer, than that the leaders of the party called "Orthodox," have adopted and mean to enforce a system of exclusion, in regard to Liberal Christians. They spare no pains to infect the minds of their too easy followers with the persuasion, that they ought to refuse communion with their Unitarian brethren, and to deny them the name, character, and privileges of Christians. On this system, I shall now offer several observations.

I begin with an important suggestion. I beg that it may be distinctly understood, that the zeal of Liberal Christians on this point, has no other object than the peace and prosperity of the church of Christ. We are pleading, not our own cause, but the cause of our Master. The denial of our Christian character, by fallible and imperfect men, gives us no anxiety. Our relation to Jesus Christ is not to be dissolved by the breath of man. Our Christian rights do not depend on human passions. We have precisely the same power over our brethren which they have over us, and are equally authorized to sever them from the body of Christ. Still more; if the possession of truth give superior weight to denunciation,

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we are persuaded that our opposers will be the severest sufferers, should we think fit to hurl back the sentence of exclusion and condemnation. But we have no disposition to usurp power over our brethren. We believe, that the spirit which is so studiously excited against ourselves, has done incalculable injury to the cause of Christ; and we pray God to deliver us from its power.

Why are the name, character, and rights of Christians, to be denied to Unitarians? Do they deny that Jesus is the Christ? Do they reject his word as the rule of their faith and practice? Do their lives discover indifference to his authority and example? No, these are not their offences. They are deficient in none of the qualifications of disciples, which were required in the primitive age. Their offence is, that they read the Scriptures for themselves, and derive from them different opinions on certain points, from those which others have adopted. Mistake of judgment is their pretended crime, and this crime is laid to their charge by men who are as liable to mistake as themselves, and who seem to them to have fallen into some of the grossest errors. A condemning sentence from such judges, carries with it no terror. Sorrow for its uncharitableness, and strong disapprobation of its arrogance, are the principal feelings which it inspires.

It is truly astonishing, that Christians are not more impressed with the unbecoming spirit, the arrogant style, of those who deny the Christian character to professed and exemplary followers of Jesus Christ, because they differ in opinion on some of the most subtile and difficult subjects of theology. A stranger, at hearing the language of these denouncers, would conclude, without a doubt, that they were clothed with infallibility, and were appointed to sit in judgment on their brethren. But for myself, I know not a shadow of a pretence for the language of superiority assumed by our adversaries. Are

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they exempted from the common frailty of our nature? Has God given them superior intelligence? Were they educated under circumstances more favorable to improvement, than those whom they condemn? Have they brought to the Scriptures more serious, anxious, and unwearied attention? Or do their lives express a deeper reverence for God and for his Son? No. They are fallible, imperfect men, possessing no higher means, and no stronger motives for studying the word of God, than their Unitarian brethren. And yet their language to them is virtually this; — "We pronounce you to be in error, and in most dangerous error. We know that we are right, and that you are wrong, in regard to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. You are unworthy the Christian name, and unfit to sit with us at the table of Christ. We offer you the truth, and you reject it at the peril of your souls." Such is the language of humble Christians to men who, in capacity and apparent piety, are not inferior to themselves. This language has spread from the leaders, through a considerable part of the community. Men in those walks of life which leave them without leisure or opportunities for improvement, are heard to decide on the most intricate points, and to pass sentence on men whose lives have been devoted to the Study of the Scriptures! The female, forgetting the tenderness of her sex, and the limited advantages which her education affords for a critical study of the Scriptures, inveighs with bitterness against the damnable errors of such men as Newton, Locke, Clarke, and Price! The young, too, forget the modesty which belongs to their age, and hurl condemnation on the head which has grown gray in the service of God and mankind. Need I ask, whether this spirit of denunciation for supposed error, becomes the humble and fallible disciples of Jesus Christ?

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In vindication of this system of exclusion and denunciation, it is often urged, that the "honor of religion," the "purity of the church," and the "cause of truth," forbid those who hold the true Gospel, to maintain fellowship with those who support corrupt and injurious opinions. Without stopping to notice the modesty of those who claim an exclusive knowledge of the true Gospel, I would answer, that the "honor of religion" can never suffer by admitting to Christian fellowship men of irreproachable lives, whilst it has suffered most severely from that narrow and uncharitable spirit which has excluded such men for imagined errors. I answer again, that the "cause of truth" can never suffer by admitting to Christian fellowship, men who honestly profess to make the Scriptures their rule of faith and practice, whilst it has suffered most severely by substituting for this standard, conformity to human creeds and formularies. It is truly wonderful, if excommunication for supposed error be the method of purifying the church, that the church has been so long and so wofully corrupted. Whatever may have been the deficiencies of Christians in other respects, they have certainly discovered no criminal reluctance in applying this instrument of purification. Could the thunders and lightnings of excommunication have corrected the atmosphere of the church, not one pestilential vapor would have loaded it for ages. The air of Paradise would not have been more pure, more refreshing. But what does history tell us? It tells us, that the spirit of exclusion and denunciation has contributed more than all other causes to the corruption of the church, to the diffusion of error; and has rendered the records of the Christian community as black, as bloody, as revolting to humanity, as the records of empires founded on conquest and guilt.

But it is said, Did not the Apostle denounce the erroneous, and pronounce a curse on the "abettors of another

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gospel ?" This is the stronghold of the friends of denunciation. But let us never forget, that the Apostles were inspired men, capable of marking out with unerring certainty, those who substituted "another gospel" for the true. Show us their successors, and we will cheerfully obey them.

It is also important to recollect the character of those men, against whom the apostolic anathema was directed. They were men, who knew distinctly what the Apostles taught, and yet opposed it; and who endeavoured to sow division, and to gain followers, in the churches which the Apostles had planted. These men, resisting the known instructions of the authorized and inspired teachers of the Gospel, and discovering a factious, selfish, mercenary spirit, were justly excluded as unworthy the Christian name. But what in common with these men, have the Christians whom it is the custom of the "Orthodox" to denounce? Do these oppose what they know to be the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles? Do they not revere Jesus and his inspired messengers? Do they not dissent from their brethren, simply because they believe that their brethren dissent from their Lord?—Let us not forget, that the contest, at the present day, is not between the Apostles themselves and men who oppose their known instructions, but uninspired Christians, who equally receive the Apostles as authorized teachers of the Gospel, and who only differ in judgment as to the interpretation of their writings. How unjust, then, is it for any class of Christians to confound their opponents with the factious and unprincipled sectarians of the primitive age. Mistake in judgment is the heaviest charge which one denomination has now a right to urge against another; and do we find that the Apostles ever denounced mistake as awful and fatal hostility" to the Gospel; that they pronounced anathemas on men who wished to obey, but who

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misapprehended their doctrines? The Apostles well remembered, that none ever mistook more widely than themselves. They remembered, too, the lenity of their Lord towards their errors, and this lenity they cherished and labored to diffuse.

But it is asked, Have not Christians a right to bear "solemn testimony" against opinions which are "utterly subversive of the Gospel, and most dangerous to men's eternal interests"? To this I answer, that the opinions of men, who discover equal intelligence and piety with ourselves, are entitled to respectful consideration. If, after inquiry, they seem erroneous and injurious, we are authorized and bound, according to our ability, to expose, by fair and serious argument, their nature and tendency. But I maintain, that we have no right as individuals, or in an associated capacity, to bear our "solemn testimony" against these opinions, by menacing with ruin the Christian who listens to them, or by branding them with the most terrifying epithets, for the purpose of preventing candid inquiry into their truth. This is the fashionable mode of "bearing testimony," and it is a weapon which will always be most successful in the hands of the proud, the positive, and overbearing, who are most impatient of contradiction, and have least regard to the rights of their brethren.

But whatever may be the right of Christians, as to bearing testimony against opinions which they deem injurious, I deny that they have any right to pass a condemning sentence, on account of these opinions, on the characters of men whose general deportment is conformed to the Gospel of Christ. Both Scripture and reason unite in teaching, that the best and only standard of character is the life; and he who overlooks the testimony of a Christian life, and grounds a sentence of condemnation on opinions, about which he, as well as his brother, may

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err, violates most flagrantly the duty of just and candid judgment, and opposes the peaceful and charitable spirit of the Gospel. Jesus Christ says, "By their fruits shall ye know them." "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he who doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." "He that heareth and doeth these my sayings," i. e. the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, "I will liken him to a man who built his house upon a rock." It would be easy to multiply similar passages. The whole Scriptures teach us, that he and he only is a Christian, whose life is governed by the precepts of the Gospel, and that by this standard alone, the profession of this religion should be tried. We do not deny, that our brethren have a right to form a judgment as to our Christian character. But we insist that we have a right to be judged by the fairest, the most approved, and the most settled rules, by which character can be tried; and when these are overlooked, and the most uncertain standard is applied, we are injured; and an assault on character, which rests on this ground, deserves no better name than defamation and persecution.

I know that this suggestion of persecution, will be indignantly repelled by those who deal most largely in denunciation. But persecution is a wrong or injury inflicted for opinions; and surely assaults on character fall under this definition. Some persons seem to think, that persecution consists in pursuing error with fire and sword; and that therefore it has ceased to exist, except in distempered imaginations, because no class of Christians among us is armed with these terrible weapons. But no. The form is changed, but the spirit lives. Persecution has given up its halter and fagot, but it breathes venom from its lips, and secretly blasts what it cannot openly destroy.

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For example, a Liberal minister, however circumspect in his walk, irreproachable in all his relations, no sooner avows his honest convictions on some of the most difficult subjects, than his name begins to be a by-word. A thousand suspicions are infused into his hearers; and it is insinuated, that he is a minister of Satan, in "the guise of an angel of light." At a little distance from his home, calumny assumes a bolder tone. He is pronounced an infidel, and it is gravely asked, whether he believes in a God. At a greater distance, his morals are assailed. He is a man of the world, "leading souls to hell," to gratify the most selfish passions. But notwithstanding all this, he must not say a word about persecution, for reports like these rack no limbs; they do not even injure a hair of his head; and how then is he persecuted? — Now for myself, I am as willing that my adversary should take my purse or my life, as that he should rob me of my reputation, rob me of the affection of my friends, and of my means of doing good. "He who takes from me my good name," takes the best possession of which human power can deprive me. It is true, that a Christian's reputation is comparatively a light object; and so is his property, so is his life; all are light things to him, whose hope is full of immortality. But, of all worldly blessings, an honest reputation is to many of us the most precious; and he who robs us of it, is the most injurious of mankind, and among the worst of persecutors. Let not the friends of denunciation attempt to escape this charge, by pleading their sense of duty, and their sincere desire to promote the cause of truth. St. Dominic was equally sincere, when he built the Inquisition; and I doubt not that many torturers of Christians, have fortified their reluctant minds, at the moment of applying the rack and the burning iron, by the sincere conviction, that the cause of truth required the sacrifice of its foes. I beg that these remarks may

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not be applied indiscriminately to the party called "Orthodox," among whom are multitudes whose humility and charity would revolt from making themselves the standards of Christian piety, and from assailing the Christian character of their brethren.

Many other considerations may be added to those which have been already urged, against the system of excluding from Christian fellowship men of upright lives, on account of their opinions. It necessarily generates perpetual discord in the church. Men differ in opinions as much as in features. No two minds are perfectly accordant. The shades of belief are infinitely diversified. Amidst this immense variety of sentiment, every man is right in his own eyes. Every man discovers errors in the creed of his brother. Every man is prone to magnify the importance of his own peculiarities, and to discover danger in the peculiarities of others. This is human nature. Every man is partial to his own opinions, because they are his own, and his self-will and pride are wounded by contradiction. Now what must we expect, when beings so erring, so divided in sentiment, and so apt to be unjust to the views of others, assert the right of excluding one another from the Christian church on account of imagined error? as the Scriptures confine this right to no individual and to no body of Christians, it belongs alike to all; and what must we expect, when Christians of all capacities and dispositions, the ignorant, prejudiced, and self-conceited, imagine it their duty to prescribe opinions to Christendom, and to open or to shut the door of the church according to the decision which their neighbours may form on some of the most perplexing points of theology? This question, unhappily, has received answer upon answer in ecclesiastical history. We there see Christians denouncing and excommunicating one another for supposed error, until every denomination has been pronounced accursed

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by some portion of the Christian world; so that were the curses of men to prevail, not one human being would enter heaven. To me it appears, that to plead for the right of excluding men of blameless lives, on account of their opinions, is to sound the peal of perpetual and universal war. Arm men with this power, and we shall have "nothing but thunder." Some persons are sufficiently simple to imagine, that if this "horrid Unitarianism" were once hunted down, and put quietly into its grave, the church would be at peace. But no: our present contests have their origin, not in the "enormities" of Unitarianism, but very much in the principles of human nature, in the love of power, in impatience of contradiction, in men's passion for imposing their own views upon others, in the same causes which render them anxious to make proselytes to all their opinions. Were Unitarianism quietly interred, another and another hideous form of error would start up before the zealous guardians of the "purity of the church." The Arminian, from whom the pursuit has been diverted for a time by his more offending Unitarian brother, would soon be awakened from his dream of security, by the clamor of denunciation; and should the Arminian fall a prey, the Calvinists would then find time to look into the controversies among themselves, and almost every class would discover, with the eagle eye of their brethren at New York, that those who differ from them hold "another gospel," and ought to be "resisted and denounced." Thus the wars of Christians will be perpetual. Never will there be peace, until Christians agree to differ, and agree to look for the evidences of Christian character in the temper and the life.

Another argument against this practice of denouncing the supposed errors of sincere professors of Christianity, is this. It exalts to supremacy in the church, men who have the least claim to influence. Humble, meek, and

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affectionate Christians are least disposed to make creeds for their brethren, and to denounce those who differ from them. On the contrary, the impetuous, proud, and enthusiastic, men who cannot or will not weigh the arguments of opponents, are always most positive, and most unsparing in denunciation. These take the lead in a system of exclusion. They have no false modesty, no false charity, to shackle their zeal in framing fundamentals for their brethren, and in punishing the obstinate in error. The consequence is, that creeds are formed, which exclude from Christ's church some of his truest followers, which outrage reason as well as revelation, and which subsequent ages are obliged to mutilate and explain away, lest the whole religion be rejected by men of reflection. Such has been the history of the church. It is strange that we do not learn wisdom from the past. What man, who feels his own fallibility, who sees the errors into which the positive and "orthodox" of former times have been betrayed, and who considers his own utter inability to decide on the degree of truth, which every mind, of every capacity, must receive in order to salvation, will not tremble at the responsibility of prescribing to his brethren, in his own words, the views they must maintain on the most perplexing subjects of religion? Humility will always leave this work to others.

Another important consideration is, that this system of excluding men of apparent sincerity, for their opinions, entirely subverts free inquiry into the Scriptures. When once a particular system is surrounded by this bulwark; when once its defenders have brought the majority to believe, that the rejection of it is a mark of depravity and perdition, what but the name of liberty is left to Christians? The obstacles to inquiry are as real, and may be as powerful, as in the neighbourhood of the inquisition. The multitude dare not think, and the thinking dare not

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speak. The right of private judgment may thus, in a Protestant country, be reduced to a nullity. It is true, that men are sent to the Scriptures; but they are told before they go, that they will be driven from the church on earth and in heaven, unless they find in the Scriptures the doctrines which are embodied in the popular creed. They are told, indeed, to inquire for themselves; but they are also told, at what points inquiry must arrive; and the sentence of exclusion hangs over them, if they happen to stray, with some of the best and wisest men, into forbidden paths. Now this "Protestant liberty" is, in one respect, more irritating than Papal bondage. It mocks as well as enslaves us. It talks to us courteously as friends and brethren, whilst it rivets our chains. It invites and even charges us to look with our own eyes, but with the same breath warns us against seeing any thing which Orthodox eyes have not seen before us. Is this a state of things favorable to serious inquiry into the truths of the Gospel? yet, how long has the church been groaning under this cruel yoke!

Another objection to this system of excluding professed disciples of Christ, on account of their opinions, is, that it is inconsistent with the great principles of Congregationalism. In churches, where the power is lodged in a few individuals, who are supposed to be the most learned men in the community, the work of marking out and excluding the erroneous, may seem less difficult. But among Congregationalists, the tribunal, before which the offender is to be brought, is the whole church, consisting partly of men in humble circumstances and of unimproved minds; partly of men engaged in active and pressing business; and partly of men of education, whose studies have been directed to law and medicine. Now is this a tribunal, before which the most intricate points of theology are to be discussed, and serious inquiries are to an-

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swer for opinions, which they have perhaps examined more laboriously and faithfully than all their judges? Would a church of humble men, conscious of their limited opportunities, consent to try, for these pretended crimes, professing Christians, as intelligent, as honest, and as exemplary as themselves? It is evident, that in the business of excluding men for opinions, a church can be little more than the tool of the minister, or a few influential members; and our churches are, in general, too independent and too upright to take this part in so solemn a transaction. To correct their deficiencies, and to quicken their zeal on this point, we are now threatened with new tribunals, or Consociations, whose office it will be to try ministers for their errors, to inspect the churches, and to advise and assist them in the extirpation of "heresy." Whilst the laity are slumbering, the ancient and free constitution of our churches is silently undermined, and is crumbling away. Since argument is insufficient to produce uniformity of opinion, recourse must be had to more powerful instruments of conviction; I mean, to ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS. And are this people indeed prepared to submit to this most degrading form of vassalage; a vassalage, which reaches and palsies the mind, and imposes on it the dreams and fictions of men, for the everlasting truth of God!

These remarks lead me to the last consideration which I shall urge against the proposed system of exclusion and separation. This system will shake to the foundation our religious institutions, and destroy many habits and connexions which have had the happiest influence on the religious character of this people. In the first place, if Christian communion and all acknowledgments of Christian character are to be denied on the ground of difference of opinion, the annual "Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts," that ancient bond of

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union, must be dissolved; and in its dissolution we shall lose the edifying, honorable, and rare example of ministers regularly assembling, not to exercise power and to fetter the conscience, but to reciprocate kind affection, and to unite in sending relief to the families of their deceased brethren. This event may gladden the heart of the sectarian; it will carry no joy to the widow and orphan. — In the next place, the "Associations of Ministers," in our different counties, must in many cases be broken up, to make room for new associations, founded on similarity of opinion. Thus, that intercourse which now subsists between ministers of different persuasions, and which tends to enlarge the mind and to give a liberality to the feelings, will be diminished, if not destroyed; and ministers, becoming more contracted and exclusive, will communicate more of this unhappy spirit to their societies. — In the next place, neighbouring churches, which, from their very foundation, have cultivated Christian communion, and counselled and comforted each other, will be mutually estranged, and catching the temper of their religious guides, will exchange fellowship for denunciation; and instead of delighting in each other's prosperity, will seek each other's destruction. — Again; in the same church, where Christians of different views have long acknowledged each other as disciples of our Master, and have partaken the same feast of charity, angry divisions will break forth, parties will be marshalled under different leaders, the sentence of excommunication will be hurled by the majority on their guiltless brethren (if the majority should be "orthodox"), and thus anger, heart-burnings, and bitter recriminations will spread through many of our towns and churches. — Again; many of our religious societies will be rent asunder, their ministers dismissed, and religious institutions cease. It is well known, that many of our country parishes are able

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to support but a single minister. At the same time, they are divided in sentiment; and nothing but a spirit of charity and forbearance has produced that union by which public worship has been maintained. Once let the proposed war be proclaimed, let the standard of party be raised, and a minister must look for support to that party only to which he is attached. An "Orthodox" minister should blush to ask it from men whom he denounces for honest opinions, and to whom he denies all the ordinances of the Gospel. It surely cannot be expected that Liberal Christians will contribute, by their property, to uphold a system of exclusion and intolerance directed against themselves. What, then, will be the fate of many of our societies? Their ministers, even now, can with difficulty maintain the conflict with other denominations. Must they not sink, when deserted by their most efficient friends? Many societies will be left, as sheep without a shepherd, a prey to those whom we call sectarians, but who will no longer have an exclusive right to the name, if the system of division, which has been proposed, be adopted. Many ministers will be compelled to leave the field of their labors and their prospects of usefulness; and I fear the ministry will lose its hold on the affection and veneration of men, when it shall have engendered so much division and contention. — But this is not all. The system of denying the Christian name to those who differ from us in interpreting the Scriptures, will carry discord not only into churches, but families. In how many instances are heads of families divided in opinion on the present subjects of controversy? Hitherto they have loved each other as partakers of the same glorious hopes, and have repaired in their domestic joys and sorrows to the same God (as they imagined) through the same Mediator. But now, they are taught that they have different Gods and different gospels, and are taught that the

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friends of truth are not to hold communion with its rejecters. Let this doctrine be received, and one of the tenderest ties by which many wedded hearts are knit together will be dissolved. The family altar must fall. Religion will be known in many a domestic retreat, not as a bond of union, but a subject of debate, a source of discord or depression.

Now I ask, For what boon are all these sacrifices to be made? The great end is, that certain opinions, which have been embraced by many serious and inquiring Christians as the truth of God, may be driven from the church, and be dreaded by the people as among the worst of crimes. Uniformity of opinion, — that airy good, which emperors, popes, councils, synods, bishops, and ministers have been seeking for ages, by edicts, creeds, threatenings, excommunications, inquisitions, and flames, — this is the great object of the system of exclusion, separation, and denunciation, which is now to be introduced. To this we are to sacrifice our established habits and bonds of union; and this is to be pursued by means which, as many reflecting men believe, threaten our dearest rights and liberties.

It is sincerely hoped, that reflecting laymen will no longer shut their eyes on this subject. It is a melancholy fact, that our long established Congregational form of church government is menaced, and tribunals unknown to our churches, and unknown, as we believe, to the Scriptures, are to be introduced; and introduced for the very purpose, that the supposed errors and mistakes of ministers and private Christians may be tried and punished as heresies, that is, as crimes. In these tribunals, as in all ecclesiastical bodies, the clergy, who make theology their profession, will of necessity have a preponderating influence, so that the question now before the public is, in fact, only a new form of the old controversy, which has agi-

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tated all ages; namely, whether the clergy shall think for the laity, or prescribe to them their religion. Were this question fairly proposed to the public, there would be but one answer; but it is wrapped up in a dark phraseology about the purity and order of the church, a phraseology, which, I believe, imposes on multitudes of ministers as well as laymen, and induces acquiescence in measures, the real tendency of which they would abhor. It is, I hope, from no feeling of party, but from a sincere regard to the religion of Christ, that I would rouse the slumbering minds of this community to the dangers which hang over their religious institutions. No power is so rapidly accumulated, or so dreadfully abused, as ecclesiastical power. It assails men with menaces of eternal woe, unless they submit, and gradually awes the most stubborn and strongest minds into subjection. I mean not to ascribe the intention of introducing ecclesiastical tyranny to any class of Christians among us; but I believe, that many, in the fervor of a zeal which may be essentially virtuous, are about to touch with unhallowed hands the ark of God, to support Christianity by measures which its mild and charitable spirit abhors. I believe, that many, overlooking the principles of human nature, and the history of the church, are about to set in motion a spring of which they know not the force, and cannot calculate the effects. I believe, that the seed of spiritual tyranny is sown, and although to a careless spectator it may seem the "smallest of all seeds," it has yet, within itself, a fatal principle of increase, and may yet darken this region of our country with its deadly branches.

The time is come, when the friends of Christian liberty and Christian charity are called to awake, and to remember their duties to themselves, to posterity, and to the church of Christ. The time is come, when the rights of conscience and the freedom of our churches must be

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defended with zeal. The time is come, when menace and denunciation must be met with a spirit which will show that we dread not the frowns and lean not on the favor of man. The time is come, when every expression of superiority on the part of our brethren should be repelled as criminal usurpation. But in doing this, let the friends of liberal and genuine Christianity remember the spirit of their religion. Let no passion or bitterness dishonor their sacred cause. In contending for the Gospel, let them not lose its virtues or forfeit its promises. — We are indeed called to pass through one of the severest trials of human virtue, the trial of controversy. We should carry with us a sense of its danger. Religion, when made a subject of debate, seems often to lose its empire over the heart and life. The mild and affectionate spirit of Christianity gives place to angry recriminations and cruel surmises. Fair dealing, uprightness, and truth, are exchanged for the arts of sophistry. The devotional feelings, too, decline in warmth and tenderness. Let us, then, watch and pray. Let us take heed that the weapons of our warfare be not carnal. Whilst we repel usurpation, let us be just to the general rectitude of many by whom our Christian rights are invaded. Whilst we repel the uncharitable censures of men, let us not forget that deep humility and sense of unworthiness with which we should ever appear before God. In our zeal to maintain the great truth, that OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN is alone the Supreme God, let us not neglect that intercourse with him, without which the purest conceptions will avail little to enthrone him in our hearts. In our zeal to hold fast the "word of Christ," in opposition to human creeds and formularies, let us not forget, that our Lord demands another and a still more unsuspicious confession of him, even the exhibition of his spirit and religion in our lives.

The controversy in which we are engaged, is indeed

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painful; but it was not chosen, but forced upon us, and we ought to regard it as a part of the discipline to which a wise Providence has seen fit to subject us. Like all other trials, it is designed to promote our moral perfection. I trust, too, that it is designed to promote the cause of truth. Whilst I would speak diffidently of the future, I still hope, that a brighter day is rising on the Christian church, than it has yet enjoyed. The Gospel is to shine forth in its native glory. The violent excitement, by which some of the corruptions of this divine system are now supported, cannot be permanent; and the uncharitableness with which they are enforced, will react, like the persecutions of the Church of Rome, in favor of truth. Already we have the comfort of seeing many disposed to inquire, and to inquire without that terror which has bound as with a spell so many minds. We doubt not, that this inquiry will result in a deep conviction, that Christianity is yet disfigured by errors which have been transmitted from ages of darkness. Of this, at least, we are sure, that inquiry, by discovering to men the difficulties and obscurities which attend the present topics of controversy, will terminate in what is infinitely more desirable than doctrinal concord, in the diffusion of a mild, candid, and charitable temper. I pray God, that this most happy consummation may be in no degree obstructed by any unchristian feelings, which, notwithstanding my sincere efforts, have escaped me in the present controversy.

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OBJECTIONS TO UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY

CONSIDERED.

1819.

It is due to truth, and a just deference to our fellow-Christians, to take notice of objections which are currently made to our particular views of religion ; nor ought we to dismiss such objections as unworthy of attention, on account of their supposed lightness ; because what is light to us, may weigh much with our neighbour, and truth may suffer from obstructions which a few explanations might remove. It is to be feared that those Christians, who are called Unitarian, have been wanting in this duty. Whilst they have met the labored arguments of their opponents fully and fairly, they have overlooked the loose, vague, indefinite objections, which float through the community, and operate more on common minds than formal reasoning. On some of these objections, remarks will now be offered ; and it is hoped that our plainness of speech will not be construed into severity, nor our strictures on different systems be ascribed to a desire of retaliation. It cannot be expected, that we shall repel with indifference, what seem to us reproaches on some of the most important and consoling views of Christianity. Believing that the truths, which through God's good provi-

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dence we are called to maintain, are necessary to the vindication of the Divine character, and to the prevalence of a more enlightened and exalted piety, we are bound to assert them earnestly, and to speak freely of the opposite errors which now disfigure Christianity. — What, then, are the principal objections to Unitarian Christianity ?

I. It is objected to us, that we deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Now what does this objection mean ? What are we to understand by the Divinity of Christ ? In the sense in which many Christians, and perhaps a majority, interpret it, we do not deny it, but believe it as firmly as themselves. We believe firmly in the Divinity of Christ's mission and office, that he spoke with Divine authority, and was a bright image of the Divine perfections. We believe that God dwelt in him, manifested himself through him, taught men by him, and communicated to him his spirit without measure. We believe that Jesus Christ was the most glorious display, expression, and representative of God to mankind, so that in seeing and knowing him, we see and know the invisible Father ; so that when Christ came, God visited the world and dwelt with men more conspicuously than at any former period. In Christ's words, we hear God speaking ; in his miracles, we behold God acting ; in his character and life, we see an unsullied image of God's purity and love We believe, then, in the Divinity of Christ, as this term is often and properly used. — How, then, it may be asked, do we differ from other Christians ? We differ in this important respect. Whilst we honor Christ as the Son, representative, and image of the Supreme God, we do not believe him to be the Supreme God himself. We maintain, that Christ and God are *distinct beings*, two beings, not one and the same being. On this point a little repetition may be pardoned, for many good Christians, after the controversies of ages, misunderstand the precise difference be-

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tween us and themselves. Trinitarianism teaches, that Jesus Christ is the supreme and Infinite God, and that he and his Father are not only one in affection, counsel, and will, but are strictly and literally one and the same being. Now to us this doctrine is most unscriptural and irrational. We say that the Son cannot be the same being with his own Father; that he, who was sent into the world to save it, cannot be the living God who sent him. The language of Jesus is explicit and unqualified. "I came not to do mine own will."—"I came not from myself."—"I came from God." Now we affirm, and this is our chief heresy, that Jesus was not and could not be the God from whom he came, but was another being; and it amazes us that any can resist this simple truth. The doctrine, that Jesus, who was born at Bethlehem; who ate and drank and slept; who suffered and was crucified; who came from God; who prayed to God; who did God's will; and who said, on leaving the world, "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God"; the doctrine that this Jesus was the Supreme God himself, and the same being with his Father, this seems to us a contradiction to reason and Scripture so flagrant, that the simple statement of it is a sufficient refutation. We are often charged with degrading Christ; but if this reproach belong to any Christians, it falls, we fear, on those who accuse him of teaching a doctrine so contradictory, and so subversive of the supremacy of our Heavenly Father. Certainly our humble and devout Master has given no ground for this accusation. He always expressed towards God the reverence of a son. He habitually distinguished himself from God. He referred to God all his powers. He said without limitation or reserve, "The Father is greater than I."—"Of myself I can do nothing." If to represent Christ as a being distinct from God, and as inferior to him, be to degrade him, then let our opponents

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lay the guilt where it belongs, not on us, but on our Master, whose language we borrow, in whose very words we express our sentiments, whose words we dare not trifle with and force from their plain sense. Our limits will not allow us to say more; but we ask common Christians, who have taken their opinions from the Bible, rather than from human systems, to look honestly into their own minds, and to answer frankly, whether they have not understood and believed Christ's divinity, in the sense maintained by us, rather than in that for which the Trinitarians contend.

2. We proceed to another objection, and one which probably weighs more with multitudes than any other. It is this, that our doctrine respecting Christ takes from the sinner the only ground of hope. It is said by our opponents, "We and all men are sinners by our very nature, and infinitely guilty before God. The sword of divine justice hangs over us, and hell opens beneath us; and where shall we find a refuge but in an infinite Saviour? We want an Infinite Atonement; and in depriving us of this, you rob us of our hope, you tear from the Scriptures the only doctrine which meets our wants. We may burn our Bibles, if your interpretation be true, for our case is desperate; we are lost for ever." In such warm and wild language, altogether unwarranted by Scripture, yet exceedingly fitted to work on common and terror-stricken minds, our doctrine is constantly assailed.

Now, to this declamation, for such we esteem it, we oppose one plain request. Show us, we say, a single passage in the Bible, in which we are told that the sin of man is infinite, and needs an infinite atonement. We find not one. Not even a whisper of this doctrine comes to us from the sacred writers. Let us stop a moment and weigh this doctrine. It teaches us that man, although created by God a frail, erring, and imperfect being, and even

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created with an irresistible propensity to sin, is yet regarded by the Creator as an infinite offender, meriting infinite punishment for his earliest transgressions; and that he is doomed to endless torment, unless an infinite Saviour appear for his rescue! How can any one, we ask, charge on our benevolent and righteous Parent such a government of his creatures? — We maintain, that man is not created in a condition which makes an infinite atonement necessary; nor do we believe that any creature can fall into a condition, from which God may not deliver him without this rigid expedient. Surely, if an infinite satisfaction to justice were indispensable to our salvation, if God took on him human nature for the very purpose of offering it, and if this fact constitute the peculiar glory, the life and essence, and the saving efficacy of the Gospel, we must find it expressed clearly, definitely, in at least one passage in the Bible. But not one, we repeat it, can be found there. — We maintain, further, that this doctrine of God becoming a victim and sacrifice for his own rebellious subjects, is as irrational as it is unscriptural. We have always supposed that atonement, if necessary, was to be made *to*, not by, the sovereign who has been offended; and we cannot conceive a more unlikely method of vindicating his authority, than that he himself should bear the punishment which is due to transgressors of his laws. — We have another objection. If an infinite atonement be necessary, and if, consequently, none but God can make it, we see not but that God must become a sufferer, must take upon himself our pain and woe; a thought from which a pious mind shrinks with horror. To escape this difficulty, we are told, that Christ suffered as man, not as God; but if man only suffered, if only a human and finite mind suffered, if Christ, as God, was perfectly happy on the cross, and bore only a short and limited pain in his human nature, where, we ask, was the

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infinite atonement? Where is the boasted hope which this doctrine is said to give to the sinner?

The objection, that there is no hope for the sinner, unless Christ be the infinite God, amazes us. Surely if we have a Father in heaven, of infinite goodness and power, we need no other infinite person to save us. The common doctrine disparages and dishonors the only true God, our Father, as if, without the help of a second and a third divinity, equal to himself, he could not restore his frail creature, man. We have not the courage of our brethren. With the Scriptures in our hands, with the solemn attestations which they contain to the divine Unity, and to Christ's dependence, we dare not give to the God and Father of Jesus an equal or rival in the glory of originating our redemption, or of accomplishing it by underived and infinite power. — Are we asked, as we sometimes are, what is our hope, if Christ be not the supreme God? We answer, it is the boundless and almighty goodness of his Father and our Father; a goodness which cannot require an infinite atonement for the sins of a frail and limited creature. God's essential and unchangeable mercy, not Christ's infinity, is the Scriptural foundation of a sinner's hope. In the Scriptures, our heavenly Father is always represented as the sole original, spring, and first cause of our salvation; and let no one presume to divide His glory with another. That Jesus came to save us, we owe entirely to the Father's benevolent appointment. That Jesus is perfectly adequate to the work of our salvation, is to be believed, not because he is himself the supreme God, but because the supreme and unerring God selected, commissioned, and empowered him for this office. — That his death is an important means of our salvation, we gratefully acknowledge; but ascribe its efficacy to the merciful disposition of God towards the human race. To build the hope of

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pardon on the independent and infinite sufficiency of Jesus Christ, is to build on an unscriptural and false foundation; for Jesus teaches us, that of himself he can do nothing; that all power is given to him by his Father; and that he is a proper object of trust, because he came not of himself, or to do his own will, but because the Father sent him. We indeed lean on Christ, but it is because he is "a corner-stone, chosen by God and laid by God in Zion." God's forgiving love, declared to mankind by Jesus Christ, and exercised through him, is the foundation of hope to the penitent, on which we primarily rest, and a firmer the universe cannot furnish us.

3. We now proceed to another objection. We are charged with expecting to be saved by Works, and not by Grace. This charge may be easily despatched, and a more groundless one cannot easily be imagined. We indeed attach great importance to Christian works, or Christian obedience, believing that a practice or life conformed to the precepts and example of Jesus, is the great end for which faith in him is required, and is the great condition on which everlasting life is bestowed. We are accustomed to speak highly of the virtues and improvements of a true Christian, rejecting with abhorrence the idea, that they are no better than the outward Jewish righteousness, which the Prophet called "filthy rags"; and maintaining with the Apostle, that they are "in the sight of God, of great price." We believe that holiness or virtue is the very image of God in the human soul, a ray of his brightness, the best gift which he communicates to his creatures, the highest benefit which Christ came to confer, the only important and lasting distinction between man and man. Still we always and earnestly maintain, that no human virtue, no human obedience, can give a legal claim, a right by merit, to the life and immortality brought to light by Christ. We see and mourn over the

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deficiencies, broken resolutions, and mixed motives of the best men. We always affirm, that God's grace, benignity, free kindness, is needed by the most advanced Christians, and that to this alone we owe the promise in the Gospel, of full remission, and everlasting happiness to the penitent. None speak of mercy more constantly than we. One of our distinctions is, that we magnify this lovely attribute of the Deity. So accustomed are we to insist on the infinity of God's grace and mercy, that our adversaries often charge us with forgetting his justice; and yet it is objected to us, that, renouncing grace, we appeal to justice, and build our hope on the abundance of our merit!

4. We now proceed to another objection often urged against our views, or rather against those who preach them; and it is this, that we preach morality. To meet this objection, we beg to know what is intended by morality. Are we to understand by it, what it properly signifies, our whole duty, however made known to us, whether by nature or revelation? Does it mean the whole extent of those obligations which belong to us as moral beings? Does it mean that "sober, righteous, godly life," which our moral Governor has prescribed to us by his Son, as the great preparation for heaven? If this be morality, we cheerfully plead guilty to the charge of preaching it, and of laboring chiefly and constantly to enforce it; and believing, as we do, that all the doctrines, precepts, threatenings, and promises of the Gospel, are revealed for no other end than to make men moral, in this true and generous sense, we hope to continue to merit this reproach.

We fear, however, that this is not the meaning of the morality, which is said to be the burden of our preaching. Some, at least, who thus reproach us, mean that we are accustomed to enjoin only a worldly and social morality, consisting in common honesty, common kindness, and

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freedom from gross vices; neglecting to inculcate inward purity, devotion, heavenly-mindedness, and love to Jesus Christ. We hope that the persons who thus accuse us speak from rumor, and have never heard our instructions for themselves; for the charge is false; and no one who ever sat under our ministry can urge it, without branding himself a slanderer. The first and great commandment, which is to love God supremely, is recognised and enforced habitually in our preaching; and our obligations to Jesus Christ, the friend who died for us, are urged, we hope, not wholly without tenderness and effect.

It is but justice, however, to observe of many, that when they reproach us with moral preaching, they do not mean that we teach only outward decencies, but that we do not inculcate certain favorite doctrines, which are to them the very marrow and richness of the Gospel. When such persons hear a sermon, be the subject what it may, which is not seasoned with recognitions of the Trinity, total depravity, and similar articles of faith, they call it moral. According to this strange and unwarrantable use of the term, we rejoice to say that we are "moral preachers"; and it comforts us that we have for our pattern, "him who spake as man never spake," and who, in his longest discourse, has dropped not a word about a Trinity, or inborn corruption, or special and electing grace; and still more, we seriously doubt whether our preaching could with propriety be called moral, did we urge these doctrines, especially the two last; for, however warmly they may be defended by honest men, they seem to us to border on immorality; that is, to dishonor God, to weaken the sense of responsibility, to break the spirit, and to loosen the restraints on guilty passion.

5. Another objection urged against us, is, that our system does not produce as much zeal, seriousness, and piety as other views of religion. The objection it is difficult

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to repel, except by language which will seem to be a boasting of ourselves. When expressed in plain language, it amounts to this; — "We Trinitarians and Calvinists are better and more pious than you Unitarians, and consequently our system is more Scriptural than yours." Now assertions of this kind do not strike us as very modest and humble, and we believe that truth does not require us to defend it by setting up our piety above that of our neighbours. — This, however, we would say, that if our zeal and devotion are faint, the fault is our own, not that of our doctrine. We are sure that our views of the Supreme Being are incomparably more affecting and attractive than those which we oppose. It is the great excellence of our system, that it exalts God, vindicates his parental attributes, and appeals powerfully to the ingenuous principles of love, gratitude, and veneration; and when we compare it with the doctrines which are spread around us, we feel that of all men we are most inexcusable, if a filial piety do not spring up and grow strong in our hearts.

Perhaps it may not be difficult to suggest some causes for the charge, that our views do not favor seriousness and zeal. One reason probably is, that we interpret with much rigor those precepts of Christ, which forbid ostentation, and enjoin modesty and retirement in devotion. We dread a showy religion. We are disgusted with pretensions to superior sanctity, that stale and vulgar way of building up a sect. We believe that true religion speaks in actions more than in words, and manifests itself chiefly in the common temper and life; in giving up the passions to God's authority, in inflexible uprightness and truth, in active and modest charity, in candid judgment, and in patience under trials and injuries. We think it no part of piety to publish its fervors, but prefer a delicacy in regard to these secrets of the soul; and hence,

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to those persons who think religion is to be worn conspicuously and spoken of passionately, we may seem cold and dead, when perhaps, were the heart uncovered, it might be seen to be "alive to God," as truly as their own.

Again, it is one of our principles, flowing necessarily from our views of God, that religion is cheerful; that where its natural tendency is not obstructed by false theology, or a melancholy temperament, it opens the heart to every pure and innocent pleasure. We do not think that piety disfigures its face, or wraps itself in a funeral pall as its appropriate garb. Now, too many conceive of religion as something gloomy, and never to be named but with an unaltered tone and countenance; and where they miss these imagined signs of piety, they can hardly believe that a sense of God dwells in the heart.

Another cause of the error in question, we believe to be this. Our religious system excludes, or at least does not favor, those overwhelming terrors and transports which many think essential to piety. We do not believe in shaking and disordering men's understandings, by excessive fear, as a preparation for supernatural grace and immediate conversion. This we regard as a dreadful corruption and degradation of religion. Religion, we believe, is a gradual and rational work, beginning sometimes in sudden impressions, but confirmed by reflection, growing by the regular use of Christian means, and advancing silently to perfection. Now, because we specify no time when we were overpowered and created anew by irresistible impulse; because we relate no agonies of despair succeeded by miraculous light and joy, we are thought by some to be strangers to piety; — how reasonably, let the judicious determine.

Once more; we are thought to want zeal, because our principles forbid us to use many methods for spreading

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them, which are common with other Christians. Whilst we value highly our peculiar views, and look to them for the best fruits of piety, we still consider ourselves as bound to think charitably of those who doubt or deny them; and with this conviction, we cannot enforce them with that vehemence, positiveness, and style of menace, which constitute much of the zeal of certain denominations; — and we freely confess that we would on no account exchange our charity for their zeal; and we trust that the time is near, when he who holds what he deems truth with lenity and forbearance, will be accounted more pious than he who compasseth sea and land to make proselytes to his sect, and "shuts the gates of mercy" on all who will not bow their understandings to his creed. — We fear, that in these remarks we may have been unconsciously betrayed into a self-exalting spirit. Nothing could have drawn them from us, but the fact that a very common method of opposing our sentiments, is to decry the piety of those who adopt them. After all, we mean not to deny our great deficiencies. We have nothing to boast before God, although the cause of truth forbids us to submit to the censoriousness of our brethren.

6. Another objection to our views, is, that they lead to a rejection of revelation. Unitarianism has been called "a half-way house to infidelity." — Now, to this objection we need not oppose general reasonings. We will state a plain fact. It is this. A large proportion of the most able and illustrious defenders of the truth of Christianity have been Unitarians; and our religion has received from them, to say the least, as important service in its conflicts with infidelity, as from any class of Christians whatever. From the long catalogue of advocates of Christianity among Unitarians, we can select now but a few; but these few are a host. The name of John Locke is familiar to every scholar. He rendered distinguished service to

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the philosophy of the human mind; nor is this his highest praise. His writings on government and toleration contributed more than those of any other individual, to the diffusion of free and generous sentiments through Europe and America; and perhaps Bishop Watson was not guilty of great exaggeration, when he said, "This great man has done more for the establishment of pure Christianity than any author I am acquainted with." He was a laborious and successful student of the Scriptures. His works on the "Epistles of Paul," and on the "Reasonableness of Christianity," formed an era in sacred literature; and he has the honor of having shed a new and bright light on the darkest parts of the New Testament, and in general on the Christian system. Now Locke, be it remembered, was a Unitarian.—We pass to another intellectual prodigy,—to Newton, a name which every man of learning pronounces with reverence; for it reminds him of faculties so exalted above those of ordinary men, that they seem designed to help our conceptions of superior orders of being. This great man, who gained by intuition what others reap from laborious research, after exploring the laws of the universe, turned for light and hope to the Bible; and although his theological works cannot be compared with Locke's, yet in his illustrations of the prophecies, and of Scripture chronology, and in his criticisms on two doubtful passages,* which are among the chief supports of the doctrine of the Trinity, he is considered as having rendered valuable services to the Christian cause. Newton, too, was a Unitarian.—We are not accustomed to boast of men, or to prop our faith by great names; for Christ, and He only, is our Master; but it is with pleasure, that we find in our ranks the most gifted, sagacious, and exalted minds; and we cannot but smile, when we sometimes hear from men and women of

* 1 John v. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

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very limited culture, and with no advantages for enlarged inquiry, reproachful and contemptuous remarks on a doctrine which the vast intelligence of Locke and Newton, after much study of the Scriptures, and in opposition to a prejudiced and intolerant age, received as the truth of God. It is proper to state, that doubts have lately been raised as to the religious opinions of Locke and Newton, and for a very obvious reason. In these times of growing light, their names have been found too useful to the Unitarian cause. But the long and general belief of the Unitarianism of these illustrious men can hardly be accounted for, but by admitting the fact; and we know of no serious attempts to set aside the proofs on which this belief is founded.

We pass to another writer, who was one of the brightest ornaments of the Church of England and of the age in which he lived, Dr. Samuel Clarke. In classical literature, and in metaphysical speculation, Dr. Clarke has a reputation which needs no tribute at our hands. His sermons are an invaluable repository of Scriptural criticism; and his work on the evidences of natural and revealed religion, has ever been considered as one of the ablest vindications of our common faith. This great man was a Unitarian. He believed firmly that Jesus was a distinct being from his Father, and a derived and dependent being; and he desired to bring the liturgy of his church into a correspondence with these doctrines.

To those who are acquainted with the memorable infidel controversy in the early part of the last century, excited by the writings of Bolingbroke, Tindal, Morgan, Collins, and Chubb, it will be unnecessary to speak of the zeal and power with which the Christian cause was maintained by learned Unitarians. But we must pass over these, to recall a man whose memory is precious to enlightened believers; we mean Lardner, that most patient

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and successful advocate of Christianity; who has written, we believe, more largely than any other author on the evidences of the Gospel; from whose works later authors have drawn as from a treasure-house; and whose purity and mildness have disarmed the severity and conciliated the respect of men of very different views from his own. Lardner was a Unitarian. — Next to Lardner, the most laborious advocate of Christianity against the attacks of infidels, in our own day, was Priestley; and whatever we may think of some of his opinions, we believe that none of his opposers ever questioned the importance of his vindications of our common faith. We certainly do not say too much, when we affirm that Unitarians have not been surpassed by any denomination in zealous, substantial service to the Christian cause. Yet we are told that Unitarianism leads to infidelity! We are reproached with defection from that religion, round which we have gathered in the day of its danger, and from which, we trust, persecution and death cannot divorce us.

It is indeed said, that instances have occurred of persons, who, having given up the Trinitarian doctrine, have not stopped there, but have resigned one part of Christianity after another, until they have become thorough infidels. To this we answer, that such instances we have never known; but that such should occur is not improbable, and is what we should even expect; for it is natural that when the mind has detected one error in its creed, it should distrust every other article, and should exchange its blind and hereditary assent for a sweeping skepticism. We have examples of this truth at the present moment, both in France and Spain, where multitudes have proceeded from rejecting Popery to absolute Atheism. Now, who of us will argue that the Catholic faith is true, because multitudes who relinquished it have also cast away

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every religious principle and restraint; and if the argument be not sound on the side of Popery, how can it be pressed into the service of Trinitarianism? The fact is, that false and absurd doctrines, when exposed, have a natural tendency to beget skepticism in those who received them without reflection. None are so likely to believe too little as those who have begun with believing too much; and hence we charge upon Trinitarianism whatever tendency may exist in those who forsake it, to sink gradually into infidelity.

Unitarianism does not lead to infidelity. On the contrary, its excellence is, that it fortifies faith. Unitarianism is Christianity stripped of those corrupt additions which shock reason and our moral feelings. It is a rational and amiable system, against which no man's understanding or conscience, or charity, or piety revolts. Can the same be said of that system, which teaches the doctrines of three equal persons in one God, of natural and total depravity, of infinite atonement, of special and electing grace, and of the everlasting misery of the non-elected part of mankind? We believe that unless Christianity be purified from these corruptions, it will not be able to bear the unsparing scrutiny to which the progress of society is exposing it. We believe that it must be reformed, or intelligent men will abandon it. As the friends of Christianity, and the foes of infidelity, we are therefore solicitous to diffuse what seem to us nobler and juster views of this divine system.

7. It was our purpose to consider one more objection to our views; namely, that they give no consolation in sickness and death. But we have only time to express amazement at such a charge. What! a system which insists with a peculiar energy on the pardoning mercy of God, on his universal and parental love, and on the doctrine of a resurrection and immortality, — such a system

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unable to give comfort? It unlocks infinite springs of consolation and joy, and gives to him who practically receives it, a living, overflowing, and unspeakable hope. Its power to sustain the soul in death has been often tried; and did we believe dying men to be inspired, or that peace and hope in the last hours were God's seal to the truth of doctrines, we should be able to settle at once the controversy about Unitarianism. A striking example of the power of this system in disarming death, was lately given by a young minister in a neighbouring town,* known to many of our readers, and singularly endeared to his friends by eminent Christian virtue. He was smitten by sickness in the midst of a useful and happy life, and sunk slowly to the grave. His religion, and it was that which has now been defended, gave habitual peace to his mind, and spread a sweet smile over his pale countenance. He retained his faculties to his last hour; and when death came, having left pious counsel to the younger members of his family, and expressions of gratitude to his parents, he breathed out life in the language of Jesus, — "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Such was the end of one who held, with an unwavering faith, the great principles which we have here advanced; and yet our doctrine has no consolation, we are told, for sickness and death!

We have thus endeavoured to meet objections commonly urged against our views of religion; and we have done this, not to build up a party, but to promote views of Christianity, which seem to us particularly suited to strengthen men's faith in it, and to make it fruitful of good works and holy lives. Christian virtue, Christian holiness, love to God and man, these are all which we

* Rev. John E. Abbot, of Salem. This tract was first published in 1819, in the "Christian Disciple"

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think worth contending for; and these we believe to be intimately connected with the system now maintained. If in this we err, may God discover our error, and disappoint our efforts. We ask no success, but what he may approve, — no proselytes but such as will be made better, purer, happier by the adoption of our views.

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DUTIES OF THE CITIZEN

IN

TIMES OF TRIAL OR DANGER.

EXTRACTS FROM SERMONS PREACHED ON DAYS OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER, APPOINTED IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.—1812.

In all circumstances, at all times, war is to be deprecated. The evil passions which it excites, its ravages, its bloody conflicts, the distress and terror which it carries into domestic life, the tears which it draws from the widow and fatherless, all render war a tremendous scourge.

There are indeed conditions in which war is justifiable, is necessary. It may be the last and only method of repelling lawless ambition, and of defending invaded liberty and essential rights. It may be the method which God's providence points out by furnishing the means of success. In these cases we must not shrink from war; though even in these we should deeply lament the necessity of shedding human blood. In such wars our country claims and deserves our prayers, our cheerful services, the sacrifice of wealth and even of life. In such wars, we have one consolation, when our friends fall on the field of battle; we know that they have fallen in a just cause. Such conflicts, which our hearts and consciences approve, are suited to call forth generous sentiments, to breathe patri-

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otism and fortitude through a community. Could I view the war in which we are engaged in this light, with what different feelings, my friends, should I address you! We might then look up to God and commit to him our country with a holy confidence. But, in our present state, what can I say to you? I would, but I cannot address you in the language of encouragement. We are precipitated into a war, which, I think, cannot be justified, and a war which promises not a benefit, that I can discover, to this country or to the world.

A solemn question now offers itself. What conduct belongs to a good citizen in our present trying condition? To this subject I call your serious attention.

Our condition induces me to begin with urging on you the important duty of cherishing respect for civil government, and a spirit of obedience to the laws. I am sensible, that many whom I address consider themselves as called to oppose the measures of our present rulers. Let this opposition breathe nothing of insubordination, impatience of authority, or love of change. It becomes you to remember, that government is a divine institution, essential to the improvement of our nature, the spring of industry and enterprise, the shield of property and life, the refuge of the weak and oppressed. It is to the security which laws afford, that we owe the successful application of human powers. Government, though often perverted by ambition and other selfish passions, still holds a distinguished rank among those influences by which man has been rescued from barbarism, and conducted through the ruder stages of society to the habits of order, the diversified employments and dependencies, the refined and softened manners, the intellectual, moral, and religious improvements of the age in which we live. We are bound to respect government, as the great security for

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social happiness; and we should carefully cherish that habit of obedience to the laws, without which the ends of government cannot be accomplished. All wanton opposition to the constituted authorities; all censures of rulers, originating in a factious, aspiring, or envious spirit; all unwillingness to submit to laws which are directed to the welfare of the community, should be rebuked and repressed by the frown of public indignation.

It is impossible that all the regulations of the wisest government should equally benefit every individual; and sometimes the general good will demand arrangements, which will interfere with the interests of particular members or classes of the nation. In such circumstances, the individual is bound to regard the inconveniences under which he suffers, as inseparable from a social, connected state, as the result of the condition which God has appointed, and not as the fault of his rulers; and he should cheerfully submit, recollecting how much more he receives from the community than he is called to resign to it. Disaffection towards a government which is administered with a view to the general welfare, is a great crime; and such opposition, even to a bad government, as springs from and spreads a restless temper, an unwillingness to yield to wholesome and necessary restraint, deserves no better name. In proportion as a people want a conscientious regard to the laws, and are prepared to evade them by fraud, or to arrest their operation by violence, — in that proportion they need and deserve an arbitrary government, strong enough to crush at a blow every symptom of opposition.

These general remarks on the duty of submission, are by no means designed to teach that rulers are never to be opposed. Because I wish to guard you against that turbulent and discontented spirit, which precipitates free communities into an anarchy, and thus prepares them for

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chains, you will not consider me as asserting that all opposition to government, whatever be the occasion, or whatever the form, is to be branded as a crime. The citizen has rights as well as duties. Government is instituted for one and a single end, the benefit of the governed, the protection, peace, and welfare of society; and when it is perverted to other objects, to purposes of avarice, ambition, or party spirit, we are authorized and even bound to make such opposition, as is suited to restore it to its proper end, to render it as pure as the imperfection of our nature and state will admit.

The Scriptures have sometimes been thought to enjoin an unqualified, unlimited subjection to the "higher powers"; but in the passages which seem so to teach, it is supposed that these powers are "ministers of God for good," are a terror to evil doers, and an encouragement to those that do well. When a government wants this character, when it becomes an engine of oppression, the Scriptures enjoin subjection no longer. Expediency may make it our duty to obey, but the government has lost its rights; it can no longer urge its claims as an ordinance of God.

There have, indeed, been times, when sovereigns have demanded subjection as an unalienable right, and when the superstition of subjects has surrounded them with a mysterious sanctity, with a majesty approaching the divine. But these days have past. Under the robe of office, we, my hearers, have learned to see a man like ourselves. There is no such sacredness in rulers, as forbids scrutiny into their motives, or condemnation of their measures. In leaving the common walks of life, they leave none of their imperfections behind them. Power has even a tendency to corrupt, to feed an irregular ambition, to harden the heart against the claims and sufferings of mankind. Rulers are not to be viewed with

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a malignant jealousy; but they ought to be inspected with a watchful, undazzled eye. Their virtues and services are to be rewarded with generous praise; and their crimes, and arts, and usurpations, should be exposed with a fearless sincerity, to the indignation of an injured people. We are not to be factious, and neither are we to be servile. With a sincere disposition to obey, should be united a firm purpose not to be oppressed.

So far is an existing government from being clothed with an inviolable sanctity, that the citizen, in particular circumstances, acquires the right, not only of remonstrating, but of employing force for its destruction. This right accrues to him, when a government wantonly disregards the ends of social union; when it threatens the subversion of national liberty and happiness; and when no relief but force remains to the suffering community. This, however, is a right which cannot be exercised with too much deliberation. Subjects should very slowly yield to the conviction, that rulers have that settled hostility to their interests, which authorizes violence. They must not indulge a spirit of complaint, and suffer their passions to pronounce on their wrongs. They must remember, that the best government will partake the imperfection of all human institutions, and that if the ends of the social compact are in any tolerable degree accomplished, they will be mad indeed to hazard the blessings they possess, for the possibility of greater good.

Resistance of established power is so great an evil, civil commotion excites such destructive passions, the result is so tremendously uncertain, that every milder method of relief should first be tried, and fairly tried. The last dreadful resort is never justifiable, until the injured members of the community are brought to despair of other relief, and are so far united in views and purposes as to be authorized in the hope of success. Civil commotion

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should be viewed as the worst of national evils, with the single exception of slavery. I know that this country has passed through one civil war, without experiencing the calamitous consequences of which I have spoken. But let us not forget, that this was a civil war of a very peculiar character. The government which we shook off was not seated in the midst of us. Our struggle was that of nation with nation, rather than of fellow-citizens with one another. Our manners and habits tended to give a considerateness and a stability to the public mind, which can hardly be expected in a future struggle. And, in addition to these favorable circumstances, we were favored by Heaven with a leader of incorruptible integrity, of unstained purity; a patriot who asked no glory, but that of delivering his country, who desired to reign only in the hearts of a free and happy people, whose disinterestedness awed and repressed the selfish and ambitious, who inspired universal confidence, and thus was a centre and bond of union to the minds of men in the most divided and distracted periods of our country. The name of WASHINGTON I may pronounce with reverence even in the temple of the Almighty; and it is a name which revives the sinking spirits in this day of our declining glory. From a revolution, conducted by such a man, under such circumstances, let no conclusions be hastily drawn on the subject of civil commotion.

It becomes us to rejoice, my friends, that we live under a constitution, one great design of which is, to prevent the necessity of appealing to force, to give the people an opportunity of removing, without violence, those rulers from whom they suffer or apprehend an invasion of rights. This is one of the principal advantages of a republic over an absolute government. In a despotism, there is no remedy for oppression but force. The subject cannot influ-

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ence public affairs, but by convulsing the state. With us, rulers may be changed, without the horrors of a revolution. A republican government secures to its subjects this immense privilege, by confirming to them two most important rights, — the right of suffrage, and the right of discussing with freedom the conduct of rulers. The value of these rights in affording a peaceful method of redressing public grievances, cannot be expressed, and the duty of maintaining them, of never surrendering them, cannot be too strongly urged. Resign either of these, and no way of escape from oppression will be left you, but civil commotion.

From the important place which these rights hold in a republican government, you should consider yourselves bound to support every citizen in the lawful exercise of them, especially when an attempt is made to wrest them from any by violent means. At the present time, it is particularly your duty to guard, with jealousy, the right of expressing with freedom your honest convictions respecting the measures of your rulers. Without this, the right of election is not worth possessing. If public abuses may not be exposed, their authors will never be driven from power. Freedom of opinion, of speech, and of the press, is our most valuable privilege, the very soul of republican institutions, the safeguard of all other rights. We may learn its value if we reflect that there is nothing which tyrants so much dread. They anxiously fetter the press; they scatter spies through society, that the murmurs, anguish, and indignation of their oppressed subjects may be smothered in their own breasts; that no generous sentiment may be nourished by sympathy and mutual confidence. Nothing awakens and improves men so much as free communication of thoughts and feelings. Nothing can give to public sentiment that correctness which is essential to the prosperity of a Commonwealth, but the free

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circulation of truth, from the lips and pens of the wise and good. If such men abandon the right of free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rulers succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but what will lend support to men in power, — farewell to liberty. The form of a free government may remain, but the life, the soul, the substance is fled.

If these remarks be just, nothing ought to excite greater indignation and alarm than the attempts which have lately been made, to destroy the freedom of the press. We have lived to hear the strange doctrine, that to expose the measures of rulers is treason; and we have lived to see this doctrine carried into practice. We have seen a savage populace excited and let loose on men whose crime consisted in bearing testimony against the present war; and let loose, not merely to waste their property, but to tear them from the refuge which the magistrate had afforded, and to shed their blood. In this, and in other events, there have been symptoms of a purpose to terrify into silence those who disapprove the calamitous war under which we suffer; to deprive us of the only method which is left, of obtaining a wiser and better government The cry has been, that war is declared, and all opposition should therefore be hushed. A sentiment more unworthy of a free country can hardly be propagated. If this doctrine be admitted, rulers have only to declare war, and they are screened at once from scrutiny. At the very time when they have armies at command, when their patronage is most extended, and their power most formidable, not a word of warning, of censure, of alarm must be heard. The press, which is to expose inferior abuses, must not utter one rebuke, one indignant complaint, although our best interests and most valuable rights are put to hazard, by an unnecessary war! Admit this doctrine,

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let rulers once know, that, by placing the country in a state of war, they place themselves beyond the only power they dread, the power of free discussion, and we may expect war without end. Our peace and all our interests require, that a different sentiment should prevail. We should teach our present and all future rulers, that there is no measure for which they must render so solemn an account to their constituents, as for a declaration of war; that no measure will be so freely, so fully discussed; and that no administration can succeed in persuading this people to exhaust their treasure and blood in supporting war, unless it be palpably necessary and just. In war, then, as in peace, assert the freedom of speech and of the press. Cling to this as the bulwark of all your rights and privileges.

But, my friends, I should not be faithful, were I only to call you to hold fast this freedom. I would still more earnestly exhort you not to abuse it. Its abuse may be as fatal to our country as its relinquishment. If undirected, unrestrained by principle, the press, instead of enlightening, depraves the public mind; and, by its licentiousness, forges chains for itself and for the community. The right of free discussion is not the right of uttering what we please. Let nothing be spoken or written but truth. The influence of the press is exceedingly diminished by its gross and frequent misrepresentations. Each party listens with distrust to the statements of the other; and the consequence is, that the progress of truth is slow, and sometimes wholly obstructed. Whilst we encourage the free expression of opinion, let us unite in fixing the brand of infamy on falsehood and slander, wherever they originate, whatever be the cause they are designed to maintain.

But it is not enough that truth be told. It should be told for a good end; not to irritate, but to convince; not

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to inflame the bad passions, but to sway the judgment and to awaken sentiments of patriotism. Unhappily the press seems now to be chiefly prized as an instrument of exasperation. Those who have embraced error, are hardened in their principles by the reproachful epithets heaped on them by their adversaries. I do not mean by this, that political discussion is to be conducted tamely, that no sensibility is to be expressed, no indignation to be poured forth on wicked men and wicked deeds. But this I mean, —that we shall deliberately inquire, whether indignation be deserved, before we express it; and the object of expressing it should ever be, not to infuse ill will, rancor, and fury into the minds of men, but to excite an enlightened and conscientious opposition to injurious measures.

Every good man must mourn that so much is continually published among us, for no other apparent end than to gratify the malevolence of one party, by wounding the feelings of the opposite. The consequence is, that an alarming degree of irritation exists in our country. Fellow-citizens burn with mutual hatred, and some are evidently ripe for outrage and violence. In this feverish state of the public mind, we are not to relinquish free discussion, but every man should feel the duty of speaking and writing with deliberation. It is the time to be firm without passion. No menace should be employed to provoke opponents, no defiance hurled, no language used, which will, in any measure, justify the ferocious in appealing to force.

The sum of my remarks is this. It is your duty to hold fast and to assert with firmness those truths and principles on which the welfare of your country seems to depend; but do this with calmness, with a love of peace, without ill will and revenge. Use every opportunity of allaying animosities. Discourage, in decided and open language, that rancor, malignity, and unfeeling abuse, which so often

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find their way into our public prints. Remember, that in proportion as a people become enslaved to their passions, they fall into the hands of the aspiring and unprincipled; and that a corrupt government, which has an interest in deceiving the people, can desire nothing more favorable to their purposes, than a frenzied state of the public mind.

My friends, in this day of discord, let us cherish and breathe around us the benevolent spirit of Christianity. Let us reserve to ourselves this consolation, that we have added no fuel to the flames, no violence to the storms, which threaten to desolate our country. Though dishonored, though endangered, it is still our country. Let us not forsake it in this evil day. Let us hold fast the inheritance of our civil and religious liberties, which we have received from our fathers, sealed and hallowed by their blood. That these blessings may not be lost, let us labor to improve public sentiment, and to exalt men of wisdom and virtue to power. Let it be our labor to establish in ourselves and in our fellow-citizens the empire of true religion. Let us remember that there is no foundation of public liberty, but public virtue, that there is no method of obtaining God's protection but adherence to his laws.

Let us not despair of our country. If all that we wish cannot be done for the state, still something may be done In the good principles, in the love of order and liberty, by which so many of our citizens are distinguished; in the tried virtue, deliberate prudence, and unshaken firmness of the Chief Magistrate, whom God in his great goodness has given to this Commonwealth; in the value of the blessings which are at stake; in the peculiar kindness which God has manifested towards our fathers and ourselves, we have motives, encouragements, and solemn obligations to resolute, persevering exertion in our

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different spheres, and according to our different capacities, for the public good. Thus faitnful to ourselves and our country, and using vigorously every righteous means for restoring peace and confirming freedom, we may confidently leave the issue to the wise and holy providence of Him who cannot err, and who, we are assured, will accept and reward every conscientious effort for his own glory and the good of mankind.

EXTRACTS FROM A SERMON DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 18, 1814, WHEN AN INVASION BY THE BRITISH FORCES WAS APPREHENDED AT BOSTON.

At such a moment as the present, when every mind is fixing a fearful attention on the state of the country, it is impossible that a religious instructor should escape participation in the common feeling. His sacred calling does not require him to separate himself from the community, to forget that he is a citizen, to put off the feelings of a man. The religion which he teaches, inculcates public spirit and a strong and tender concern for all by whom he is surrounded. He would be unworthy his sacred function, were he not to love his country, and to sympathize with its prosperous and adverse fortunes. The religion, which it is his duty to dispense, regards men in all their relations, and affords instructions suited to every condition, whether of individuals or communities. You will not, then, consider me as leaving the province of a religious teacher, if I speak to you of the dangers and claims of our country, if I address you as citizens, and attempt to point out your duties at the present solemn period.

The present is indeed a solemn period. The sad re-

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verse which this country exhibits, astonishes as well as depresses us. But a few years ago, we stood on the height of prosperity. Amidst the storms which desolated nations, we were at peace, and the very storms seemed freighted with blessings for our tranquil shores. — And is it true, that from this height we have sunk so low, that our commerce is swept from the ocean, that industry has forsaken our cities, that the husbandman has resigned the ploughshare for the sword, that our confidence is changed into fear, that the tumult of business has given place to the din of arms, that some of our citizens are perishing in foreign prisons, and others shedding their blood on a foreign soil, that hostile fleets scatter terror through our coasts and flames through our cities, that no man feels secure, that the thought of invasion and slaughter mingles with the labors of the day and disturbs the slumbers of the night, and that our national government, impoverished and inefficient, can afford us no protection from such imminent danger? Yes, — this is true; we need no reasoning to convince us of its truth. We see it in the anxious countenance, in the departing family, in the care which removes our possessions, in the obstructions and perplexities of business, and in the events which every day brings to our ears. At such a moment, it becomes each man to ask himself what are his duties, what the times demand from him, in what manner he may contribute to the public safety. It is a time for seriousness, for consideration. With prosperity, we should dismiss our levity. The period of duty may to many of us be short. Whilst it continues, let it be improved.

1. The first remark I shall make, is, that it becomes every man at this solemn moment, to reflect on his own character and life, to inquire what he has done to bring down judgments on his country, to confess and renounce his sins, and to resolve on a sincere obedience of God's

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commands. We ought to remember that we live under a moral government, which regards the character of communities as truly as of individuals. A nation has reason for fear, in proportion to its guilt; and a virtuous nation, sensible of dependence on God, and disposed to respect his laws, is assured of his protection. Every people must indeed be influenced in a measure by the general state of the world, by the changes and conflicts of other communities. When the ocean is in tumult, every shore will feel the agitation. But a people faithful to God will never be forsaken. In addition to the direct and obvious tendency of national piety and virtue to national safety and exaltation, a virtuous community may expect peculiar interpositions of Providence for their defence and prosperity. They are not, indeed, to anticipate visible miracles. They are not to imagine, that invading hosts will be annihilated, like Sennacherib's, by the arm of an angel. But God, we must remember, can effect his purposes, and preserve the just, without such stupendous interpositions. The hearts of men are in his hand. The elements of nature obey his word. He has winds to scatter the proudest fleet, diseases to prostrate the strongest army. Consider how many events must conspire, how many secret springs must act in concert, to accomplish the purposes of the statesman or the plans of the warrior. How often have the best concerted schemes been thwarted, the most menacing preparations been defeated, the proud boast of anticipated victory been put to shame, by what we call casualty, by a slight and accidental want of concert, by the error of a chief, or by neglect in subordinate agents! Let God determine the defeat of an enemy, and we need not fear that means will be wanting. He sends terror, or blindness, or mad presumption, into the minds of leaders. Heaven, earth, and sea are arrayed to oppose their progress. An unconquerable spirit is breathed into the in-

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vaded; and the dreaded foe seeks his safety in dishonorable flight.

My friends, if God be for us, no matter who is against us. Mere power ought not to intimidate us; He can crush it in a moment. We live in a period when God's supremacy has been remarkably evinced, when he has signally confounded the powerful, and delivered the oppressed and endangered. At his word, the forged chain has been broken; mighty armies have been dispersed as chaff before the whirlwind; colossal thrones have been shivered like the brittle clay. God is still "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working"; and if he wills to deliver us, we cannot be subdued. It is, then, most important that we seek God's favor. And how is his favor to be obtained? I repeat it, — He is a moral governor, the friend of the righteous, the punisher of the wicked; and in proportion as piety, uprightness, temperance, and Christian virtue prevail among us, in that proportion we are assured of his favor and protection. A virtuous people, fighting in defence of their altars and firesides, may look to God with confidence. An invisible, but Almighty arm surrounds them, an impenetrable shield is their shadow and defence.

It becomes us, then, to inquire, How far have we sustained the character of a pious and virtuous people? And whose heart does not accuse him of many sins? Who can look round on his country, and not see many proofs of ingratitude to God, and of contempt of his laws? Do I speak to any, who, having received success and innumerable blessings from God, have yet forgotten the Giver? to any who have converted abundance into the instrument of excess? to any, who, having been instructed by the Gospel, have yet refused to employ in well-doing the bounty of Heaven? to any, who are living in habits of intemperance, impurity, impiety, fraud or

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any known sin? To such I would say, You are among the enemies of your country, and, should she fall, among the authors of her ruin. Let, then, this season be something more than an occasion of formal confession. We owe to ourselves and our country deep sorrow for our sins, and those sincere purposes of reformation which, more than all things, bring down blessings from Heaven.

2. Having recommended penitence in general as suited to the present moment, let me particularly recommend one branch of piety which the times demand of us. Let us each be instant and fervent in prayer. Let us pray to God, that he will not forsake us in this dark and menacing day; that he will remember the mercy shown to our fathers; that he will crown with success our efforts in defence of our possessions, our dwellings, and our temples; that he will breathe an invincible courage into our soldiers; that he will guard and guide our rulers; that he will turn the invader from our shores; or, if he shall otherwise appoint, that he will be our shield in battle, and will send us deliverance. For these blessings let us daily besiege the mercy-seat of God, deeply convinced that he controls the destinies of armies and nations, that he gives or withholds success, and that without him all exertion is unavailing. By this it is not intended that we are to do nothing but pray; that we are to leave our shores without defence, or neglect any means of security. God gives us powers that we should exert, weapons that we should wield them. We are to employ every resource which he grants us; but, having done this, we must remember that on God, not on ourselves, depends the result of our exertions. The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. God gives victory, and to him let every eye and heart be directed. You who have no other weapons, contend with your prayers for your country.—It will not be imagined from these remarks

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that by importunity of prayer God can be bent to favor an unjust cause. But when our cause is just; when, instead of waging offensive war, we gather round our city and shores for defence, we may be assured that sincere prayer, united with a sincere purpose of obedience, will not be lost. Prayer is a proper and appointed acknowledgment of our dependence, an essential means and branch of piety; and they who neglect it have no reason to hope the protection which they will not implore. Let us, then, take heed, lest the tumult of military preparation make us forgetful of the Author of all good, lest, in collecting armies and raising walls of defence, we forsake the footstool of the Almighty, the only giver of victory.

3. This is a time when we should all bring clearly and strongly to our minds our duties to our country, and should cherish a strong and ardent attachment to the public good. The claims of country have been felt and obeyed even in the rudest ages of society. The community to which we belong is commended by our very nature to our affection and service. Christianity, in enjoining a disinterested and benevolent spirit, admits and sanctions this sentiment of nature, this attachment to the land of our fathers, the land of our nativity. It only demands, that our patriotism be purified from every mixture of injustice towards foreign nations. Within this limit we cannot too ardently attach ourselves to the welfare of our county. Especially in its perils, we should fly to its rescue with filial zeal and affection, resolved to partake its sufferings, and prepared to die in its defence. The present moment, my friends, calls on us for this fervent patriotism. The question now is, not whether we will carry invasion, slaughter, and desolation into an unoffending province, not whether we will give our strength and wealth to the prosecution of unprincipled plans of conquest, but whether we will defend our firesides and

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altars, whether we will repel from our shores a hostile army. On this question our duty is clear. However unjustifiable may have been the measures by which we have been reduced to this mournful extremity, our right to our soil and our possessions remains unimpaired; the right of defence can never be wrested from us; and never, whilst God gives means of resistance, ought we to resign our country to the clemency of a foe. Our duties as patriots and Christians are plain. Whilst we disclaim all share in the guilt of that war which is bursting on our shores, we should resolve, that we will be true to ourselves, to our fathers, and to posterity, that we will maintain the inheritance which we have received, that whilst God gives us power we will not receive law as a conquered people.

We should animate our patriotism at this moment of danger, by reflecting that we have a country to contend for which deserves every effort and sacrifice. As members of this Commonwealth, in particular, we have every motive to invigorate our hearts and hands. We have the deeds of our fathers, their piety and virtues, and their solicitude for the rights and happiness of their posterity, to awaken our emulation. How invaluable the inheritance they have left us, earned by their toils and defended by their blood! Our populous cities and cultivated fields, our schools, colleges, and churches, our equal laws, our uncorrupted tribunals of justice, our spirit of enterprise, and our habits of order and peace, all combine to form a commonwealth as rich in blessings and privileges as the history of the world records. We possess, too, the chief glory of a state, many virtuous and disinterested citizens, a chief magistrate who would adorn any country and any age, enlightened statesmen, and, I trust, a fearless soldiery. Such a community deserves our affection, our honor, our zeal, the vigor of our arms, and the devotion of our lives. If we look back

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to Sparta, Athens, and Rome, we shall find, that, in the institutions of this Commonwealth, we have sources of incomparably richer blessings than those republics conferred on their citizens in their proudest days; and yet Sparta, and Rome, and Athens inspired a love stronger than death. In the day of their danger, every citizen offered his breast as a bulwark, every citizen felt himself the property of his country. It is true, a base alloy mingled with the patriotism of ancient times, and God forbid that a sentiment so impure should burn in our breasts. God forbid, that like the Greek and the Roman we should carry fire and slaughter into other countries, to build up a false fleeting glory at home. But, whilst we take warning by their excesses, let us catch a portion of their fervor, and learn to live, not for ourselves, but for that country whose honor and interest God has intrusted to our care.

4. The times especially demand of us, that we cherish a spirit of fortitude, courage, and resolution. The period of danger is the time to arm the mind with all the force and energy of which it is susceptible. In communities, as in individuals, there is a proneness to excessive alarm. Especially when untried, unexperienced dangers approach, imagination is prone to enlarge them; a panic spreads like lightning from breast to breast, and, before a blow is struck, a people are subdued by their fears. There is a rational fear, which we ought to cherish, a fear which views in all its dimensions approaching perils, and prepares with vigilance every means of defence. At the present moment we ought not to shut our eyes on our danger. Our enemy is formidable. A veteran army, trained to war, accustomed to success, fresh from conquest, and led by experienced commanders, is not to be despised, even if inferior in numbers, and even if it have received a temporary check. But such an army owes

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much of its formidableness to the fearless spirit which habit has fostered; and the best weapon, under Providence, which we can oppose to it, is the same courage, nurtured by reflection, by sentiments of honor, and by the principles of religion. Courage indeed is not always invincible, and, when God destines a nation to bondage, the valor of the hero is unvailing. But it is generally true, that a brave people, contending in a just cause, possess in their courage the pledge of success. The instrument by which God rescues nations, is their own undaunted resolution. Let us, then, cherish in ourselves and others, a firm and heroic spirit. Let us fortify our minds, by reflecting on the justice of our cause, that we are standing on our own shores, and defending invaded rights. Let us show that our love of peace has not originated in timidity, and that the spirit of our fathers still lives in their sons. Let us call to the support of our resolution the principles of religion. Devoting ourselves to God, and engaging in this warfare, from a sense of duty, let us feel that we are under His protection, that in the heat of battle he is near us, that life and death await his word, and that death, in a service which he approves, is never untimely and is never to be shunned. Let us consider that life at best is short, and its blessings transitory, that its great end is to train us to virtue and to prepare us for heaven, and that we had far better resign it at once than protract it by baseness or unmanly fear. Death awaits us all, and happy he who meets it in the discharge of duty. Most happy and most honored of men is the martyr to religion, who seals with his blood those truths, on which human virtue, consolation, and hope depend; and, next to him, happy is the martyr to the cause of his country, who, in obedience to God, opposes his breast to the sword of her invaders, and repays with life the protection she has afforded.

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5. I have thus, my friends, set before you your duties to God and your country, in this period of danger. Let me close with offering a few remarks on your duties to your enemies. You will remember that we profess a religion, which enjoins benevolence towards all mankind, even towards our personal and national foes. Let not our patriotism be sullied with malignant passions. Whilst we defend our shores with courage, let us not cherish hatred towards our invaders. We should not open our ear to every idle tale of their outrages, nor heap calumnies on their heads because they are enemies. The brave are generous. True courage needs not malignity to feed and inflame it. Especially when our foe is an illustrious nation, which for ages has defended and nurtured the interests of religion, science, and humanity; a nation to which grateful Europe is now offering acknowledgments for the protection which she has extended over the oppressed, and for the vigor with which she has coöperated in prostrating the bloody and appalling power of the usurper; — when such a nation is our foe, we should feel it unworthy and debasing to encourage a rancorous and vindictive spirit. True, she is sending her armies to our shores; but let us not forget, that our own government first sent slaughter and conflagration into her unoffending provinces. Let not approaching danger disturb recollections, or unsettle our principles. If we are to meet her armies in battle, which God in his mercy forbid, let us meet them with that magnanimity, which is candid and just even to its foes. Let us fight, not like beasts of prey to glut revenge, but to maintain our rights, to obtain an honorable peace, and to obtain a victory which shall be signalized by clemency as well as by valor. God forbid, that our conflicts should add fury to those bad passions and national antipathies, which have helped to bring this country to its present degraded and endangered condition

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I have placed before you your duties. God give you grace to perform them. In this day of danger, we know not what is before us; but this we know, that the path of piety, of virtue, of patriotism, and manly courage, leads to glory and to immortality. No enemy can finally injure us, if we are true to God, to our country, to mankind. In such a case as ours, I trust, prosperity and victory will be granted us by the almighty Disposer. But whether success or disaster await us, we know that the world is passing away, and that all of us will soon be placed beyond the reach of its changes. Let us not, then, be elated or depressed; but, with a firm and equal mind, let us acquit ourselves as men and Christians in our several spheres, looking upward to heaven as our rest and reward.

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NOTICE OF THE REV. S. C. THACHER.

[THE REV. S. C. THACHER, late Minister of the New South Church in Boston, died at Moulines, in France, Jan. 2, 1818, Ætat. 32. He had long been absent from this country, and had visited the Cape of Good Hope, for the recovery of his health. The following sketch of his character is taken from a discourse delivered in the church where he had been accustomed to officiate, the Sunday after the accounts of his death were received.]

THE news of Mr. Thacher's death, although not unexpected, spread an unusual gloom through the large circle in which he moved and was known. When we thought of his youth and virtues, of the place which he had filled and of the confidence he had inspired, of his sickness and sufferings, of his death in a distant land, and of the hopes which died with him, we could not but speak of his removal as mysterious, dark, untimely. My own mind participated at first in the general depression; but in proportion as I have reflected on the circumstances of this event, I have seen in them a kindness, which I overlooked in the first moments of sorrow; and though in many respects inscrutable, this dispensation now wears a more consoling aspect.

I now see in our friend a young man, uncommonly ripe in understanding and virtue, for whom God appointed an early immortality. His lot on earth was singularly happy; for I have never known a minister more deeply fixed in the hearts of the people. But this condition had its

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peri.. With a paternal concern for his character, God sent adversity, and conducted him to the end of his being by a rougher but surer way, a way trodden and consecrated by the steps of the best men before him. He was smitten by sudden sickness; but even here the hand of God was gentle upon him. His sickness, whilst it wasted the body, had no power over the spirit. His understanding retained its vigor; and his heart, as I often observed, gained new sensibility. His sufferings, by calling forth an almost unprecedented kindness in his parishioners, furnished him with new and constant occasions of pious gratitude, and perhaps he was never so thankful to the Author of his being, as during his sickness.

He was indeed removed at length from the kind offices of his friends. But this event was fitted, and, may I not say, designed, to strengthen his connexion with God, and to prepare him for the approaching dissolution of all earthly ties. I now see him tossed on the ocean; but his heart is fixed on the Rock of Ages. He is borne to another hemisphere, but everywhere he sees the footsteps and feels the presence of God. New constellations roll over his head, but they guide his mind to the same Heaven, which was his hope at home. I see him at the extremity of Africa, adoring God in the new creation which spreads around him, and thanking him with emotion for the new strength which that mild atmosphere communicated. I see him, too, in the trying scene which followed, when he withered and shrunk like a frail plant under the equinoctial sun, still building piety on suffering, and growing in submission as hope declined. He does not indeed look without an occasional sinking of the heart, without some shudderings of nature, to a foreign soil as his appointed grave. But he remembers, that from every region there is a path to immortality, and that the spirit which religion has refined, wherever freed from the body,

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will find its native country. He does not indeed think without emotion of home, — a thought, how trying to a sick and dying man, in a land of strangers! But God, whom he adores as everywhere present, seems to him a bond of union to distant friends, and he finds relief in committing them to His care and mercy. — At length I see him expire, but not until suffering has done its work of discipline and purification. His end is tranquil, like his own mild spirit; and I follow him, — not to the tomb, for that lifeless body is not he, but to the society of the just made perfect. His pains are now past. He has found a better home than this place of his nativity and earthly residence. Without the tossings of another voyage, he has entered a secure haven. The fever no longer burns in his veins; the hollow and deep voice no longer sends forth ominous sounds. Disease and death, having accomplished their purpose, have lost their power, and he remembers, with gratitude, the kind severity with which they conducted him to a nobler life than that which they took away. Such is the aspect which this dispensation now wears; how different from that which it first presented to sense and imagination!

Let me pay a short tribute to his memory. It is a duty which I perform with a melancholy pleasure. His character was one, which it is soothing to remember. It comes over the mind, like the tranquillizing breath of spring. It asks no embellishment. It would be injured by a strained and labored eulogy.

The character of our friend was distinguished by blandness, mildness, equableness, and harmony. All the elements were tempered in him kindly and happily. He passed through the storms, tumults, and collisions of human life, with a benignity akin to that which marked our perfect Guide and Example. This mild and bland temper spread itself over the whole man. His manners, his

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understanding, his piety, all received a hue from it, just as a soft atmosphere communicates its own tender and tranquil character to every object and scene viewed through it.

With his peculiar mildness he united firmness. His purposes, whilst maintained without violence, were never surrendered but to conviction. His opinions, though defended with singular candor, he would have sealed with his blood. He possessed the only true dignity, that which results from proposing habitually a lofty standard of feeling and action; and, accordingly, the love which he called forth was always tempered with respect. He was one of the last men to be approached with a rude familiarity.

His piety was a deep sentiment. It had struck through and entwined itself with his whole soul. In the freedom of conversation, I have seen how intimately God was present to him. But his piety partook of the general temperament of his mind. It was warm, but not heated; earnest, but tranquil; a habit, not an impulse; the air which he breathed, not a tempestuous wind, giving occasional violence to his emotions. A constant dew seemed to distil on him from heaven, giving freshness to his devout sensibilities; but it was a gentle influence, seen not in its falling, but in its fruits. His piety appeared chiefly in gratitude and submission, sentiments peculiarly suited to such a mind as his. He felt strongly that God had crowned his life with peculiar goodness; and yet, when his blessings were withdrawn, his acquiescence was as deep and sincere as his thankfulness. His devotional exercises in public were particularly striking. He came to the mercy-seat as one who was not a stranger there. He seemed to inherit from his venerable father the gift of prayer. His acts of adoration discovered a mind penetrated by the majesty and purity of God; but his sublime

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conceptions of these attributes were always tempered and softened by a sense of the divine benignity. The Paternal character of God was not only his belief, but had become a part of his mind. He never forgot that he "worshipped the Father." His firm conviction of the strict and proper unity of the divine nature taught him to unite and concentrate, in his conception of the Father, all that is lovely and attractive, as well as all that is solemn and venerable; and the general effect of his prayers was to diffuse a devout calmness, a filial confidence, over the minds of his pious hearers.

His understanding was of a high order; active, vigorous, and patient; capable of exerting itself with success on every subject; collecting materials and illustrations from every scene; and stored with a rich and various knowledge, which few have accumulated at so early an age. His understanding, however, was in harmony with his whole character. It was not so much distinguished by boldness, rapidity, and ardor, as by composed energy, judiciousness, and expansiveness. His views were often original and often profound, but were especially marked by justness, clearness, and compass of thought. I have never known a man, so young, of riper judgment, of more deliberate investigation, and of more comprehensive views of all the bearings and connexions of a subject, on which he was called to decide. He was singularly free from the error into which young preachers most readily fall, of overstating arguments, and exaggerating and straining the particular topics which they wish to enforce. But in avoiding extravagance, he did not fall into tameness. There was a force and freshness in his conceptions; and even when he communicated the thoughts of others, he first grafted them on his own mind, so that they had the raciness of a native growth. His opinions were the results of much mental action, of many com-

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parisons, of large and liberal thinking, of looking at a subject on every side; and they were expressed with those limitations which long experience suggests to others. He read with pleasure the bold and brilliant speculations of more adventurous minds; but he reserved his belief for evidence, for truth; and if the most valuable gift of the understanding be an enlarged, discriminating judgment, then his was a most highly gifted mind.

From a mind so balanced, we could hardly expect that fervid eloquence which electrifies an assembly, and makes the speaker for a moment an absolute sovereign over the souls of men. His influence, like that of the great powers in the natural world, was mild and noiseless, but penetrating and enduring. That oratory which overwhelms and bears us away like a torrent, almost always partakes of exaggeration and extravagance, and could not easily be reconciled with the distinguishing properties of his mind. — His imagination was fruitful and creative; but, in accordance with his whole character, it derived its illustrations more frequently from regions of beauty than of grandeur, and it imparted a coloring at once rich and soft, and a peculiar grace to every subject susceptible of ornament. — His command over language was great. His style was various, vigorous, unborrowed; abounding in felicities of expression, and singularly free from that triteness and that monotonous structure, which the habit of rapid composition on familiar subjects almost forces on the preacher, and which so often enervate the most powerful and heart-stirring truths. — His character as a preacher needs no other testimony than the impression left on his constant and most enlightened hearers. To these, who could best judge of his intellectual resources, and of his devotion to his work, his public services were more and more interesting. They tell us of the affluence of his thoughts, of the beauty of

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his imagery, of the tenderness and earnestness of his persuasion, of the union of judgment and sensibility in his discourses, and of the wisdom with which he displayed at the same moment the sublimity and practicableness of Christian virtue. They tell us, that the early ripeness of his mind did not check its growth; but that every year enlarged his treasures and powers. Their tears and countenances tell us, more movingly than words, their deep sorrow, now that they shall hear his voice no more.

Of his social character I need not speak to you. No one who ever met him in a friendly circle, can easily forget the attraction of his manners and conversation. He carried into society a cheerfulness and sunshine of the soul, derived partly from constitution, and partly from his bright, confiding views of religion; a delicacy, which instinctively shrunk from wounding the feelings of the humblest human being; a disposition to sympathize with every innocent enjoyment; and the power of communicating with ease and interest the riches of his mind. Without effort, he won the hearts of men to a singular degree. Never was man more universally beloved. Even in sickness and in foreign lands, he continued to attract friends; and it is our consolation to know, that he drew from strangers much of that kindness which blessed him at home.

In his sickness, I was particularly struck with his submission to God, and his affection for his people. His submission seemed entire. There was no alloy of impatience or distrust. His sickness was a severe trial; for his heart was bound up in his profession, and if in any thing his ambition was excessive, it was in his desire to enrich his mind by laborious study. He felt deeply his privation, and he looked forward to an early death as a probable event. But he bowed to Providence without a murmur. He spoke only of the Divine goodness "I

am in God's hand, and his will be done," were familiar sentiments, not uttered with commonplace and mechanical formality, but issuing, as his tones and countenance discovered, from the very depths of his heart. A firmer and calmer submission could hardly have been formed by a long life of suffering.

His feelings towards the congregation which he served, seemed at times too strong for the self-possession and calmness by which he was characterized. Their kindness overpowered him. The only tears which I saw start from his eyes, flowed from this source. In my last interview with him, a day or two before his voyage, I said to him, "I trust that you will return, but I fear you cannot safely continue your pastoral relation. We have, however, another employment for you, in which you may be useful and happy." He answered, "If I get strength I shall use it for my people. I am willing to hazard my life for their sakes. I would preach to them, although the effort should shorten my days." He added, "Should I forsake them after the kindness I have received, the cause of religion and of the ministry might suffer; and to this cause I ought and am willing to make any sacrifices."—Such is a brief sketch of our lamented friend. He was one of the most blameless men, of the most devoted ministers, and of the fairest examples of the distinguishing virtues of Christianity.

END OF VOL. V.

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THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D.

TWELFTH COMPLETE EDITION,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION.

VOL. VI.

BOSTON:
CROSBY, NICHOLS, AND COMPANY.
NEW YORK:
C. S. FRANCIS AND COMPANY.
1853.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by
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EMANCIPATION.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The following tract grew almost insensibly out of the strong impressions received from recent accounts of the emancipated British Islands. Joseph John Gurney, well known among us as a member and minister of the Quaker denomination, was so kind as to visit me after his return from the West Indies, and then transmitted to me his "Familiar Letters to Henry Clay,"* describing a winter in those regions. The satisfaction which I felt was so great that I could not confine it to myself. I began to write, as a man begins to talk after hearing good news. Many thoughts connected with the topic rushed successively into my mind; and gradually, and with little labor, this slight work took the form it now wears. I am encouraged to hope that it is of some little value, from the spontaneousness of its growth

This tract was prepared for the press some time ago, and should have been published immediately after the appearance of Mr. Gurney's Letters. But I was discouraged by the preoccupation of the minds of the whole community with the politics of the day. I was obliged to wait for the storm to pass; and I now send it forth in the hope, that some, at least, are at leisure to give me a short hearing. Not that I expect to be heard very widely. No one knows, more than I do, the want of popularity of the sub-

* The book is entitled, "Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky, describing a Winter in the West Indies. By Joseph John Gurney."

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ject. Multitudes would think it a waste of time to give their thoughts to this great question of justice and humanity. But still, there are not a few to whom the truth will be welcome. Such will find that in these pages I am not going again over the ground which I have already travelled; and I hope they will feel, that, having begun with "Slavery," I am fitly ending with "Emancipation."

The latter part of the tract discusses a topic which I have occasionally touched on, but which needs a more full exposition, and on which I have long wished to communicate my views. The duties of the Free States in regard to Slavery need to be better understood, and my suggestions I hope will be weighed with candor. As I have taken little interest for years in the politics of the day, and as my hope for the country rests not on any party, but solely on our means of education, and on moral and religious influences, I ought not to be accused of wishing to give a political aspect to the anti-slavery cause. I am very unwilling that it should take the form of a struggle for office and power. Still, it has political relations; and of these I shall speak with freedom. The topic is an exciting one; but, as I look at it with perfect calmness, I hope I shall not disturb the minds of others.

November 15, 1840.

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EMANCIPATION.

At length a report of West-Indian Emancipation has reached us to which some heed will be given; and it is so cheering that I should be glad to make it more extensively known. We have had, already, faithful and affecting accounts of this great social revolution; but, coming from men who bear an unpopular name, they have received little attention. Here we have the testimony of a man in no way connected with American Abolitionists. In his long residence among us Mr. Gurney has rather shunned this party, whether justly or wisely I do not say. The fact is stated simply to prevent or remove a prejudice from which he ought not to suffer. He came to this country on no mission from the enemies of slavery in his own land. Nor did he come, as so many travellers do, to gather or invent materials for a marketable book; but to preach the Gospel, in obedience to what he thought "a heavenly call." In this character he visited many parts of our land, and everywhere secured esteem as a man, and won no small attention to his religious teachings. After many labors here, he felt himself charged with a divine message to the West Indies. His first object in travelling over those islands was to preach; but, in his various journeys and communications with individuals, he naturally open-

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ed his eyes and ears to the subject which there engrosses almost every thought, and in which his own philanthropy gave him special interest. In his "Letters" he furnishes us with the details and a few results of his observation, interspersed with some personal adventure, and with notices of the natural appearances and productions of regions so new and striking to an Englishman. The book has the merit of perfectly answering its end, which is, not to reason about emancipation, but to make the reader a spectator, and to give him facts for his own reflection. It is written with much ease, simplicity, clearness, and sometimes with beauty. It is especially distinguished by a spirit of kindness. It not only expresses a sincere Christian philanthropy, but breathes a good humor which must disarm even the most prejudiced. They who have refused to read anti-slavery productions because steeped in gall will find no bitter ingredients here. Not that there is a spirit of compromise or timidity in our author. He is a thoroughly kindhearted man, and conscientiously believes that he can best serve the cause of truth and liberty by giving free utterance to his own benignant spirit. The book has not only the substantial merit of fidelity on a subject of immense importance, but another claim, which may operate more widely in its favor. It is entertaining. It does not give us dull and dry wisdom, but the quick, animated observations of a man who saw with his heart as well as his eyes, who took a strong interest in what he describes.

That the book is entirely impartial, I do not say. This highest merit of a book seems to require more than human virtue. To see things precisely as they are, with not a shade or coloring from our own preju-

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dices or affections, is the last triumph of self-denial. The most honest often see what they want to see; and a man so honored as Mr. Gurney is very apt to be told what he wants to hear. But the book bears strong marks of truth. The uprightness of the author secures us against important error. Let even large deductions be made for his feelings, as a Quaker, against slavery, for his sympathy with the negro and the negro's friends; after every allowance, the great truth will come out, that the hopes of the most sanguine advocates of emancipation have been realized, if not surpassed, in the West Indies.

Such a book is much needed. There has been in this country a backwardness, almost an unwillingness, to believe good reports from the West Indies. Not a few have desired to hear evil, and have propagated so industriously every fiction or exaggeration unfavorable to freedom, that the honest and benevolent have been misled. The general state of mind among us in regard to West-Indian emancipation has been disheartening. So deadly a poison has Southern slavery infused into the opinions and feelings of the North, especially in the larger cities, that few cordial wishes for the success of emancipation have met our ears. Stray rumors of the failure of the experiment in this or that island have been trumpeted through the country by the newspapers, and the easy faith of the multitude has been practised on till their sympathies with the oppressed have become blunted. I have myself seen the countenance of a man not wanting in general humanity brighten at accounts of the bad working of emancipation. In such a state of feeling and opinion, a book like Mr. Gurney's is invaluable The truth is told simply, kindly; and,

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though it may receive little aid from our newspapers, must find its way into the hands of many honest readers. I offer a few extracts, not to take the place of the book, but in the hope of drawing to it more general attention. So various and interesting are the details, and so suited to the various prejudices and misapprehensions common in our country, that my only difficulty is to make a selection, — to know where to stop. He first visited Tortola.

"We could not but feel an intense interest in making our first visit to a British island peopled with emancipated negroes. Out of a population of nearly five thousand, there are scarcely more than two hundred white persons; but we heard of no inconveniences arising from this disparity. We had letters to Dr. Dyott, the stipendiary magistrate, and to some of the principal planters, who greeted us with a warm welcome, and soon relieved us from our very natural anxiety by assuring us that freedom was working well in Tortola. One of our first visits was to a school for black children, under the care of Alexander Bott, the pious minister of the parish church. It was in good order, — the children answered our questions well. We then proceeded to the jail; in which, if my memory serves me right, we found only one prisoner, with the jailer and the judge! Our kind friend, Francis Spencer Wigley, the chief justice of the British Virgin Islands, happened to be there, and cheered us with the information, that crime had vastly decreased since the period of full emancipation." — p. 25.

His next visit was to St. Christopher's.

"I mounted one of the governor's horses, and enjoyed a solitary ride in the country. Although it was the seventh day of the week, usually applied by the emancipated laborers to their private purposes, I observed many of them diligently at work on the cane grounds, cutting the canes for the mill. Their aspect was that of physical vigor and cheerful contentment, and all my questions, as I passed along, were answered satisfactorily. On my way I ventured to call at one of the estates, and found it

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was the home of Robert Claxton, the solicitor-general of the colony, a gentleman of great intelligence and respectability. He was kind enough to impart a variety of useful, and, in general, cheering information. One fact mentioned by him spoke volumes. Speaking of a small property on the island belonging to himself, he said, 'Six years ago, (that is, shortly before the Act of Emancipation,) it was worth only £2,000, with the slaves upon it. Now, without a single slave, it is worth three times the money. I would not sell it for £6,000.' This remarkable rise in the value of property is by no means confined to particular estates. I was assured, that, as compared with those times of depression and alarm which preceded the Act of Emancipation, it is at once general and very considerable. I asked the President Crook, and some other persons, whether there was a single individual on the island who wished for the restoration of slavery. Answer, 'Certainly not one.' "—p. 34.

" 'They will do an *infinity* of work,' said one of my informants, '*for wages.*'

"This state of things is accompanied by a vast increase in their own comforts. Our friend Cadman, the Methodist minister, was on this station during slavery, in the year 1826. He has now returned to it under freedom. 'The change for the better,' he observed, 'in the dress, demeanour, and welfare of the people, is *prodigious.*' The imports are vastly increased. The duties on them were £1,000 more in 1838 than in 1837; and in 1839, double those of 1838, within £150. This surprising increase is owing to the demand on the part of the free laborers for imported goods, especially for articles of dress. The difficulty experienced by the gentry living in the town in procuring fowls, eggs, &c., from the negroes is considerably increased. The reason is well known,—the laborers make use of them for home consumption. Marriage is now become frequent amongst them, and a profusion of eggs is expended on their wedding cakes! Doubtless they will soon learn to exchange these freaks of luxury for the gradual acquisition of wealth."—p. 36.

He next visited Antigua.

"Our company was now joined by Nathaniel Gilbert, an evangelical clergyman of the Church of England, and

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a large proprietor and planter on the island. Both he and Sir William [the governor] amply confirmed our previous favorable impressions respecting the state of the colony. On my inquiring of them respecting the value of landed property, their joint answer was clear and decided. 'At the lowest computation, the land, without a single slave upon it, is fully as valuable now, as it was, including all the slaves, before emancipation.' In other words, the value of the slaves is already transferred to the land. Satisfactory as is this computation, I have every reason to believe that it is much below the mark. With respect to real property in the town of St. John's, it has risen in value with still greater rapidity. A large number of new stores have been opened; new houses are built or building; the streets have been cleared and improved; trade is greatly on the increase; and the whole place wears the appearance of progressive wealth and prosperity." — p. 43.

"Extensive inquiry has led us to the conviction, that on most of the properties of Antigua, and, in general, throughout the West Indies, one third only of the slaves were operative. What with childhood, age, infirmity, sickness, *sham* sickness, and other causes, full two thirds of the negro population might be regarded as dead weight. — The pecuniary saving, on many of the estates in Antigua, by the change of slave for free labor, is, at least, *thirty per cent.*" — pp. 45, 46.

"We had appointed a meeting at a country village called Parham. It was a morning of violent rain; but about two hundred negroes braved the weather, and united with us in public worship. It is said, that they are less willing to come out to their places of worship *in the rain* than was the case formerly. The reason is curious. They now have *shoes and stockings*, which they are unwilling to expose to the mud." — p. 47.

"It is a cheering circumstance, of no small importance, that there are no less, as we were told, than *seven thousand scholars* in the various charity schools of Antigua. In all these schools the Bible is read and taught. Who can doubt the beneficial moral effect of these extensive efforts?" — p. 48.

"The vicar of St. John's, during the last seven years of slavery, married only one hundred and ten pairs of

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negroes In the single year of freedom, 1839, the number of pairs married by him was 185.

"With respect to crime, it has been rapidly diminishing during the last few years. The numbers committed to the house of correction in 1837 — chiefly for petty offences, formerly punished on the estates — were 850; in 1838, only 244; in 1839, 311. The number left in the prison at the close of 1837 was 147; at the close of 1839, only 35.

"Nor can it be doubted that the personal comforts of the laborers have been in the mean time vastly increased. The duties on imports in 1833 (the last year of slavery) were £13,576; in 1839 they were £24,650. This augmentation has been occasioned by the importation of dry goods and other articles, for which a demand, entirely new, has arisen among the laboring population. The quantity of bread and meat used as food by the laborers is surprisingly increased. Their wedding cakes and dinners are extravagant, even to the point, at times, of drinking champagne!

"In connexion with every congregation in the island, whether of the Church of England or among the Dissenters, has been formed a friendly society. The laborers subscribe their weekly pittances to these institutions, and draw out comfortable supplies, in case of sickness, old age, burials, and other exigencies. Thus is the negro gradually trained to the habits of prudence and foresight." — pp. 48, 49.

"A female proprietor who had become embarrassed was advised to sell off part of her property in small lots. The experiment answered her warmest expectations. The laborers in the neighbourhood bought up all the little freeholds with extreme eagerness, made their payments faithfully, and lost no time in settling on the spots which they had purchased. They soon framed their houses, and brought their gardens into useful cultivation with yams, bananas, plantains, pine-apples, and other fruits and vegetables, including plots of sugar cane. In this way Augusta and Liberta sprang up as if by magic. I visited several of the cottages, in company with the rector of the parish, and was surprised by the excellence of the buildings, as well as by the neat furniture and cleanly little articles of daily use which we found within

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It was a scene of contentment and happiness ; and I may certainly add, of industry ; for these little freeholders occupied only their leisure hours in working on their own grounds. They were also earning wages as laborers on the neighbouring estates, or working at English Harbour as mechanics." — pp. 49, 50.

"We were now placed in possession of clear documentary evidence respecting the staple produce of the island. The average exports of the last five years of slavery (1829 to 1833, inclusive) were, sugar, 12,189 hogsheads ; molasses, 3,308 puncheons ; and rum, 2,468 puncheons. Those of the first five years of freedom (1834 to 1838, inclusive) were, sugar, 13,545 hogsheads ; molasses, 8,308 puncheons ; and rum, 1,109 puncheons ; showing an excess of 1,356 hogsheads of sugar, and of 5,000 puncheons of molasses ; and a diminution of 1,359 puncheons of rum. This comparison is surely a triumphant one ; not only does it demonstrate the advantage derived from free labor during a course of five years, but affords a proof that many of the planters of Antigua have ceased to convert their molasses into rum. It ought to be observed, that these five years of freedom included two of drought, one, very calamitous. The statement for 1839 forms an admirable climax to this account. It is as follows : sugar, 22,383 hogsheads (10,000 beyond the last average of slavery) ; 13,433 puncheons of molasses (also 10,000 beyond that average) ; and only 582 puncheons of rum ! That, in the sixth year of freedom, after the fair trial of five years, the exports of sugar from Antigua almost doubled the average of the last five years of slavery, is a fact which precludes the necessity of all other evidence. By what hands was this vast crop raised and realized ? By the hands of that lazy and impracticable race, (as they have often been described,) the negroes. And under what stimulus has the work been effected ? Solely under that of moderate wages." — p. 53.

He next visited Dominica, of which he gives equally favorable accounts ; but I hasten to make a few extracts from his notices of Jamaica, the island from which the most unfavorable reports have come, and in which the unwise and unkind measures of the pro-

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prietors, particularly in regard to rents, have done much to counteract the good influences of emancipation.

"We were glad to observe that the day [Sunday] was remarkably well observed at Kingston, — just as it is in many of the cities of your highly favored Union. A wonderful scene we witnessed that morning in Samuel Oughton's Baptist Chapel, which we attended without having communicated to the people any previous notice of our coming. The minister was so obliging as to make way for us on the occasion, and to invite us to hold our meeting with his flock after the manner of Friends. Such a flock we had not before seen, consisting of nearly three thousand black people, chiefly emancipated slaves, attired, after their favorite custom, in neat white raiment, and most respectable and orderly in their demeanour and appearance. They sat in silence with us, in an exemplary manner, and appeared both to understand and appreciate the doctrines of divine truth preached on the occasion. The congregation is greatly increased, both in numbers and respectability, since the date of full freedom. They pour in from the country, partly on foot, and partly on mules or horses, of their own. They now entirely support the mission, and are enlarging their chapel at the expense of £1,000 sterling. Their subscriptions to this and other collateral objects are at once voluntary and very liberal. 'I have brought my mite for the chapel,' said a black woman, once a slave, to S. Oughton, a day or two before our meeting; 'I am sorry it is no more'; she then put into his hand two pieces of gold amounting to five dollars." — pp. 74, 75.

"Here it may be well to notice the fact, that the great majority of estates in Jamaica belong to absentee proprietors, who reside in England. In Jamaica, they are placed under the care of some attorney, or representative of the owner; one attorney often undertaking the care of numerous estates. Under the attorney is the overseer, on each particular property, on whom the management almost exclusively devolves. This state of things is extremely unfavorable to the welfare of Jamaica. If the proprietors cannot give their personal attention to their

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estates, it would certainly be a better plan to lease them to eligible tenants on the spot, — a practice which has of late years been adopted in many instances. It is only surprising that estates, never visited by the proprietor, and seldom by the attorney, but left to the care of inexperienced young men, often of immoral character, should prosper at all. Nor would they prosper even as they now do, but for two causes; first, the exuberant bounty of nature, and secondly, the orderly, inoffensive conduct, and patient industry, of the negro race." — p. 85.

"The rapid diffusion of marriage among the negroes, and the increase of it even among the white inhabitants in Jamaica, is one of the happiest results of freedom. We were assured, on good authority, that four times as many marriages took place last year in Jamaica as in an equal population, on an average, in England, — a fact which proves not only that numerous new connexions are formed, but also that multitudes who were formerly living as man and wife without the right sanction are now convinced of the sinfulness of the practice, and are availing themselves with eagerness of the marriage covenant. It appears that upwards of sixteen hundred negro couples were married in the Baptist churches alone during the year 1839." — p. 86.

"In the Parish (or *County*) of St. Mary rent and wages have been arranged quite independently of each other, and labor has been suffered to find its market without obstruction. The consequence is, that there have been no differences, and the people are working well. The quantity of work obtained from a freeman there is far beyond the old task of the slave. In the laborious occupation of holing, the emancipated negroes perform double the work of the slave in a day. In road-making the day's task under slavery was to break four barrels of stone. *Now*, by task-work, a weak hand will fill eight barrels, a strong one, from ten to twelve." — p. 89.

"At the Baptist station at Sligoville we spent several hours. It is located on a lofty hill, and is surrounded by fifty acres of fertile mountain land. This property is divided into one hundred and fifty freehold lots, fifty of which had been already sold to the emancipated laborers, and had proved a timely refuge for many laborers who had been driven by hard usage from their former homes.

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Some of them had built good cottages; others, temporary huts; and others, again, were preparing the ground for building. Their gardens were cleared, or in process of clearing, and in many cases already brought into fine cultivation. Not a hoe, I believe, had ever been driven into that land before. *Now*, a village had risen up, with every promise of comfort and prosperity, and the land was likely to produce a vast abundance of nutritious food The people settled there were all married pairs, mostly with families, and the men employed the bulk of their time in working for wages on the neighbouring estates. The chapel and the school were immediately at hand, and the religious character of the people stood high. Never did I witness a scene of greater industry, or one more marked by contentment for the present and hope for the future. How instructive to remember that two years ago this peaceful village had no existence!"—p. 90.

"On our return home we visited two neighbouring estates, of about equal size, (I believe,) and equal fertility; both among the finest properties, for natural and local advantages, which I anywhere saw in Jamaica. One was in difficulty; the other all prosperity. The first was the estate already alluded to, which had been deprived of so many hands by vain attempts to compel the labor of freemen. There, if I am not mistaken, I *saw*, as we passed by, the clear marks of that violence by which the people had been expelled. The second, called 'Dawkin's Caymanas,' was under the enlightened attorneyship of Judge Bernard, who, with his lady, and the respectable overseer, met us on the spot. On this property the laborers were independent tenants. Their rent was settled according to the money value of the tenements which they occupied, and they were allowed to take their labor to the best market they could find. As a matter of course, they took it to the *home* market; and excellently were they working on the property of their old master. The attorney, the overseer, and the laborers, all seemed equally satisfied, equally at their ease. Here, then, was one property which would occasion a *bad report* of Jamaica; another which would as surely give rise to a *good report*. As it regards the properties themselves, both reports are true; and they are

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the respective results of two opposite modes of management.

"At Dawkin's Caymanas we had the pleasure of witnessing an interesting spectacle; for the laborers on the property, with their wives, sons, and daughters, were on that day met at a picnic dinner. The table, of vast length, was spread under a wattled building erected for the purpose, and at the convenient hour of six in the evening (after the day's work was finished) was loaded with all sorts of good fare, — soup, fish, fowls, pigs, and joints of meat, in abundance. About one hundred and fifty men and women of the African race, attired with the greatest neatness, were assembled, in much harmony and order, to partake of the feast; but no drink was provided stronger than water. It was a sober, substantial repast; the festival of peace and freedom. This dinner was to have taken place on New-Year's day; but it so happened that a Baptist meeting-house in another part of the island had been destroyed by fire; and, at the suggestion of their minister, these honest people agreed to waive their dinner, and to subscribe their money, instead, to the rebuilding of the meeting-house. For this purpose they raised a noble sum (I believe considerably upwards of £100 sterling); and now, in the third month of the year, finding that matters were working well with them, they thought it well to indulge themselves with their social dinner. By an unanimous vote, they commissioned me to present a message of their affectionate regards to Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Fowell Buxton, the two men to whom, of all others, perhaps, they were the most indebted for their present enjoyment." — pp. 91, 92.

"After breakfast we drove to Kelly's, one of Lord Sligo's properties. — We saw the people on this property busily engaged in the laborious occupation of holing, — a work for which ploughing is now pretty generally substituted in Jamaica. 'How are you all getting along?' said my companion, to a tall, bright-looking black man, busily engaged with his hoe. 'Right well, massa, right well,' he replied. 'I am from America,' said my friend, 'where there are many slaves; what shall I say to them from you? shall I tell them that freedom is working well here?' 'Yes, massa,' said he, 'much well under free-

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dom, — thank God for it!' 'Much well' they were indeed doing, for they were earning a dollar for every hundred cane holes; a great effort, certainly, but one which many of them accomplished by four o'clock in the afternoon. 'How is this?' asked the same friend, as he felt the lumps or welts on the shoulder of another man. 'O, massa,' cried the negro, 'I was flogged when a slave, — no more whip now, — all free.'" — p. 96.

"The prosperity of the planters in Jamaica must not be measured by the mere amount of the produce of sugar or coffee as compared with the time of slavery. Even where produce is diminished, profit will be increased, — if freedom be fairly tried, — by the saving of expense. 'I had rather make sixty tierces of coffee,' said A. B., 'under freedom, than one hundred and twenty under slavery; such is the saving of expense that I make a better profit by it; *nevertheless, I mean to make one hundred and twenty, as before.*'" — p. 118.

"'Do you see that excellent new stone wall round the field below us?' said the young physician to me, as we stood at A. B.'s front door, surveying the delightful scenery. 'That wall could scarcely have been built at all under slavery or the apprenticeship; the necessary labor could not then have been hired at less than £5 currency, or about $13, per chain. Under freedom it cost only from $3·50 to $4 per chain, — not one third of the amount. Still more remarkable is the fact, that the whole of it was built, under the stimulus of job-work, by an invalid negro, who, during slavery, had been given up to total inaction.' This was the substance of our conversation. The information was afterwards fully confirmed by the proprietor. Such was the fresh blood infused into the veins of this decrepid person by the genial hand of freedom, that he had been redeemed from absolute uselessness, had executed a noble work, had greatly improved his master's property, and, finally, had realized for himself a handsome sum of money. This single fact is admirably and undeniably illustrative of the principles of the case; and for that purpose is as good as a thousand." — p. 119.

"I will take the present opportunity of offering to thy attention the account of exports from Jamaica (as exhibited in the return printed for the House of Assembly)

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for the last year of the apprenticeship, and the first of full freedom.

	Hhds.
Sugar, for the year ending 9th-month (Sept.) 30, 1838, ...	53,825
Do. do. do. do. 1839,	45,359
Apparent diminution,	8,466

"This difference is much less considerable than many persons have been led to imagine; the real diminution, however, is still less; because there has lately taken place in Jamaica an increase in the size of the hogshead. Instead of the old measure, which contained 17 cwt., new ones have been introduced, containing from 20 to 22 cwt., — a change which, for several reasons, is an economical one for the planter. Allowing only five per cent. for this change, the deficiency is reduced from 8,466 hogsheads, to 5,775; and this amount is further lessened by the fact, that, in consequence of freedom, there is a vast addition to the consumption of sugar among the people of Jamaica itself, and therefore to the home sale.

"The account of coffee is not so favorable.

	Cwt.
Coffee, for the year ending 9th-month (Sept.) 30, 1838, ...	117,313
Do. do. do. do. 1839,	78,759
Diminution (about one third),	38,554

"The coffee is a very uncertain crop, and the deficiency, on the comparison of these two years, is not greater, I believe, than has often occurred before. We are also to remember, that, both in sugar and coffee, the profit to the planter may be increased by the saving of expense, even when the produce is diminished. Still, it must be allowed that some decrease has taken place on both the articles, in connexion with the change of system. With regard to the year 1840, it is expected that coffee will, at least, maintain the last amount; but a farther decrease on sugar is generally anticipated.

"Now so far as this decrease of produce is connected with the change of system, it is obviously to be traced to a corresponding decrease in the quantity of labor. But here comes the critical question, — the real turning point.

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To what is this decrease in the quantity of labor owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, '*Mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom.' It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labor of freemen which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates.

"It is a cheering circumstance, that the amount of planting and other preparatory labor bestowed on the estates during the autumn of 1839 has been much greater, by all accounts, than in the autumn of 1838. This is itself the effect of an improved understanding between the planters and the peasants; and the result of it (if other circumstances be equal) cannot fail to be a considerable increase of produce in 1841. I am told, however, that there is one circumstance which may possibly prevent this result, as it regards sugar. It is, that the cultivation of it under the old system was forced on certain properties, which, from their situation and other circumstances, were wholly unfit for the purpose. These plantations afforded an income to the local agents, but to the proprietors were either unprofitable or losing concerns. On such properties, under those new circumstances which bring all things to their true level, the cultivation of sugar must cease.

"In the mean time the imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well-managed estates productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labor adopted; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth." — pp. 132 – 134.

"My narrative respecting the British-West-India Islands being now brought to a close, I will take the liberty of concentrating and recapitulating the principal points of the subject in a few distinct propositions.

"1st. *The emancipated negroes are working well on the estates of their old masters.* — Nor does Jamaica, when duly inspected and fairly estimated, furnish any exception to the general result. We find, that, in that island, wherever the negroes are *fairly*, *kindly*, and *wisely* treated,

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there they are working well on the properties of their old masters; and that the existing instances of a contrary description must be ascribed to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom. Let it not, however, be imagined, that the negroes who are not working on the estates of their old masters are, on that account, idle. Even these are, in general, busily employed in cultivating their own grounds, in various descriptions of handicraft, in lime-burning or fishing, — in benefiting themselves and the community, through some new, but equally desirable medium. Besides all this, stone walls are built, new houses erected, pastures cleaned, ditches dug, meadows drained, roads made and macadamized, stores fitted up, villages formed, and other beneficial operations effected; the whole of which, before emancipation, it would have been a folly even to attempt. The old notion, that the negro is, by constitution, a lazy creature, who will do no work at all except by compulsion, is now for ever exploded." — pp. 137, 138.

"2d. An increased quantity of work thrown upon the market is, of course, followed by the cheapening of labor." — p. 138.

"3d. *Real property has risen and is rising in value.* — I wish it, however, to be understood, that the comparison is not here made with those olden times of slavery when the soils of the islands were in their most prolific state, and the slaves themselves of a corresponding value; but with those days of depression and alarm which preceded the Act of Emancipation. All that I mean to assert is, that landed property in the British colonies has touched the bottom, has found that bottom solid, has already risen considerably, and is now on a steady ascending march towards the recovery of its highest value. One circumstance which greatly contributed to produce its depreciation was, the cry of interested persons who wished to run it down; and the demand for it which has arisen among these very persons is now restoring it to its rightful value. Remember the old gentleman in Antigua, who is always complaining of the effects of freedom, and *always buying land.*" — pp. 139, 140.

"4th. The personal comforts of the laboring population, under freedom, are multiplied tenfold." — p. 140.

"5th. Lastly, the moral and religious improvement of

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this people, under freedom, is more than equal to the increase of their comforts. Under this head there are three points deserving, respectively, of a distinct place in our memories. First, the rapid increase and vast extent of elementary and Christian education, — schools for infants, young persons, and adults, multiplying in every direction. Secondly, the gradual, but decided, diminution of crime, amounting, in many country districts, almost to its extinction. Thirdly, the happy change of the general and almost universal practice of concubinage for the equally general adoption of marriage. 'Concubinage,' says Dr. Stewart, in his letter to me, 'the universal practice of the colored people, has wholly disappeared from amongst them. No young woman of color thinks of forming such connexions now.' What is more, the improved morality of the blacks is reflecting itself on the white inhabitants; even the overseers are ceasing, one after another, from a sinful mode of life, and are forming reputable connexions in marriage. But while these three points are confessedly of high importance, there is a *fourth* which at once embraces and outweighs them all, — I mean the diffusion of vital Christianity. I know that great apprehensions were entertained, — especially in this country, — lest, on the cessation of slavery, the negroes should break away at once from their masters and their ministers. But freedom has come, and while their masters have not been forsaken, their religious teachers have become dearer to them than ever. Under the banner of liberty, the churches and meeting-houses have been enlarged and multiplied, the attendance has become regular and devout, the congregations have in many cases been more than doubled; above all, the conversion of souls (as we have reason to believe) has been going on to an extent never before known in these colonies. In a religious point of view, as I have before hinted, the wilderness, in many places, has indeed begun to 'blossom as the rose.' 'Instead of the thorn' *has* 'come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier' *has* 'come up the myrtle-tree, and it shall be to the Lord for a name; for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off.'" — pp. 141, 142.

I have now given a few extracts from Mr. Gurney's book. They need no comment. Indeed, nothing can

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be said, to convince or move the reader, if these simple records of emancipation do not find their way to his heart. In the whole history of efforts for human happiness it is doubtful if another example can be found of so great a revolution accomplished with so few sacrifices and such immediate reward. Compare with this the American Revolution, which had for its end to shake off a yoke too light to be named by the side of domestic slavery. Through what fields of blood and years of suffering did we seek civil freedom, a boon insignificant in comparison with freedom from an owner's grasp! It is the ordinary law of Providence, that great blessings shall be gained by great sacrifices, and that the most beneficial social changes shall bring immediate suffering. That near a million of human beings should pass in a day from the deepest degradation to the rights of freemen with so little agitation of the social system is a fact so strange that we naturally suspect, at first, some tinging of the picture from the author's sympathies; and we are brought to full conviction only by the simplicity and minuteness of his details. For one, I should have rejoiced in emancipation as an unspeakable good, had the immediate results worn a much darker hue. I wanted only to know that social order was preserved, that the laws were respected, after emancipation. I felt, that, were anarchy escaped, no evil worse than slavery could take its place. I had not forgotten the doctrine of our fathers, that human freedom is worth vast sacrifices, that it can hardly be bought at too great a price.

I proceed now to offer a few remarks on several topics suggested by Mr. Gurney's book; and I shall close by considering the duties which belong to individuals and to the Free States in relation to slavery.

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The first topic suggested by our author, and perhaps the most worthy of note, is his anxiety to show that emancipation has been accompanied with little pecuniary loss, that as a moneyed speculation it is not to be condemned. He evidently supposes that he is writing for a people who will judge of this grand event in history by the standard of commercial profit or loss. In this view, his simple book tells more than a thousand satires against the spirit of our times. In speaking of West-Indian emancipation, it has been common for men to say, We must wait for the facts! And what facts have they waited for? They have waited to know that the master, after fattening many years on oppression, had lost nothing by the triumph of justice and humanity; that the slave, on being freed, was to yield as large an income as before to his employer. This delicate sensibility to the rights of the wrongdoer, this concern for property, this unconcern for human nature, is a sign of the little progress made even here by free principles, and of men's ignorance of the great end of social union.

Every good man must protest against this mode of settling the question of Emancipation. It seems to be taken for granted by not a few, that, if, in consequence of this event, the crops have fallen off, or the number of coffee bags or sugar hogsheads is lessened, then emancipation is to be pronounced a failure, and the great act of freeing a people from the most odious bondage is to be set down as folly. At the North and the South this base doctrine has seized on the public mind. It runs through our presses, not excepting the more respectable. The bright promises of emancipation are too unimportant for our newspapers; but the

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fearful intelligence, that this or that island has shipped fewer hogsheads of sugar than in the days of slavery, is thought worthy to be published far and wide; and emancipation is a curse, because the civilized world must pay a few cents more to bring tea or coffee to the due degree of sweetness. It passes for an "ultraism" of philanthropy, to prize a million of human beings above as many pounds of sugar.

What is the great end of civilized society? Not coffee and sugar; not the greatest possible amount of mineral, vegetable, or animal productions; but the protection of the rights of all its members. The sacrifice of rights, especially of the dearest and most sacred, to increase of property, is one of the most flagrant crimes of the social state. That every man should have his due, not that a few proprietors should riot on the toil, sweat, and blood of the many,—this is the great design of the union of men into communities. Emancipation was not meant to increase the crops, but to restore to human beings their birthright, to give to every man the free use of his powers for his own and others' good.

That the production of sugar would be diminished for a time, in consequence of emancipation, was a thing to be expected, if not desired. It is in the sugar culture, that the slaves in the West Indies have been and are most overworked. In Cuba, we are told by men who have given particular attention to that island, the mortality on the sugar estates is ten per cent. annually, so that a whole gang is used up, swept off, in ten years. Suppose emancipation introduced into Cuba. Would not the production of sugar be diminished? Ought not every man to desire the diminution? I do not say, that such atrocious cruelty was common in the British

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Islands. But it was in this department chiefly that the slaves were exposed to excessive toil. It was to be expected, then, that, when left free, they would prefer other modes of industry. Accordingly, whilst the sugar is diminished, the ordinary articles of subsistence have increased. Some of the slaves have become small farmers; and many more, who hire themselves as laborers, cultivate small patches of land on their own account. There is another important consideration. Before freedom, the women formed no inconsiderable part of the gangs who labored on the sugar crops. These are now very much, if not wholly, withdrawn. Is it a grief to a man, who has the spirit of a man, that woman's burdens are made lighter? Other causes of the diminution of the sugar crop may be found in Mr. Gurney's book; but these are enough to show us that this effect is due in part to the good working of emancipation, to a relief of the male and female slave, in which we ought to rejoice.

Before emancipation, I expected that the immediate result of the measure would be more or less idleness, and consequently a diminution of produce. How natural was it to anticipate that men who had worked under the lash, and had looked on exemption from toil as the happiness of paradise, should surrender themselves more or less to sloth, on becoming their own masters! It is the curse of a bad system, to unfit men, at first, for a better. That the paralyzing effect of slavery should continue after its extinction, that the slave should, at the first, produce less than before, this, surely, is no matter of wonder. The wonder is, and it is a great one, that the slaves in the West Indies have, in their new condition, been so greatly influenced by the

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motives of freemen; that the spirit of industry has so far survived the system of compulsion under which they had been trained; that ideas of a better mode of living have taken so strong a hold on their minds; that so many refined tastes and wants have been so soon developed. Here is the wonder; and all this shows, what we have often heard, that the negro is more susceptible of civilization from abroad than any other race of men. That some, perhaps many, of the slaves have worked too little is not to be denied, nor can we blame them much for it. All of us, I suspect, under like circumstances, would turn our first freedom into a holyday. Besides, when we think that they have been sweating and bleeding to nourish in all manner of luxury a few indolent proprietors, they do not seem very inexcusable for a short emulation of their superiors. The negro sleeping all day under the shade of the palm-tree ought not to offend our moral sense much more than the "owner" stretched on his ottoman or sofa. What ought to astonish us is the limitation, not the existence, of the evil.

It is to be desired that those among us who groan over emancipation because the staples of the Islands are diminished should be made to wear for a few months the yoke of slavery, so as to judge experimentally whether freedom is worth or not a few hogsheads of sugar. If, knowing what this yoke is, they are willing that others should bear it, they deserve themselves above all others to be crushed by it. Slavery is the greatest of wrongs, the most intolerable of all the forms of oppression. We of this country thought that to be robbed of political liberty was an injury not to be endured; and, as a people, were ready to shed our blood

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like water to avert it. But political liberty is of nc worth compared with *personal;* and slavery robs men of the latter. Under the despotism of modern Europe, the people, though deprived of political freedom, enjoy codes of laws constructed with great care, the fruits of the wisdom of ages, which recognize the sacredness of the rights of person and property, and under which those rights are essentially secure. A subject of these despotisms may still be a man, may better his condition, may enrich his intellect, may fill the earth with his fame. He enjoys essentially *personal* freedom, and through this accomplishes the great ends of his being. To be stripped of this blessing, to be owned by a fellow-creature, to hold our limbs and faculties as another's property, to be subject every moment to another's will, to stand in awe of another's lash, to have our whole energies chained to never varying tasks for another's luxury, to hold wife and children at another's pleasure, — what wrong can be compared with this? This is such an insult on human nature, such an impiety towards the common Father, that the whole earth should send up one cry of reprobation against it; and yet we are told, this outrage must continue, lest the market of the civilized world should be deprived of some hogsheads of sugar.

It is hard to weigh human rights against each other; they are all sacred and invaluable. But there is no one which nature, instinct, makes so dear to us as the right of action, of free motion; the right of exerting, and by exertion enlarging, our faculties of body and mind; the right of forming plans, of directing our powers according to our convictions of interest and duty; the right of putting forth our energies from a spring in our own breasts. Self-motion, this is what our nature hun-

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gers and thirsts for as its true element and life. In truth, every thing that lives, the bird, the insect, craves and delights in freedom of action; and much more must this be the instinct of a rational, moral creature of God, who can attain by such freedom alone to the proper strength and enjoyment of his nature. The rights of property or reputation are poor compared with this. Of what worth would be the products of the universe to a man forbidden to use his limbs, or shut up in a prison? To be deprived of that freedom of action which consists with others' freedom; to be forbidden to exert our faculties for our own good; to be cut off from enterprise; to have a narrow circle drawn round us, and to be kept within it by a spy and a lash; to meet an iron barrier in another's selfish will, let impulse or desire turn where it may; to be systematically denied the means of cultivating the powers which distinguish us from the brute; — this is to be wounded not only in the dearest earthly interests, but in the very life of the soul. Our humanity pines and dies, rather than lives, in this unnatural restraint. Now it is the very essence of slavery to prostrate this right of action, of self-motion, not indirectly or uncertainly, but immediately and without disguise; and is this right to be weighed in the scales against sugar and coffee; and are eight hundred thousand human beings to be robbed of it to increase the luxuries of the world?

What matters it, that the staples of the West Indies are diminished? Do the people there starve? Are they driven by want to robbery? Has the negro passed from the hands of the overseer into those of the hangman? We learn from Mr. Gurney that the prophecies of ruin to the West Indies are fulfilled chiefly in

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regard to the prisons. These are in some places falling to decay, and everywhere have fewer inmates. And what makes this result more striking is, that, since emancipation, many offences, formerly punished summarily by the master on the plantation, now fall under the cognizance of the magistrate, and are, of course, punishable by imprisonment. Do the freed slaves want clothing? Do rags form the standard of emancipation? We hear not only of decent apparel, but are told that negro vanity, hardly surpassed by that of the white dandy, suffers nothing for want of decoration or fashionable attire. There is not a sign, that the people fare the worse for freedom. Enough is produced to give subsistence to an improved and cheerful population; and what more can we desire? In our sympathy with the rich proprietor shall we complain of a change which has secured to every man his rights, and to thousands, once trodden under foot, the comforts of life and the means of intellectual and moral progress? Is it nothing, that the old, unfurnished hut of the slave is in many spots giving place to the comfortable cottage? Is it nothing, that in these cottages marriage is an indissoluble tie? that the mother presses her child to her heart as indeed her own? Is it nothing, that churches are springing up, not from the donations of the opulent, but from the hard earnings of the religious poor? What if a few owners of sugar estates export less than formerly? Are the many always to be sacrificed to the few? Suppose the luxuries of the splendid mansion to be retrenched. Is it no compensation, that the comforts of the laborer's hut are increased? Emancipation was resisted on the ground, that the slave, if restored to his rights, would fall into idleness and vagrancy, and even

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relapse into barbarism. But the emancipated negro discovers no indifference to the comforts of civilized life. He has wants various enough to keep him in action. His standard of living has risen. He desires a better lodging, dress, and food. He has begun, too, to thirst for accumulation. As Mr. Gurney says, "He understands his interest as well as a Yankee." He is more likely to fall into the civilized man's cupidity than into the sloth and filth of a savage. Is it an offset for all these benefits, that the custom-house reports a diminution of the staples of slavery?

What a country most needs is, not an increase of its exports, but the well-being of all classes of its population, and especially of the most numerous class; and these things are not one and the same. It is a striking fact, that, while the exports of the emancipated islands have decreased, the imports are greater than before. In Jamaica, during slavery, the industry of the laborers was given chiefly to a staple which was sent to absentee proprietors, who expended the proceeds very much in a luxurious life in England. At present not a little of this industry is employed on articles of subsistence and comfort for the working class and their families; and, at the same time, such an amount of labor is sold by this class to the planter, and so fast are they acquiring a taste for better modes of living, that they need and can pay for great imports from the mother country. Surely, when we see the fruits of industry diffusing themselves more and more through the mass of a community, finding their way to the very hovel, and raising the multitude of men to new civilization and self-respect, we cannot grieve much, even though it should appear, that, on the whole, the amount of exports or even of pro-

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ducts is decreased. It is not the quantity, but the distribution, the use, of products, which determines the prosperity of a state. For example, were the grain which is now grown among us for distillation annually destroyed by fire, or were every ship freighted with distilled liquors to sink on approaching our shores, so that the crew might be saved, how immensely would the happiness, honor, and real strength of the country be increased by the loss, even were this not to be replaced, as it soon would be, by the springing up of a new, virtuous industry, now excluded by intemperance! So, were the labor and capital now spent on the importation of pernicious luxuries to be employed in the intellectual, moral, and religious culture of the whole people, how immense would be the gain in every respect, though for a short time material products were diminished! A better age will look back with wonder and scorn on the misdirected industry of the present times. The only sure sign of public prosperity is, that the mass of the people are steadily multiplying the comforts of life and the means of improvement; and where this takes place we need not trouble ourselves about exports or products.

I am not very anxious to repel the charge against emancipation of diminishing the industry of the Islands, though it has been much exaggerated. Allow that the freed slaves work less. Has man nothing to do but work? Are not too many here overworked? If a people can live with comfort on less toil, are they not to be envied rather than condemned? What a happiness would it be, if we here, by a new wisdom, a new temperance, and a new spirit of brotherly love, could cease to be the care-worn drudges which so many in all

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classes are, and could give a greater portion of life to thought, to refined social intercourse, to the enjoyment of the beauty which God spreads over the universe, to works of genius and art, to communion with our Creator! Labor connected with and aiding such a life would be noble. How much of it is thrown away on poor, superficial, degrading gratifications!

We hear the condition of Hayti deplored because the people are so idle and produce so little for exportation. Many look back to the period when a few planters drove thousands of slaves to the cane-field and sugar-mill in order to enrich themselves and to secure to their families the luxurious ease so coveted in tropical climes, and they sigh over the change which has taken place. I look on the change with very different feelings. The negroes in that luxuriant island have increased to above a million. By slight toil they obtain the comforts of life. Their homes are sacred. Their little property in a good degree secure. They live together peaceably. So little inclined are they to violence that the large amounts of specie paid by the government to France, as the price of independence, have been transported through the country on horseback with comparatively no defence, and with a safety which no one would be mad enough to expect under such circumstances in what are called civilized lands. It is true, their enjoyments are animal in a great degree. They live much like neglected children, making little or no progress, making life one long day of unprofitable ease. I should rejoice to raise them from children into men. But when I contrast this tranquil, unoffending life with the horrors of a slave plantation it seems to me a paradise. What matters it, that they send next to

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no coffee or sugar to Europe? How much better, that they should stretch themselves in the heat of the day under their gracefully waving groves, than sweat and bleed under an overseer for others' selfish ease! Hayti has one curse, and that is, not freedom, but tyranny. Her president for life is a despot, under a less ominous name. Her government, indifferent or hostile to the improvement of the people, is sustained by a standing army, which undoubtedly is an instrument of oppression. But in so simple a form of society despotism is not that organized robbery which has flourished in the civilized world. Undoubtedly in this rude state of things the laws are often unwise, partial, and ill administered. I have no taste for this childish condition of society. Still, I turn with pleasure from slavery to the thought of a million of fellow-beings, little instructed indeed, but enjoying ease and comfort under that beautiful sky and on the bosom of that exhaustless soil. In one respect Hayti is infinitely advantaged by her change of condition. Under slavery her colored population, that is, the mass of her inhabitants, had no chance of rising, could make no progress in intelligence and in the arts and refinements of life. They were doomed to perpetual degradation. Under freedom their improvement is possible. They are placed within the reach of meliorating influences. Their intercourse with other nations and the opportunities afforded to many among them of bettering their condition furnish various means and incitements to progress. If the Catholic Church, which is rendering at this moment immense aid to civilization and pure morals in Ireland, were to enter in earnest on the work of enlightening and regenerating Hayti, or if (what I should greatly prefer) any other church could have

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free access to the people, this island might in a short time become an important accession to the Christian and civilized world, and the dark cloud which hangs over the first years of her freedom would vanish before the brightness of her later history.

My maxim is, "Any thing but slavery! Poverty sooner than slavery!" Suppose that we of this good city of Boston were summoned to choose between living on bread and water and such a state of things as existed in the West Indies. Suppose that the present wealth of our metropolis could be continued only on the condition, that five thousand out of our eighty thousand inhabitants should live as princes, and the rest of us be reduced to slavery to sustain the luxury of our masters. Should we not all cry out, Give us the bread and water? Would we not rather see our fair city levelled to the earth, and choose to work out slowly for ourselves and our children a better lot, than stoop our necks to the yoke? So we all feel, when the case is brought home to ourselves. What should we say to the man who should strive to terrify us, by prophecies of diminished products and exports, into the substitution of bondage for the character of freemen?

In the preceding remarks I have insisted that emancipation is not to be treated as a question of profit and loss, that its merits are not to be settled by its influence on the master's gains. Mr. Gurney, however, maintains that the master has nothing to fear, that real estate has risen, that free labor costs less than that of the slave. All this is good news, and should be spread through the land; for men are especially inclined to be just when they can serve themselves by justice. But emancipation rests on higher ground than the master's accumu-

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lation, even on the rights and essential interests of the slave. And let these be held sacred, though the luxury of the master be retrenched.

2. I have now finished my remarks on a topic which was always present to the mind of our author, — the alleged decrease of industry and exports since emancipation. The next topic to which I shall turn is, his notice of slavery in Cuba. He only touched at this island, but evidently received the same sad impression which we receive from those who have had longer time for observation. He says :

"Of one feature in the slave-trade and slavery of Cuba I had no knowledge until I was on the spot. The importation consists almost entirely of *men*, and we were informed that on many of the estates not a single female is to be found. Natural increase is disregarded. The Cubans import the stronger animals like bullocks, work them up, and then seek a fresh supply. This, surely, is a system of most unnatural barbarity." — p. 160.

This barbarity is believed to be unparalleled. The young African, torn from home and his native shore, is brought to a plantation where he is never to know a home. All the relations of domestic life are systematically denied him. Woman's countenance he is not to look upon. The child's voice he is no more to hear. His owner finds it more gainful to import than to breed slaves ; and, still more, has made the sad discovery, that it is cheaper to "work up" the servile laborer in his youth, and to replace him by a new victim, than to let him grow old in moderate toil. I have been told by some of the most recent travellers in Cuba, who gave particular attention to the subject,* that in the sugar-

* My accounts from Cuba have been received from Dr. Madden, and David Turnbull, Esq.; the former, one of the British commissioners resi-

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making season the slaves are generally allowed but four out of the twenty-four hours for sleep. From these, too, I learned that a gang of slaves is used up in ten years. Of the young men imported from Africa, one out of ten dies yearly. To supply this enormous waste of life, above twenty-five thousand slaves are imported annually from Africa,* in vessels so crowded that sometimes one quarter, sometimes one half, of the wretched creatures perish in agony before reaching land. It is to be feared that Cuban slavery, traced from the moment when the African touches the deck to the happier moment when he finds his grave on the ocean or the plantation, includes an amount of crime and misery not to be paralleled in any portion of the globe, civilized or savage. And there are more reasons than one why I would bring this horrid picture before the minds of my countrymen. We, we, do much to sustain this system of horror and blood. The Cuban slave-trade is carried on in vessels built especially for this use in American ports. These vessels often sail under the American flag, and are aided by American merchantmen, and, as is feared, by American capital. And this is not all. The sugar, in producing which so many of our fellow-creatures perish miserably, is shipped in great

dent at Havana to enforce the treaty with Spain in relation to the slave-trade; the latter, a gentleman who visited Cuba chiefly, if not solely, to inquire into slavery. Mr. Turnbull's account of Cuba, in his "Travels in the West," deserves to be read. The reports of such men, confirmed in a very important particular by Mr. Gurney, have an authority which obliges me to speak as I have done of the slave-system of this island. If, indeed, (what is most unlikely,) they have fallen into errors on the subject, these can easily be exposed, and I shall rejoice in being the means of bringing out the truth.

* There are different estimates of the number, some making it much greater than the text

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quantities to this country. We are the customers who stimulate by our demands this infernal cruelty. And, knowing this, shall we become accessories to the murder of our brethren by continuing to use the fruit of the hard-wrung toil which destroys them? The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood. So we ought to see it, and to turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it ought to be put down by the spontaneous, instinctive horror of the civilized world.

There is another fact worthy attention. It is said, that most of the plantations in Cuba which have been recently brought under cultivation belong to Americans, that the number of American slave-holders is increasing rapidly on the island, and consequently that the importation of human cargoes from Africa finds much of its encouragement from the citizens of our republic. It is not easy to speak in measured terms of this enormity. For men born and brought up amidst slavery many apologies may be made. But men born beyond the sound of the lash, brought up where human rights are held sacred, who, in face of all the light thrown now on slavery, can still deal in human flesh, can become customers of the "felon" who tears the African from his native shore, and can with open eyes inflict this deepest wrong for gain, and gain alone, — such "have no cloak for their sin." Men so hard of heart, so steeled against the reproofs of conscience, so intent on thriving though it be by the most cruel wrongs, are not to be touched by human expostulation and rebuke. But if any should tremble before Almighty justice, ought not *they?*

There is another reason for dwelling on this topic. It teaches us the little reliance to be placed on the im-

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pressions respecting slavery brought home by superficial observers. We have seen what slavery is in Cuba; and yet men of high character from this country, who have visited that island, have returned to tell us of the mildness of the system. Men who would cut off their right hand, sooner than withdraw the sympathy of others from human suffering, have virtually done so, by their representation of the kindly working of slavery on the very spot where it exists with peculiar horrors. They have visited some favored plantation, been treated with hospitality, seen no tortures, heard no shrieks, and then come home to reprove those who set forth indignantly the wrongs of the slave. And what is true with regard to the visiters of the West Indies applies to those who visit our Southern States. Having witnessed slavery in the families of some of the most enlightened and refined inhabitants, they return to speak of it as no very fearful thing. Had they inquired about the state of society through the whole country, and learned that more than one fourth of the inhabitants cannot write their own names, they would have forborne to make a few selected families the representatives of the community, and might have believed in the possibility of some of the horrid details recorded in "Slavery as it is." For myself, I do not think it worth my while to inquire into the merits of slavery in this or that region. It is enough for me to know that one human being holds other human beings as his property, subject to his arbitrary and irresponsible will, and compels them to toil for his luxury and ease. I know enough of men to know what the workings of such a system on a large scale must be; and I hold my understanding insulted when men talk to me of its humanity. If there be one truth of history

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taught more plainly than any other, it is the tendency of human nature to abuse power. To protect ourselves against power, to keep this in perpetual check, by dividing it among many hands, by limiting its duration, by defining its action with sharp lines, by watching it jealously, by holding it responsible for abuses, this is the grand aim and benefit of the social institutions which are our chief boast. Arbitrary, unchecked power is the evil against which all experience cries out so loudly that apologies for it may be dismissed without a hearing. But admit the plea of its apologists. Allow slavery to be ever so humane. Grant that the man who owns me is ever so kind. The wrong of him who presumes to talk of owning me is too unmeasured to be softened by kindness. There are wrongs which can be redeemed by no kindness. Because a man treads on me with velvet foot, must I be content to grovel in the earth? Because he gives me meat as well as bread, whilst he takes my child and sells it into a land where my chained limbs cannot follow, must I thank him for his kindness? I do not envy those who think slavery no very pitiable a lot provided its nakedness be covered and its hunger regularly appeased.

It is worthy of consideration, that the slave's lot does not improve with the advance of what is called civilization, that is, of trade and luxuries. Slavery is such a violation of nature, that it is an exception to the general law of progress. In rude states of society, when men's wants and employments are few, and trade and other means of gain hardly exist, the slave leads a comparatively easy life; he partakes of the general indolence. He lives in the family much as a member, and is oppressed by no great disparity of rank. But when so-

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ciety advances, and wants multiply, and the lust of gain springs up, and prices increase, the slave's lot grows harder. He is viewed more and more as a machine to be used for profit, and is tasked like the beast of burden. The distance between him and his master increases, and he has less and less of the spirit of a man. He may have better food; but it is that he may work the more. He may be whipped less passionately or frequently; but it is because the never varying routine of toil and the more skilful discipline which civilization teaches have subdued him more completely. Thus to the slave it is no gain, that the community grow richer and more luxurious. He has an interest in the return of society to barbarism, for in this case he would come nearer the general level. He would escape the peculiar ignominy and accumulated burdens which he has to bear in civilized life.

3. I pass to another topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book. What is it, let me ask, which has freed the West-India slave, and is now raising him to the dignity of a man? The answer is most cheering. The great emancipator has been Christianity. Policy, interest, state-craft, church-craft, the low motives which have originated other revolutions, have not worked here. From the times of Clarkson and Wilberforce down to the present day, the friends of the slave, who have pleaded his cause and broken his chains, have been Christians, and it is from Christ, the divine philanthropist, from the inspiration of his cross, that they have gathered faith, hope, and love, for the conflict. This illustration of the spirit and power of Christianity is a bright addition to the evidences of its truth. We

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have here the miracle of a great nation rising in its strength, not for conquest, not to assert its own rights, but to free and elevate the most despised and injured race on earth; and as this stands alone in human history, so it recalls to us those wonderful works of mercy and power by which the divinity of our religion was at first confirmed.

It is with deep sorrow that I am compelled to turn to the contrast between religion in England and religion in America. There it vindicates the cause of the oppressed. Here it rivets the chain, and hardens the heart of the oppressor. At the South what is the Christian ministry doing for the slave? Teaching the rightfulness of his yoke, joining in the cry against the men who plead for his freedom, giving the sanction of God's name to the greatest offence against his children. This is the saddest view presented by the conflict with slavery. The very men whose office it is to plead against all wrong, to enforce the obligation of impartial, inflexible justice, to breathe the spirit of universal brotherly love, to resist at all hazards the spirit and evil customs of the world, to live and to die under the banner of Christian truth, have enlisted under the standard of slavery. Had they merely declined to bring the subject into the church, on the ground of the presence of the slave, they would have been justified. Had they declined to discuss it through the press and in conversation, on the ground, that the public mind was too furious to bear the truth, they would have been approved by multitudes; though it is wisest for the minister to resign his office, when it can be exercised only under menace and unrighteous restraint, and to go where with unsealed lips he may teach and enforce human duty in its

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full extent. But the ministers at the South have not been content with silence. The majority of them are understood to have given their support to slavery, to have thrown their weight into the scale of the master. That, in so doing, they have belied their clear convictions, that they have preached known falsehood, we do not say. Few ministers of Christ, we trust, can teach what their deliberate judgments condemn. But, in cases like the present, how common is it for the judgment to receive a shape and hue from self-interest, from private affection, from the tyranny of opinion, and the passions of the multitude! Few ministers, we trust, can sin against clear, steady light. But how common is it for the mind to waver and to be obscured in regard to scorned and persecuted truth! When we look beyond the bounds of slavery, we find the civilized and Christian world, with few exceptions, reprobating slavery, as at war with the precepts and spirit of Christ. But at the South his ministers sustain it, as consistent with justice, equity, and disinterested love. Can we help saying, that the loud, menacing, popular voice has proved too strong for the servants of Christ?

We hoped better things than this, because the prevalent sects at the South are the Methodists and Baptists, and these were expected to be less tainted by a worldly spirit than other denominations in which luxury and fashion bear greater sway. But the Methodists, forgetful of their great founder, who cried aloud against slavery and spared not; and the Baptists, forgetful of the sainted name of Roger Williams, whose love of the despised Indian, and whose martyr spirit should have taught them fearless sympathy with the negro, have been found in the ranks of the foes of freedom. Indeed, their

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allegiance to slavery seems to know no bounds. A Baptist association at the South decreed, that a slave, sold at a distance from his wife, might marry again in obedience to his master; and that he would even do wrong to disobey in this particular. Thus one of the plainest precepts of Christianity has been set at nought. Thus the poor slave is taught to renounce his wife, however dear, to rupture the most sacred social tie, that, like the other animals, he may keep up the stock of the estate. The General Methodist Conference, during this very year, have decreed, that the testimony of a colored member of their churches should not be received against a white member who may be on trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Thus, in church affairs, a multitude of disciples of Jesus Christ, who have been received into Christian communion on the ground of their spiritual regeneration, who belong, as is believed, to the church on earth and in heaven, are put down by their brethren as incapable of recognizing the obligation of truth, of performing the most common duty of morality, and are denied a privilege conceded, in worldly affairs, to the most depraved. Thus the religion of the South heaps insult and injury on the slave.

And what have the Christians of the North done? We rejoice to say, that from these have gone forth not a few testimonies against slavery. Not a few ministers, in associations, conventions, presbyteries, or conferences, have declared the inconsistency of the system with the principles of Christianity and with the law of love. Still, the churches and congregations of the Free States have, in the main, looked coldly on the subject, and discouraged, too effectually, the free expression of thought and feeling in regard to it by the religious teacher.

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Under that legislation of public opinion which, without courts or offices, sways more despotically than Czars or Sultans, the pulpit and the press have, in no small degree, been reduced to silence as to slavery, especially in cities, the chief seats of this invisible power. Some fervent spirits among us, seeing religion, in this and other cases, so ready to bend to worldly opinion, have been filled with indignation. They have spoken of Christianity as having no life here, as a beautiful corpse, laid out in much state, worshipped with costly homage, but worshipped very much as were the prophets whose tombs were so ostentatiously garnished in the times of the Saviour. But this is unjust. Christianity lives and acts among us. It imposes many salutary restraints. It inspires many good deeds. There are not a few in whom it puts forth a power worthy of its better days, and the number of such is growing. Let us not be ungrateful for what this religion is doing, nor shut our ears against the prophecies which the present gives of its future triumphs. Still, as a general rule, the Christianity of this day falls fearfully short of the Christianity of the immediate followers of our Lord. Then the meaning of a Christian was, that he took the cross and followed Christ, that he counted not his life dear to him in the service of God and man, that he trod the world under his feet. Now we ask leave of the world how far we shall follow Christ. What wrong or abuse is there, which the bulk of the people may think essential to their prosperity and may defend with outcry and menace, before which the Christianity of this age will not bow? We need a new John, who, with the untamed and solemn energy of the wilderness, shall cry out among us, Repent! We need that the Crucified

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should speak to us with a more startling voice, "He that forsaketh not all things and followeth me cannot be my disciple." We need that the all-sacrificing, all-sympathizing spirit of Christianity should cease to bow to the spirit of the world. We need, that, under a deep sense of want and woe, the church should cry out, "Thy kingdom come!" and with holy importunity should bring down new strength, and life, and love from Heaven.

4. I pass to another topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book. According to this and all the books written on the subject, Emancipation has borne a singular testimony to the noble elements of the negro character. It may be doubted whether any other race would have borne this trial as well as they. Before the day of freedom came, the West Indies and this country foreboded fearful consequences from the sudden transition of such a multitude from bondage to liberty. Revenge, massacre, unbridled lust, were to usher in the grand festival of Emancipation, which was to end in the breaking out of a new Pandemonium on earth. Instead of this, the holy day of liberty was welcomed by shouts and tears of gratitude. The liberated negroes did not hasten, as Saxon serfs in like circumstances might have done, to haunts of intoxication, but to the house of God. Their rude churches were thronged. Their joy found utterance in prayers and hymns. History contains no record more touching than the account of the religious, tender thankfulness which this vast boon awakened in the negro breast.* And what followed? Was this beautiful emotion an evanescent transport, soon to give way to feroci-

* See note at the end.

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ty and vengeance? It was natural for masters who had inflicted causeless stripes, and filled the cup of the slaves with bitterness, to fear their rage after liberation. But the overwhelming joy of freedom having subsided, they returned to labor. Not even a blow was struck in the excitement of that vast change. No violation of the peace required the interposition of the magistrate. The new relation was assumed easily, quietly, without an act of violence. And since that time, in the short space of two years, how much have they accomplished! Beautiful villages have grown up. Little freeholds have been purchased. The marriage tie has become sacred. The child is educated. Crime has diminished. There are islands where a greater proportion of the young are trained in schools than among the whites of the slave States. I ask, whether any other people on the face of the earth would have received and used the infinite blessing of liberty so well.

The history of West-Indian emancipation teaches us that we are holding in bondage one of the best races of the human family. The negro is among the mildest, gentlest of men. He is singularly susceptible of improvement from abroad. His children, it is said, receive more rapidly than ours the elements of knowledge. How far he can originate improvements time only can teach. His nature is affectionate, easily touched; and hence he is more open to religious impression than the white man. The European race have manifested more courage, enterprise, invention; but in the dispositions which Christianity particularly honors how inferior are they to the African! When I cast my eyes over our Southern region, the land of bowie-knives, lynch-law, and duels, of "chivalry,"

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"honor," and revenge; and when I consider that Christianity is declared to be a spirit of charity, "which seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, and endureth all things," and is also declared to be "the wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" can I hesitate in deciding to which of the races in that land Christianity is most adapted, and in which its noblest disciples are most likely to be reared? It may be said, indeed, of all the European nations, that they are distinguished by qualities opposed to the spirit of Christianity; and it is one of the most remarkable events of history, that the religion of Jesus should have struck root among them. As yet it has not subdued them. The "law of honor," the strongest of all laws in the European race, is, to this day, directly hostile to the character and word of Christ. The African carries within him, much more than we, the germs of a meek, long-suffering, loving virtue. A short residence among the negroes in the West Indies impressed me with their capacity of improvement. On all sides I heard of their religious tendencies, the noblest in human nature. I saw, too, on the plantation where I resided, a gracefulness and dignity of form and motion, rare in my own native New England. And this is the race which has been selected to be trodden down and confounded with the brutes! Undoubtedly the negroes are debased; for, were slavery not debasing, I should have little quarrel with it. But let not their degradation be alleged in proof of peculiar incapacity of moral elevation. They are given to theft; but there is no peculiar, aggravated guilt in stealing from those by whom they are robbed of all their rights and their very

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persons. They are given to falsehood; but this is the very effect produced by oppression on the Irish peasantry. They are undoubtedly sensual; and yet the African countenance seldom shows that coarse, brutal sensuality which is so common in the face of the white man. I should expect from the African race, if civilized, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality, than in our race, but more amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness, and content. They might not rise to an equality in outward condition, but would probably be a much happier race. There is no reason for holding such a race in chains; they need no chain to make them harmless.*

In the remarks now made I have aimed only to express my sympathy with the wronged. As to the white population of the South, I have no intention to disparage it. I have no undue partiality to the North; for I believe, that, were Northern men slave-holders, and satisfied that they could grow richer by slave than by free labor, not a few would retain their property in human flesh with as resolute and furious a grasp as their Southern brethren. In truth, until the cotton culture had intoxicated the minds of the South with golden dreams, that part of the country seemed less tainted by cupidity than our own. The character of that region is still a mixed one, impulsive, passionate, vindictive, sensual; but frank, courageous, self-relying, enthusiastic, and capable of great sacrifices for a friend. Could the withering influence of slavery be withdrawn, the Southern character, though less consistent, less based on principle, might be more attractive and lofty than that of the North. The South is fond of calling itself Anglo-

* See note at the end.

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Saxon. Judging from character, I should say that this name belongs much more to the North, the country of steady, persevering, unconquerable energy. Our Southern brethren remind me more of the Normans. They seem to have in their veins the burning blood of that pirate race, who spread terror through Europe, who seized part of France as a prey, and then pounced on England; a conquering, chivalrous race, from which most of the noble families of England are said to be derived. There were certainly noble traits in the Norman character, such as its enthusiasm, its defiance of peril by sea and land, its force of will, its rude sense of honor. But the man of Norman spirit, or Norman blood, should never be a slave-holder. He is the last man to profit by this relation. His pride and fierce passions need restraint, not perpetual nourishment; whilst his indisposition to labor, his desire to live by others' toil, demands the stern pressure of necessity to rescue him from dishonorable sloth. Under kindlier influences he may take rank among the noblest of his race.

However, in looking at the South, the first thing which strikes my eyes is, not the Anglo-Saxon or the Norman, but the Slave. I overlook the dwellings of the rich. My thoughts go to the comfortless hut of the negro. They go to the dark mass at work in the fields. That injured man is my brother, and ought not my sympathies to gather round him peculiarly? Talk not to me of the hospitality, comforts, luxuries of the planter's mansion. These are all the signs of a mighty wrong. My thoughts turn first to the slave. I would not, however, exaggerate his evils. He is not the most unhappy man on that soil. True, his powers are undeveloped; but therefore he is incapable of the guilt which

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others incur. He has, as we have seen, a generous nature, and his day of improvement, though long postponed, is to come. When I see by his side (and is the sight very rare ?) the self-indulgent man who, from mere love of gain and ease, extorts his sweat, I think of the fearful words which the Saviour has put into the lips of the Hebrew patriarch in the unseen world, "Thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." Distinctions founded on wrong endure but for a day. Could we now penetrate the future world, what startling revelations would be made to us! Before the all-seeing, impartial justice of God, we should see every badge of humiliation taken off from the fallen, crushed, and enslaved; and where, where would the selfish, unfeeling oppressor appear?

5. I shall advert but to one more topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book; I refer to the kind and respectful manner in which he speaks of many slave-holders. He has no sympathy with those who set down this class of men indiscriminately as the chief of sinners, but speaks with satisfaction of examples of piety and virtue which he found in their number. By some among us this lenity will be ascribed to his desire to win for himself golden opinions; but he deserves no such censure. The opinion of slave-holders is of no moment to him; for he has left them for ever, and returns to his own country, where his testimony to their worth will find no sympathy, but expose him to suspicion, perhaps to reproach. Of the justice of his judgment I have no doubt. Among slave-holders there may be, and there are, good men. But the inferences from this judgment

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are often false and pernicious. There is a common disposition to connect the character of the slave-holder and the character of slavery. Many at the North, who by intercourse of business or friendship have come to appreciate the good qualities of individuals at the South, are led to the secret, if not uttered, inference, that a system sustained by such people can be no monstrous thing. They repel indignantly the invectives of the Abolitionists against the master, and by a natural process go on to question or repel their denunciation of slavery. Here lies the secret of much of the want of just feeling in regard to this institution. People become reconciled to it in a measure by the virtues of its supporters. I will not reply to this error by insisting that the virtues which grow up under slavery bear a small proportion to the vices which it feeds. I take a broader ground. I maintain that we can never argue safely from the character of a man to the system he upholds. It is a solemn truth, not yet understood as it should be, that the worst institutions may be sustained, the worst deeds performed, the most merciless cruelties inflicted, by the conscientious and the good. History teaches no truth more awful, and proofs of it crowd on us from the records of the earliest and latest times. Thus, the worship of the immoral deities of heathenism was sustained by the great men of antiquity. The bloodiest and most unrighteous wars have been instigated by patriots. For ages the Jews were thought to have forfeited the rights of men, as much as the African race at the South, and were insulted, spoiled, and slain, not by mobs, but by sovereigns and prelates, who really supposed themselves avengers of the crucified Saviour. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, men of singular humanity,

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doomed Christians to death, surrendering their better feelings to what they thought the safety of the state. Few names in history are more illustrious than Isabella of Castile. She was the model, in most respects, of a noble woman. But Isabella outstripped her age in what she thought pious zeal against heretics. Having taken lessons in her wars against the Moors, and in the extermination of the Jews, she entered fully into the spirit of the Inquisition; and by her great moral power contributed more than any other sovereign to the extension of its fearful influence; and thus the horrible tortures and murders of that infernal institution, in her ill-fated country, lie very much at her door. Of all the causes which have contributed to the ruin of Spain, the gloomy, unrelenting spirit of religious bigotry has wrought most deeply; so that the illustrious Isabella, through her zeal for religion and the salvation of her subjects, sowed the seeds of her country's ruin. It is remarkable, that Spain, in her late struggle for freedom, has not produced one great man; and at this moment the country seems threatened with disorganization; and it is to the almost universal corruption, to the want of mutual confidence, to the deep dissimulation and fraud, which the spirit of the Inquisition, the spirit of misguided religion, has spread through society, that this degradation must chiefly be traced. The wrongs, woes, cruelties, inflicted by the religious, the conscientious, are among the most important teachings of the past. Nor has this strange mixture of good and evil ceased. Crimes, to which time and usage have given sanction, are still found in neighbourhood with virtue. Examples taken from other countries stagger belief, but are true. Thus, in not a few regions, the infant is cast out to

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perish by parents who abound in tenderness to their surviving children. Our own enormities are to be understood hereafter. Slavery is not, then, absolved of guilt by the virtues of its supporters, nor are its wrongs on this account a whit less tolerable. The Inquisition was not a whit less infernal because sustained by Isabella. Wars are not a whit less murderous because waged for our country's glory; nor was the slave-trade less a complication of unutterable cruelties because our fathers brought the African here to make him a Christian.

The great truth now insisted on, that evil is evil, no matter at whose door it lies, and that men acting from conscience and religion may do nefarious deeds, needs to be better understood, that we may not shelter ourselves or our institutions under the names of the great or the good who have passed away. It shows us, that, in good company, we may do the work of fiends. It teaches us how important is the culture of our whole moral and rational nature, how dangerous to rest on the old and the established without habitually and honestly seeking the truth. With these views, I believe at once that slavery is an atrocious wrong, and yet that among its upholders may be found good and pious people. I do not look on a slave country as one of the provinces of hell. There, as elsewhere, the human spirit may hold communion with God, and it may ascend thence to heaven. Still, slavery does not lay aside its horrible nature because of the character of some of its supporters. Persecution is a cruel outrage, no matter by whom carried on; and so slavery, no matter by whom maintained, works fearful evil to bond and free. It breathes a moral taint, contaminates young and old, prostrates the dearest rights, and strengthens the cu-

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pidity, pride, love of power, and selfish sloth, on which it is founded. I readily grant that among slave-holders are to be found upright, religious men, and, especially, pious, gentle, disinterested, noble-minded women, who sincerely labor to be the guardians and benefactors of the slaves, and under whose kind control much comfort may be enjoyed. But we must not on this account shut our eyes on the evils of the institution or forbear to expose them. On the contrary, this is the very reason for lifting up our voices against it; for slavery rests mainly on the virtues of its upholders. Without the sanction of good and great names it would soon die. Were it left as a monopoly to the selfish, cruel, unprincipled, it could not stand a year. It would become in men's view as infamous as the slave-trade, and be ranked among felonies. It is a solemn duty to speak plainly of wrongs which good men perpetrate. It is very easy to cry out against crimes which the laws punish, and which popular opinion has branded with infamy. What is especially demanded of the Christian is, a faithful, honest, generous testimony against enormities which are sanctioned by numbers, and fashion, and wealth, and especially by great and honored names, and which, thus sustained, lift up their heads to heaven, and repay rebuke with menace and indignation.

I know that there are those who consider all acknowledgment of the virtues of slave-holders as treachery to the cause of freedom. But truth is truth, and must always be spoken and trusted. To be just is a greater work than to free slaves, or propagate religion, or save souls. I have faith in no policy but that of simplicity and godly sincerity. The crimes of good men in past times, of which I have spoken, have sprung

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chiefly from the disposition to sacrifice the simple, primary obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, to some grand cause, such as religion or country, which has dazzled and bewildered their moral sense. To free the slave, let us not wrong his master. Let us rather find comfort in the thought, that there is no unmixed evil, that a spirit of goodness mixes more or less with the worst usages, and that even slavery is illumined by the virtues of the bond and free.

I have now finished my remarks on Mr. Gurney's book, and in doing so I join with many readers in thanking him for the good news he has reported, and in repeating his prayers for the success of emancipation. I now proceed to a different order of considerations, of great importance, and which ought always to be connected with such discussions as have now engaged us. The subject before us is not one of mere speculation. It has a practical side. There are Duties which belong to us, as Individuals, and as Free States, in regard to slavery. To these I now ask attention.

I begin with individuals; and their duty is, to be faithful in their testimony against this great evil, to speak their minds freely and fully, and thus to contribute what they may to the moral power of public opinion. It is not enough to think and feel justly. Sentiments not expressed slumber, and too often die. Utterance, in some form or other, is a principal duty of a social being. The chief good which an enlightened, virtuous mind can do is, to bring itself forth. Not a few among us have refrained from this duty, have been speechless in regard to slavery, through disapprobation of what they have called the violence of the Abolitionists. They

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have said, that in this rage of the elements it was fit to be still. But the storm is passing away. Abolitionism, in obedience to an irresistible law of our nature, has parted with much of its original vehemence. All noble enthusiasms pass through a feverish stage, and grow wiser and more serene. Still more, the power of the Anti-slavery Association is not a little broken by internal divisions, and by its increasing reliance on political action. It has thrown away its true strength, that is, moral influence, in proportion as it has consented to mix in the frays of party. Now then, when associations are waning, it is time for the individual to be heard, time for a free, solemn protest against wrong.

It is often said, that all moral efforts to forward the abolition of slavery are futile; that to expect men to sacrifice interest to duty is a proof of insanity; that, as long as slavery is a good pecuniary speculation, the South will stand by it to the death; that, whenever slave-labor shall prove a drug, it will be abandoned, and not before. It is vain, we are told, to talk, reason, or remonstrate. On this ground some are anxious to bring East-India cotton into competition with the Southern, that, by driving the latter from the market, the excessive stimulus to slave-breeding and the profits of slave-labor may cease. And is this true? Must men be starved into justice and humanity? Have truth, and religion, and conscience no power? One thing we know, that the insanity of opposing moral influence to deep-rooted evils has, at least, great names on its side. The Christian faith is the highest form of this madness and folly, and its history shows that "the foolishness of God is stronger than men." What an insult is it on the South, and on human nature, to believe that millions of

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slave-holders, of all ages, sexes, and conditions, in an age of freedom, intelligence, and Christian faith, are proof against all motives but the very lowest! Even in the most hardened, conscience never turns wholly to stone. Humanity never dies out among a people. After all, the most prevailing voice on earth is that of truth. Could emancipation be extorted only by depreciation of slave-labor, it would, indeed, be a good; but how much happier a relation would the master establish with the colored race, if, from no force but that of principle and kindness, he should set them free! Undoubtedly, at the South, as elsewhere, the majority are selfish, mercenary, corrupt; but it would be easy to find there more than "ten righteous," to find a multitude of upright, compassionate, devout minds, which, if awakened from the long insensibility of habit to the evils of slavery, would soon overpower the influences of the merely selfish slave-holder.

We are told, indeed, by the South, that slavery is no concern of ours, and consequently that the less we say of it the better. What! shall the wrongdoer forbid lookers-on to speak, because the affair is a private one, in which others must not interfere? Whoever injures a man binds all men to remonstrate, especially when the injured is too weak to speak in his own behalf. Let none imagine, that, by seizing a fellow-creature and setting him apart as a chattel, they can sever his ties to God or man. Spiritual connexions are not so easily broken. You may carry your victim ever so far, you may seclude him on a plantation or in a cell; but you cannot transport him beyond the sphere of human brotherhood, or cut him off from his race. The great bond of humanity is the last to be dissolved. Other ties,

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those of family and civil society, are severed by death. This, founded as it is on what is immortal in our nature, has an everlasting sacredness, and is never broken; and every man has a right, and, still more, is bound, to lift up his voice against its violation.

There are many whose testimony against slavery is very much diluted by the fact of its having been so long sanctioned, not only by usage, but by law, by public force, by the forms of civil authority. They bow before numbers and prescription. But in an age of inquiry and innovation, when other institutions must make good their title to continuance, it is a suspicious tenderness, which fears to touch a heavy yoke because it has grown by time into the necks of our fellow-creatures. Do we not know that unjust monopolies, cruel prejudices, barbarous punishments, oppressive institutions, have been upheld by law for ages? Majorities are prone to think that they can create right by vote, and can legalize gainful crimes by calling the forms of justice to their support. But these conspiracies against humanity, these insults offered to the majesty and immutableness of truth and rectitude, are the last forms of wickedness to be spared. Selfish men, by combining into a majority, cannot change tyranny into right. The whole earth may cry out, that this or that man was made to be owned and used as a chattel, or a brute, by his brother. But his birthright as a man, as a rational creature of God, cleaves to him untouched by the clamor. Crimes, exalted into laws, become therefore the more odious; just as the false gods of heathenism, when set up of old on the altar of Jehovah, shocked his true worshippers the more by usurping so conspicuously the honors due to him alone.

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It is important that we should, each of us, bear our conscientious testimony against slavery, not only to swell that tide of public opinion which is to sweep it away, but that we may save ourselves from sinking into silent, unsuspected acquiescence in the evil. A constant resistance is needed to this downward tendency, as is proved by the tone of feeling in the Free States. What is more common among ourselves than a courteous, apologetic disapprobation of slavery, which differs little from taking its part? This is one of its worst influences. It taints the whole country. The existence, the perpetual presence, of a great, prosperous, unrestrained system of wrong in a community is one of the sorest trials to the moral sense of the people, and needs to be earnestly withstood. The idea of justice becomes unconsciously obscured in our minds. Our hearts become more or less seared to wrong. The South says, that slavery is nothing to us at the North. But through our trade we are brought into constant contact with it; we grow familiar with it; still more, we thrive by it; and the next step is easy, to consent to the sacrifice of human beings by whom we prosper. The dead know not their want of life; and so a people, whose moral sentiments are palsied by the interweaving of all their interests with a system of oppression, become degraded without suspecting it. In consequence of this connexion with slave countries, the idea of Human Rights, that great idea of our age, and on which we profess to build our institutions, is darkened, weakened, among us, so as to be to many little more than a sound. A country of licensed, legalized wrongs is not the atmosphere in which the sentiment of reverence for these rights can exist in full power. In such a community there may be

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a respect for the arbitrary rights which law creates and may destroy, and a respect for historical rights, which rest on usage. But the fundamental rights which inhere in man as man, and which lie at the foundation of a just, equitable, beneficent, noble polity, must be imperfectly comprehended. This depression of moral sentiment in a people is an evil the extent of which is not easily apprehended. It affects and degrades every relation of life. Men in whose sight human nature is stripped of all its rights and dignity cannot love or honor any who possess it, as they ought. In offering these remarks I do not forget, what I rejoice to know, that there is much moral feeling among us in regard to slavery. But still, there is a strong tendency to indifference, and to something worse; and on this account we owe it to our own moral health, and to the moral life of society, to express plainly and strongly our moral abhorrence of this institution.

This duty is rendered more urgent by the depraving tendency of our political connexions and agitations. It has been said, much too sweepingly, but with some approximation to truth, that in this country we have hosts of politicians, but no statesmen; meaning, by the latter term, men of comprehensive, far-reaching views, who study the permanent good of the community, and hold fast, under all changes, to the great principles on which its salvation rests. The generality of our public men are mere politicians, purblind to the future, fevered by the present, merging patriotism in party spirit, intent on carrying a vote or election, no matter what means they use or what precedents they establish, and holding themselves absolved from a strict morality in public affairs. A principal object of political tactics is, to

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conciliate and gain over to one or another side the most important interests of the country; and of consequence the slave interest is propitiated with no small care. No party can afford to lose the South. The master's vote is too precious to be hazarded by sympathy with the slaves. Accordingly parties and office-seekers wash their hands of Abolitionism as if it were treason, and, without committing themselves to slavery, protest their innocence of hostility to it. How far they would bow to the slave power, were the success of a great election to depend on soothing it, cannot be foretold, especially since we have seen the party most jealous of popular rights surrendering to this power the right of petition. In this state of things the slave-holding interest has the floor of Congress very much to itself. Now and then a man of moral heroism meets it with erect front and a tone of conscious superiority. But political life does not abound in men of heroic mould. Military heroes may be found in swarms. Thousands die fearlessly on the field of battle, or the field of "honor." But the moral courage which can stand cold looks, frowns, and contempt, which asks counsel of higher oracles than people or rulers, and cheerfully gives up preferment to a just cause, is rare enough to be canonized. In such a country the tendency to corruption of moral sentiment in regard to slavery is strong. Many are tempted to acquiescence in it; and of consequence the good man, the friend of humanity and his country, should meet the danger by strong, uncompromising reprobation of this great wrong.

I would close this topic with observing, that there is one portion of the community to which I would especially commend the cause of the enslaved, and the duty of open testimony against this form of oppression; and

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that is, our women. To them, above all others, slavery should seem an intolerable evil, because its chief victims are women. In their own country, and not very far from them, there are great multitudes of their sex exposed to dishonor, held as property by *man*, unprotected by law, driven to the field by the overseer, and happy if not consigned to infinitely baser uses, denied the rights of wife and mother, and liable to be stripped of husband and child when another's pleasure or interest may so determine. Such is the lot of hundreds of thousands of their sisters; and is there nothing here to stir up woman's sympathy, nothing for her to remember, when she approaches God's throne or opens her heart to her fellow-creatures? Woman should talk of the enslaved to her husband, and do what she can to awaken, amongst his ever-thronging worldly cares, some manly indignation, some interest in human freedom. She should breathe into her son a deep sense of the wrongs which man inflicts on man, and send him forth from her arms a friend of the weak and injured. She should look on her daughter, and shudder at the doom of so many daughters on her own shores. When she meets with woman, she should talk with her of the ten thousand homes which have no defence against licentiousness, against violation of the most sacred domestic ties; and through her whole intercourse, the fit season should be chosen to give strength to that deep moral conviction which can alone overcome this tremendous evil.

I know it will be said, that, in thus doing, woman will wander beyond her sphere, and forsake her proper work. What! Do I hear such language in a civilized age, and in a land of Christians? What, let me ask, is woman's work? It is, to be a minister of Christian

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love. It is, to sympathize with human misery. It is, to breathe sympathy into man's heart. It is, to keep alive in society some feeling of human brotherhood. This is her mission on earth. Woman's sphere, I am told, is home. And why is home instituted? Why are domestic relations ordained? These relations are for a day; they cease at the grave. And what is their great end? To nourish a love which will endure for ever, to awaken universal sympathy. Our ties to our parents are to bind us to the Universal Parent. Our fraternal bonds, to help us to see in all men our brethren. Home is to be a nursery of Christians; and what is the end of Christianity, but to awaken in all souls the principles of universal justice and universal charity? At home we are to learn to love our neighbour, our enemy, the stranger, the poor, the oppressed. If home do not train us to this, then it is wofully perverted. If home counteract and quench the spirit of Christianity, then we must remember the Divine Teacher, who commands us to forsake father and mother, brother and sister, wife and child, for his sake, and for the sake of his truth. If the walls of home are the bulwarks of a narrow, clannish love, through which the cry of human miseries and wrongs cannot penetrate, then it is mockery to talk of their sacredness. Domestic life is at present too much in hostility to the spirit of Christ. A family should be a community of dear friends, strengthening one another for the service of their fellow-creatures. Can we give the name of Christian to most of our families? Can we give it to women who have no thoughts or sympathies for multitudes of their own sex, distant only two or three days' journey from their doors, and exposed to outrages from which they

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would pray to have their own daughters snatched, though it were by death ?

Having spoken of the individual, I proceed to speak of the duties of the Free States, in their political capacity, in regard to slavery ; and these may be reduced to two heads, both of them negative. The first is, to abstain as rigidly from the use of political power against slavery in the States where it is established as from exercising it against slavery in foreign communities. The second is, to free ourselves from all obligation to use the powers of the National or State governments in any manner whatever for the support of slavery.

The first duty is clear. In regard to slavery the Southern States stand on the ground of foreign communities. They are not subject or responsible to us more than these. No State sovereignty can intermeddle with the institutions of another. We might as legitimately spread our legislation over the schools, churches, or persons of the South as over their slaves. And in regard to the General Government, we know that it was not intended to confer any power, direct or indirect, on the Free over the Slave States. Any pretension to such power on the part of the North would have dissolved immediately the Convention which framed the Constitution. Any act of the Free States, when assembled in Congress, for the abolition of slavery in other States, would be a violation of the national compact, and would be just cause of complaint.

On this account I cannot but regret the disposition of a part of our Abolitionists to organize themselves into a political party. Were it, indeed, their simple purpose to free the North from all obligation to give support to

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slavery, I should agree with them in their end, though not in their means. By looking, as they do, to political organization as a means of putting down the institution in other States they lay themselves open to reproach. I know, indeed, that excellent men are engaged in this movement, and I acquit them of all disposition to transcend the limits of the Federal Constitution. But it is to be feared that they may construe this instrument too literally; that, forgetting its spirit, they may seek to use its powers for purposes very remote from its original design. Their failure is almost inevitable. By extending their agency beyond its true bounds they insure its defeat in its legitimate sphere. By assuming a political character they lose the reputation of honest enthusiasts, and come to be considered as hypocritical seekers after place and power. Should they, in opposition to all probability, become a formidable party, they would unite the Slave-holding States as one man; and the South, always able, when so united, to link with itself a party at the North, would rule the country as before.

No association, like the Abolitionists, formed for a particular end, can, by becoming a political organization, rise to power. If it can contrive to perpetuate itself, it will provoke contempt by the disproportion of its means to its ends; but the probability is, that it will be swallowed up in the whirlpool of one or the other of the great national parties, from whose fury hardly any thing escapes. These mighty forces sweep all lesser political organizations before them. And these are to be robbed of their pernicious power, not by forming a third party, but by the increase of intelligence and virtue in the community, and by the silent flowing together of reflecting, upright, independent men, who will feel them-

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selves bound to throw off the shackles of party; who will refuse any longer to neutralize their moral influence by coalition with the self-seeking, the hollow-hearted, and the double-tongued; whose bond of union will be, the solemn purpose to speak the truth without adulteration, to adhere to the right without compromise, to support good measures and discountenance bad, come from what quarter they may, to be just to all parties, and to expose alike the corruptions of all. There are now among us good and true men enough to turn the balance on all great questions, would they but confide in principle, and be loyal to it in word and deed. Under their influence, newspapers might be established in which men and measures of all parties would be tried without fear or favor by the moral, Christian law; and this revolution of the press would do more than all things else for the political regeneration of the country. The people would learn from it, that, whilst boasting of liberty, they are used as puppets and tools; that popular sovereignty, with all its paper bulwarks, is a show rather than a substance, as long as party despotism endures. It is by such a broad, generous improvement of society, that our present political organizations are to be put down, and not by a third party on a narrow basis, and which, instead of embracing all the interests of the country, confines itself to a single point.

I cannot but express again regret at the willingness of the Abolitionists to rely on and pursue political power. Their strength has always lain in the simplicity of their religious trust, in their confidence in Christian truth. Formerly the hope sometimes crossed my mind, that, by enlarging their views and purifying their spirit, they would gradually become a religious community, founded

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on the recognition of God as the common, equal Father of all mankind, on the recognition of Jesus Christ as having lived and died to unite to himself and to baptize with his spirit every human soul, and on the recognition of the brotherhood of all the members of God's human family. There are signs that Christians are tending, however slowly, toward a church in which these great ideas of Christianity will be realized; in which a spiritual reverence for God, and for the human soul, will take place of the customary homage paid to outward distinctions; and in which our present narrow sects will be swallowed up. I thought that I saw, in the principles with which the Abolitionists started, a struggling of the human mind toward this Christian union. It is truly a disappointment to see so many of their number becoming a political party, an association almost always corrupting, and most justly suspected on account of the sacrifices of truth, and honor, and moral independence, which it extorts even from well-disposed men. Their proper work is, to act on all parties, to support each as far as it shall be true to human rights, to gather laborers for the good cause from all bodies, civil and religious, and to hold forth this cause as a universal interest, and not as the property or stepping-stone of a narrow association.

I know that it is said, that nothing but this political action can put down slavery. Then slavery must continue; and if we faithfully do our part as Christians, we are not responsible for its continuance. We are not to feel as if we were bound to put it down by any and every means. We do not speak as Christians, when we say that slavery *must* and *shall* fall. Who are we, to dictate thus to Omnipotence? It has pleased the

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mysterious Providence of God that terrible evils should be left to overshadow the earth for ages. "How long, O Lord?" has been the secret cry extorted from good men by the crimes of the world for six thousand years. On the philanthropist of this age the same sad burden is laid, and it cannot be removed. We must not feel, that, were slavery destroyed, paradise would be restored. As in our own souls the conquest of one evil passion reveals to us new spiritual foes, so in society one great evil hides in its shadow others perhaps as fearful, and its fall only summons us to new efforts for the redemption of the race. We know, indeed, that good is to triumph over evil in this world; that "Christ must reign till he shall put all enemies beneath his feet," or until his spirit shall triumph over the spirit, oppressions, corruptions of the world. Let us, then, work against all wrong, but with a calm, solemn earnestness, not with vehemence and tumult. Let us work with deep reverence and filial trust toward God, and not in the proud impetuosity of our own wills. Happy the day, when such laborers shall be gathered by an inward attraction into one church or brotherhood, whose badge, creed, spirit, shall be Universal Love! This will be the true kingdom of God on earth, and its might will infinitely transcend political power.

For one, I have no desire to force emancipation on the South. Had I political power, I should fear to use it in such a cause. A forced emancipation is, on the whole, working well in the West Indies, because the mother country watches over and guides it, and pours in abundantly moral and religious influences to calm, and enlighten, and soften the minds newly set free. Here no such control can be exercised. Freedom at

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the South, to work well, must be the gift of the masters. Emancipation must be their own act and deed. It must spring from good-will and sense of justice, or, at least, from a sense of interest, and not be extorted by a foreign power; and with this origin, it will be more successful even than the experiment in the West Indies. In those islands, especially in Jamaica, the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the planters has continually obstructed the beneficial working of freedom, and still throws a doubtfulness over its complete success.

I have said, that the Free States cannot rightfully use the power of their own legislatures or of Congress to abolish slavery in the States where it is established. Their first duty is to abstain from such acts. Their next and more solemn duty is to abstain from all action for the support of slavery. If they are not to subvert, much less are they to sustain it. There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other states, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other states in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in framing the Constitution, swerved from the right. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. This is not a question of abolitionism. It has nothing to do with putting down slavery. We are simply called, as communities, to withhold support from it, to stand aloof, to break off all connexion with this criminal institution.

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The Free States ought to say to the South, "Slavery is yours, not ours, and on you the whole responsibility of it must fall. We wash our hands of it wholly. We shall exert no power against it; but do not call on us to put forth the least power in its behalf. We cannot, directly or indirectly, become accessories to this wrong. We cannot become jailers, or a patrol, or a watch, to keep your slaves under the yoke. You must guard them yourselves. If they escape, we cannot send them back. Our soil makes whoever touches it free. On this point you must manage your own concerns. You must guard your own frontier. In case of insurrection, we cannot come to you, save as friends alike of bond and free. Neither in our separate legislatures, nor in the national legislature, can we touch slavery to sustain it. On this point you are foreign communities. You have often said, that you need not our protection; and we must take you at your word. In so doing we have no thought of acting on your fears. We think only of our duty, and this, in all circumstances, and at all hazards, must be done."

The people of the North think but little of the extent of the support given to slavery by the Federal Government; though, when it is considered that "the slave-holding interest has a representation in Congress of *twenty-five* members, *in addition* to the fair and equal representation of the free inhabitants," it is very natural to expect the exercise of the powers of Congress in behalf of this institution. The Federal Government has been, and is, the friend of the slave-holder, and the enemy of the slave. It authorizes the former to seize, in a Free State, a colored man, on the ground of being a fugitive, and to bring him before a justice of the peace of

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his own selection; and this magistrate, without a jury, and without obligation to receive any testimony but what the professed master offers, can deliver up the accused to be held as property for life. The Federal Government authorizes not only the apprehension and imprisonment, in the District of Columbia, of a negro suspected of being a runaway, but the sale of him as a slave, if within a certain time he cannot prove his freedom. It sustains slavery within the District of Columbia, though "under its exclusive jurisdiction," and allows this District to be one of the chief slave-marts of the country. Not a slave-auction is held there but by the authority of Congress. The Federal Government has endeavoured to obtain by negotiation the restoration of fugitive slaves who have sought and found freedom in Canada, and has offered in return to restore fugitives from the West Indies. It has disgraced itself in the sight of all Europe, by claiming, as property, slaves who have been shipwrecked on the British islands, and who by touching British soil had become free. It has instructed its representative at Madrid to announce to the Spanish court, "that the emancipation of the slave population of Cuba would be very severely felt in the adjacent shores of the United States." It has purchased a vast unsettled territory which it has given up to be overrun with slavery. To crown all, it has, in violation of the Constitution, and of the right granted even by despotism to its subjects, refused to listen to petitions against these abuses of power. After all this humbling experience, is it not time for the Free States to pause, to reflect, to weigh well what they are doing through the national government, and to resolve

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that they will free themselves from every obligation to uphold an institution which they know to be unjust ? *

The object now proposed is to be effected by amendments of the Constitution, and these should be sought in good faith; that is, not as the means of abolishing slavery, but as a means of removing us from a participation of its guilt. The Free States should take the high ground of duty; and, to raise them to this height, the press, the pulpit, and all religious and upright men should join their powers. A people under so pure an impulse cannot fail. Such arrangements should be made that the word, slavery, need not be heard again in Congress or in the local legislatures. On the principle now laid down, the question of abolition in the District of Columbia should be settled. Emancipation at the seat of government ought to be insisted on, not for the purpose of influencing slavery elsewhere, but because what is done there is done by the whole people, because slavery sustained there is sustained by the Free States. It is said, that the will of the citizens of the District is to be consulted. Were this true, which cannot be granted, the difficulty may easily be surmounted. Let Congress resolve to establish itself where it will have no slavery to control or uphold, and the people of the District of Columbia will remove the obstacle to its continuance where it is, as fast as can be desired.

The great difficulty in the way of the arrangement now proposed is, the article of the Constitution requiring the surrender and return of fugitive slaves. A State

* On the subject of this paragraph the reader will do well to consult "A View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery, by William Jay." The author is a son of Chief Justice Jay, and a worthy representative of the spirit and principles of his illustrious father.

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obeying this seems to me to contract as great guilt as if it were to bring slaves from Africa. No man who regards slavery as among the greatest wrongs can in any way reduce his fellow-creatures to it. The flying slave asserts the first right of a man, and should meet aid rather than obstruction. Who that has the heart of a freeman, or breathes the love of a Christian, can send him back to his chain? On this point, however, the difficulty of an arrangement is every day growing less. This provision of the Constitution is undergoing a silent repeal, and no human power can sustain it. Just in proportion as slavery becomes the object of conscientious reprobation in the Free States, just so fast the difficulty of sending back the fugitive increases. In the part of the country where I reside it is next to impossible that the slave who has reached us should be restored to bondage. Not that our courts of law are obstructed; not that mobs would rescue the fugitive from the magistrate. We respect the public authorities. Not an arm would be raised against the officers of justice. But what are laws, against the moral sense of a community? No man among us, who values his character, would aid the slave-hunter. The slave-hunter here would be looked on with as little favor as the felonious slave-trader. Those among us who dread to touch slavery in its own region, lest insurrection and tumults should follow change, still feel that the fugitive who has sought shelter so far can breed no tumult in the land which he has left, and that, of consequence, no motive but the unhallowed love of gain can prompt to his pursuit; and when they think of slavery as perpetuated, not for public order, but for gain, they abhor it, and would not lift a finger to replace the flying bondsman beneath the

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yoke. Thus this provision of the Constitution is virtually fading away; and, as I have said, no human power can restore it. The moral sentiment of a community is not to be withstood. Make as many constitutions as you will; fence round your laws with what penalties you will; the universal conscience makes them as weak as the threats of childhood. There is a spirit spreading through the country in regard to slavery which demands changes of the Constitution, and which will master if it cannot change it. No concerted opposition to this instrument is thought of or is needed. No secret understanding among our citizens is to be feared at the South. The simple presence to their minds of the great truth, that man cannot rightfully be the property of man, is enough to shelter the slave. With this conviction, we are palsy-stricken when called upon to restore him to bondage. Our sinews are relaxed; our hands hang down; our limbs will not carry us a step. Now this conviction is spreading, and will become the established principle of the Free States. Politicians, indeed, to answer a party end, may talk of property in man as something established or not to be questioned; but the people at large do not follow them. The people go with the civilized and Christian world. The South should understand this, should look the difficulty in the face; and they will see, that, from the nature of the case, resistance is idle, that neither policy nor violence can avail. And, what is more, they have no right to reproach us with letting this provision of the Constitution die among us. *They* have done worse. *We* are passive. *They* have actively, openly, flagrantly, violated the Constitution. They have passed laws threatening to imprison and punish the free colored citizens of the

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North for exercising the rights guarantied to every citizen by the national compact, that is, for setting foot on their shores and using their highways. This wrong has been too patiently borne ; and in one way we can turn it to good account. When reproached with unfaithfulness to the Constitution, we can hold it up as our shield, and cite the greater disloyalty of the South as an extenuation of our own.

It is best, however, that neither party should be unfaithful. It is best that both, enlightened as to the spirit of our times, should make new arrangements to prevent collision, to define the duties of each and all, to bring the Constitution into harmony with the moral convictions and with the safety of North and South. Until some such arrangements are made, perpetual collisions between the two great sections of our country must occur. Notwithstanding the tendencies to a low tone of thought and feeling at the North in regard to slavery, there is a decided increase of moral sensibility on the subject ; and in proportion as this shall spread the Free States will insist more strenuously on being released from every obligation to give support to what they deliberately condemn.

This liberation of the Free States from all connexion with and action on slavery would, indeed, be an immense boon, and the removal of much dissension. Still, the root of bitterness would remain among us. Still, our union, that inestimable political good, will be insecure. Slavery, whilst it continues, must secretly, if not openly, mix with our policy, sow jealousies, determine the character of parties, and create, if not diversities of interests, at least suspicions of them, which may prove not a whit the less ruinous because groundless.

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Slavery is unfriendly to union, as it is directly hostile to the fundamental principle on which all our institutions rest. No nation can admit an element at war with its vital, central law without losing something of its stability. The idea of Human Rights is the grand distinction of our country. Our chief boast as a people is found in the fact, that the toils, sacrifices, heroic deeds of our fathers had for their end the establishment of these. Here is the unity which sums up our history, the glory which lights up our land, the chief foundation of the sentiment of loyalty, the chief spring of national feeling, the grand bond of national union; and whatever among us is at war with this principle weakens the living force which holds us together.

On this topic I cannot enlarge. But recent events compel me to refer to one influence more by which slavery is unfriendly to union. It aggravates those traits of character at the South which tend to division. It inflames that proud, fiery spirit which is quick to take offence, and which rushes into rash and reckless courses. This ungoverned violence of feeling breaks out especially in Congress, the centre from which impulses are communicated to the whole people. It is a painful thought, that, if any spot in the country is preëminent for rudeness and fierceness, it is the Hall of Representatives. Too many of our legislators seem to lay down at its door the common restraints of good society and the character of gentlemen. The national chamber seems liable to become a national nuisance; and although all parts of the country are in a measure responsible for this wound inflicted on the honor and union of the country, we do feel that the evil is to be imputed chiefly to the proud, impetuous temper of the South. It is be-

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lieved that the personal violences which, if repeated, will reduce the national council to the level of a boxing match may be traced to that part of the country. This evil is too notorious to be softened down by apologies or explanations; nor is it less an evil because precedents and parallels can be found in the legislative bodies of France and England. It tends, not merely to spread barbarism through the community, but to impair the authority of legislation, to give new ferocity to the conflicts of party, and thus to weaken the national tie.

If slavery, that brand of discord, were taken away, the peculiarities of Northern and Southern character would threaten little or no evil to the Union. On the contrary, these two grand divisions of the country, now estranged from each other, would be brought near, and by acting on and modifying one another would produce a national character of the highest order. The South, with more of ardor and of bold and rapid genius, and the North, with more of wisdom and steady principle, furnish admirable materials for a State. Nor is the union of these to a considerable degree impracticable. It is worthy of remark, that the most eminent men at the South have had a large infusion of the Northern character. Washington, in his calm dignity, his rigid order, his close attention to business, his reserve almost approaching coldness, bore a striking affinity to the North; and his sympathies led him to choose Northern men very much as his confidential friends. Mr. Madison had much of the calm wisdom, the patient, studious research, the exactness and quiet manner of our part of the country, with little of the imagination and fervor of his own. Chief Justice Marshall had more than these two great men of the genial, unreserved charac-

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ter of a warmer climate, but so blended with a spirit of moderation, and clear judgment, and serene wisdom, as to make him the delight and confidence of the whole land. There is one other distinguished name of the South, which I have not mentioned, Mr. Jefferson; and the reason is, that his character seemed to belong to neither section of the country. He wanted the fiery, daring spirit of the South, and the calm energy of the North. He stood alone. He was a man of genius, given to bold, original, and somewhat visionary speculation, and at the same time a sagacious observer of men and events. He owed his vast influence, second only to Washington's, to his keen insight into the character of his countrymen and into the spirit of his age. His opponents have set him down as the most unscrupulous of politicians; but one merit, and no mean one, must be accorded to him, that of having adopted early, and of having held fast through life, the most generous theory of Human Rights, and of having protested against slavery as an aggravated wrong. In truth, it is impossible to study the great men of the South, and to consider the force of intellect and character which that region has developed, without feelings of respect, and without the most ardent desire that it may free itself, by any means, from an institution which aggravates what is evil and threatening in its character, which cripples much of its energy, which cuts it off from the sympathies and honor of the civilized world, and which prevents it from a true, cordial union with the rest of the country. It is slavery which prevents the two sections of country from acting on and modifying each other for the good of both. This is the great gulf between us, and it is constantly growing wider and deeper in propor-

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tion to the spread of moral feeling, of Christian philanthropy, of respect for men's rights, of interest in the oppressed

Why is it that slavery is not thrown off? We here ascribe its continuance very much to cupidity and love of power. But there is another cause, which is certainly disappearing. Slavery at the South continues, in part, in consequence of that want of activity, of steady force, of resolute industry among the free white population, which it has itself produced. A people with force enough to attempt a social revolution, and to bear its first inconveniences, would not endure slavery. We of the North, with our characteristic energy, would hardly tolerate it a year. The sluggishness, the stupidity of the slaves would keep us in perpetual irritation. We should run over them, tread them almost unconsciously under foot, in our haste and eagerness to accomplish our enterprises. We should feel the wastefulness of slave labor, in comparison with free. The clumsy mechanic, the lagging house-servant, the slovenly laborer, ever ready with a lying excuse, would be too much for our patience. Now there is reason to think that the stirring, earnest, industrious spirit of the North is finding its way Southward; and with this, a desire to introduce better social relations can hardly be repressed.

We believe, too, that this revolution would be hastened, if the South would open its ear to the working of emancipation in other countries, and to the deep interest in the African race which is now spreading through the world. On these subjects very little is yet known at the South. The newspapers there spread absurd rumors of the failure of the experiment of the

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West Indies, but the truth finds no organs. We doubt, too, whether one newspaper has even made a reference to the recent public meeting in England for the civilization of Africa, the most remarkable, in one respect, ever held in that country; for it was a representation of all ranks and sects, including the greatest names in church and state, and, what was not less venerable, a multitude of both sexes who have made themselves dear and honored by services to humanity. Whoever considers this, and other signs of the times in Europe, will see the dawn of a better era, when the wrongs of past ages are to be redressed, when the African is to be lifted up, and the sentence of moral outlawry is to be passed on the enslavers of their brethren. Many among us are apt to smile and say, that nations have but one law, self-interest. But a new and higher force is beginning to act on human affairs. Religion is becoming an active, diffusive, unwearied principle of humanity and justice. All the forces of Christianity are concentrating themselves into a fervent, all-comprehending philanthropy. This is at length to be understood at the South, and it will be felt there. In that region there are pious men and women who will not endure to be cut off from the religious communion of the world. There are self-respecting men, brave enough to defy all personal danger, but not to defy the moral sentiment of mankind. There are the wise and good, who will rejoice to learn that emancipation brings dignity and happiness to the slave, and safety and honor to the free. Here is power enough to put down the selfish and unprincipled. Here are influences which, joined with favoring events from God's good providence, are, we trust, to remove the wrongs and evils of slavery, and to give us a right to hold up our head among Christian nations.

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But if it is not ordained that by these and like influences this great wrong is to be done away, of one thing we are sure, that God's righteous providence lacks not means for accomplishing his designs. He has infinite ministers for humbling human pride and lifting up the fallen. The solemn lesson of our times is the instability of all human power. Despotic thrones have fallen, and surely private despotism cannot endure. We learn from history, that, in seasons apparently the most inauspicious, the seeds of beneficent revolutions have been sown and have unfolded in silence. Much more, in these days of change and progress, causes must be at work for the redemption of the slave. Emancipation, universal freedom, must come. May God prepare its way, not by earthquakes and storms, but by "the still, small voice" of truth, by breathing into the hearts of this people the spirit of wisdom, justice, and love!

It is a solemn thought, with which I close these remarks, that a people upholding or in any way giving countenance to slavery contract guilt in proportion to the light which is thrown on the injustice and evils of this institution, and to the evidence of the benefits of emancipation; and if so, then the weight of guilt on this nation is great and increasing. Our fathers carried on slavery in much blindness. They lived and walked under the shadow of a dark and bloody past. But the darkness is gone. "The mystery of iniquity" is now laid open. Slavery, from its birth to its last stage, is now brought to light. The wars, the sacked and burning villages, the kidnapping and murders of Africa, which begin this horrible history; the crowded hold, the chains, stench, suffocation, burning thirst, and agonies of the slave-ship; the loathsome diseases and enormous

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waste of life in the middle passage; the wrongs and sufferings of the plantation, with its reign of terror and force, its unbridled lust, its violations of domestic rights and charities; these all are revealed. The crimes and woes of slavery come to us in moans and shrieks from the old world and the new, and from the ocean which divides them; and we are distinctly taught, that in no other calamity are such wrongs and miseries concentrated as in this. To put an end to some of these woes, the most powerful nations have endeavoured, by force of laws and punishments, to abolish the slave-trade; but the trial has proved, that, while slavery endures, the traffic which ministers to it cannot be suppressed. At length the axe has been laid at the root of the accursed tree. By the act of a great nation nearly a million of slaves have been emancipated; and the first results have exceeded the hopes of philanthropy. All this history of slavery is given to the world. The truth is brought to our very doors. And, still more, to *us*, above all people, God has made known those eternal principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, by which the full enormity of slavery may be comprehended. To shut our eyes against all this light; to shut our ears and hearts against these monitions of God, these pleadings of humanity; to stand forth, in this great conflict of good with evil, as the chief upholders of oppression; to array ourselves against the efforts of the Christian and civilized world for the extinction of this greatest wrong; to perpetuate it with obstinate madness where it exists, and to make new regions of the earth groan under its woes; this, surely, is a guilt which the justice of God cannot wink at, and on which insulted humanity, religion, and freedom call down fearful retribution.

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NOTES.

Note to page 49.

On this page I have spoken of the manner in which the slaves in the West Indies received emancipation. This great event took place, in Antigua, on the first of August, 1834. The following account of the manner in which the preceding night was kept is extracted from Thome and Kimball's book on the subject.

"The Wesleyans kept 'watch-night' in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch-meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy; and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamation of thanksgiving, and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory, to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed, that, when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees, and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had

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the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky, — God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed, — then came the *burst*, — they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, 'Glory!' 'Alleluia!' they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings, in broken Negro dialect, of gratitude to God.

"After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries, explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the free people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them."

Note to page 52.

On reading to a friend my remarks on the African character, he observed to me, that similar views had been taken by Alexander Kinmont, in his "Lectures on Man: Cincinnati, 1839." This induced me to examine the Lectures; and I had the satisfaction of finding, not only a coincidence of opinions, but that the author had pursued the subject much more thoroughly, and illustrated it with much strength and beauty. I would recommend this work to such as delight in bold and original thinking. The reader, indeed, will often question the soundness of the author's conclusions; but even in these cases the mind will be waked up to great and interesting subjects of reflection. I will subjoin a few extracts relating to the African character.

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"When the epoch of the civilization of the Negro family arrives, in the lapse of ages, they will display in their native land some very peculiar and interesting traits of character, of which we, a distinct branch of the human family, can at present form no conception. It will be, — indeed, it must be, — a civilization of a peculiar stamp; perhaps, we might venture to conjecture, not so much distinguished by art, as a certain beautiful nature; not so marked or adorned by science, as exalted and refined by a new and lovely theology, — a reflection of the light of heaven more perfect and endearing than that which the intellects of the Caucasian race have ever yet exhibited. There is more of the *child*, of unsophisticated nature, in the Negro race than in the European." — p. 190.

"The peninsula of Africa is the home of the Negro, and the appropriate and destined seat of his future glory and civilization, — a civilization which, we need not fear to predict, will be as distinct in all its features from that of all other races as his complexion and natural temperament and genius are different. But who can doubt that here, also, humanity in its more advanced and millennial stage will reflect, under a sweet and mellow light, the softer attributes of the Divine beneficence? If the Caucasian race is destined, as would appear from the precocity of their genius, and their natural quickness and extreme aptitude to the arts, to reflect the lustre of the Divine wisdom, or, to speak more properly, the Divine science, shall we envy the Negro, if a later but far nobler civilization await him, — to return the splendor of the Divine attributes of mercy and benevolence in the practice and exhibition of all the milder and gentler virtues?" — p. 191.

"If there are fewer vivid manifestations of intellect in the Negro family than in the Caucasian, as I am disposed to believe, does that forbid the hope of the return of that pure and gentle state of society among them which attracts the peculiar regard of Heaven?" — p. 192.

"The sweeter graces of the Christian religion appear almost too tropical and tender plants to grow in the soil of the Caucasian mind; they require a character of human nature, of which you can see the rude lineaments in the Ethiopian, to be implanted in, and grow naturally and beautifully withal." — p. 218.

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A

DISCOURSE

ON

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE

REV. JOSEPH TUCKERMAN, D. D.,

DELIVERED AT THE

WARREN-STREET CHAPEL, ON SUNDAY EVENING,

JANUARY 31, 1841.

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DISCOURSE.

Five years ago this Chapel was dedicated to the moral and religious instruction of the poor of this city. This event makes no noise in history, and may seem to some to merit no particular notice. It is remembered, however, by not a few individuals and families, as the beginning of many good influences. Still more, it is not an event which stands alone. This Chapel is the sign of an important movement, which is not soon to pass away. It sprung from the labors of that faithful servant of God to whom we owe the establishment of the Ministry at Large in this place. It is intimately connected with, and reveals to us, his life and labors; and accordingly, the anniversary of its dedication to religious services is a fit occasion for offering a tribute to his memory. I have wished, ever since his removal, to express my reverence for his character, and my sense of the greatness of his work. To these topics I invite your attention. But before entering on them I propose to consider a more general subject, which was often on the lips of our departed friend, to which he constantly recurred in his writings, and on the comprehension of which the permanence of the Ministry at Large chiefly depends. This subject is, the obligation of a city to care for and watch over the moral health of its mem-

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bers, and especially to watch over the moral safety and elevation of its poorer and more exposed classes. The life of our departed friend embodied and expressed this truth with singular power, and the consideration of it is a natural and fit introduction to a memorial of his virtues and labors, as well as particularly adapted to the occasion which has brought us together.

Why is it, my friends, that we are brought so near to one another in cities? It is, that nearness should awaken sympathy; that multiplying wants should knit us more closely together; that we should understand one another's perils and sufferings; that we should act perpetually on one another for good. Why were we not brought into being in solitudes, endowed each with the power of satisfying to the full his particular wants? God has room enough for a universe of separate, lonely, silent beings, of selfish, unshared enjoyment. But, through the whole range of nature, we find nothing insulated, nothing standing alone. Union is the law of his creation. Even matter is an emblem of universal sympathy, for all its particles tend towards one another, and its great masses are bound into one system by mutual attraction. How much more was the human race made for sympathy and mutual aid! How plain is the social destination of man! born, as he is, into the arms of love, sustained from the beginning by human kindness, endowed with speech, and plunged among fellow-beings to whose feelings he cannot but respond, into whose hearts he yearns to pour his own, and whose rights, feelings, and interests are commended to his regard by a law of love and justice written within him by a Divine hand. Can we ask why such beings are gath-

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ered into cities? Is it not, that they should propose a common weal? Is it not, that they should desire and seek each other's highest good? What is the happiest community? What the city which should be chosen above all others as our home? It is that the members of which form one body, in which no class seeks a monopoly of honor or good, in which no class is a prey to others, in which there is a general desire that every human being may have opportunity to develope his powers. What is the happiest community? It is not that in which the goods of life are accumulated in a few hands, in which property sinks a great gulf between different ranks, in which one portion of society swells with pride, and the other is broken in spirit; but a community in which labor is respected, and the means of comfort and improvement are liberally diffused. It is not a community in which intelligence is developed in a few, whilst the many are given up to ignorance, superstition, and a gross animal existence; but one in which the mind is so reverenced in every condition that the opportunities of its culture are afforded to all. It is a community in which religion is not used to break the many into subjection, but is dispensed even to the poorest, to rescue them from the degrading influence of poverty, to give them generous sentiments and hopes, to exalt them from animals into men, into Christians, into children of God. This is a happy community, where human nature is held in honor; where, to rescue it from ignorance and crime, to give it an impulse towards knowledge, virtue, and happiness, is thought the chief end of the social union.

It is the unhappiness of most large cities, that, instead of this union and sympathy, they consist of dif-

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ferent ranks so widely separated as, indeed, to form different communities. In most large cities there may be said to be two nations, understanding as little of one another, having as little intercourse, as if they lived in different lands. In such a city as London the distance of a few streets only will carry you from one stage of civilization to another, from the excess of refinement to barbarism, from the abodes of cultivated intellect to brutal ignorance, from what is called fashion to the grossest manners; and these distinct communities know comparatively nothing of each other. There are travellers from that great city who come to visit our Indians, but who leave at home a community as essentially barbarous as that which they seek, who, perhaps, have spent all their lives in the midst of it, giving it no thought. To these travellers a hovel in one of the suburbs which they have left would be as strange a place as the wigwam of our own forests. They know as little what thousands of their own city suffer, to what extremities thousands are reduced, by what arts thousands live, as they know of the modes of life in savage tribes. How much more useful lessons would they learn, and how much holier feelings would be awakened in them, were they to penetrate the dens of want, and woe, and crime, a few steps from their own door, than they gain from exploring this new world! And what I say of London is true also of this city in a measure. Not a few grow up and die here without understanding how multitudes live and die around them, without having descended into the damp cellar where childhood and old age spend day and night, winter and summer, or without scaling the upper room which contains within its narrow and naked walls, not one, but two and even

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three families. They see the poor in the street, but never follow them in thought to their cheerless homes, or ask how the long day is filled up. They travel, in books at least, to distant regions, among nations of different languages and complexions, but are strangers to the condition and character of masses who speak their native tongue, live under their eye, and are joined with them for weal or woe in the same social state. This estrangement of men from men, of class from class, is one of the saddest features of a great city. It shows that the true bond of communities is as yet imperfectly known.

The happy community is that in which its members care for one another, and in which there is, especially, an interest in the intellectual and moral improvement of all. That sympathy which provides for the outward wants of all, which sends supplies to the poor man's house, is a blessed fruit of Christianity; and it is happy when this prevails in and binds together a city. But we have now learned that the poor are not to be essentially, permanently aided by the mere relief of bodily wants. We are learning that the greatest efforts of a community should be directed, not to relieve indigence, but to dry up its sources, to supply moral wants, to spread purer principles and habits, to remove the temptations to intemperance and sloth, to snatch the child from moral perdition, and to make the man equal to his own support by awakening in him the spirit and the powers of a man. The glory and happiness of a community consists in vigorous efforts, springing from love, sustained by faith, for the diffusion, through all classes, of intelligence, of self-respect, of self-control, of thirst for knowledge, and for moral and religious growth.

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Here is the first end, the supreme interest, which a community should propose, and in achieving it all other interests are accomplished.

It is a plain truth, and yet how little understood! that the greatest thing in a city is Man himself. He is its end. We admire its palaces; but the mechanic who builds them is greater than palaces. Human nature, in its lowest form, in the most abject child of want, is of more worth than all outward improvements. You talk of the prosperity of your city. I know but one true prosperity. Does the human soul grow and prosper here? Do not point me to your thronged streets. I ask, Who throng them? Is it a low-minded, self-seeking, gold-worshipping, man-despising crowd, which I see rushing through them? Do I meet in them, under the female form, the gayly-decked prostitute, or the idle, wasteful, aimless, profitless woman of fashion? Do I meet the young man showing off his pretty person as the perfection of nature's works, wasting his golden hours in dissipation and sloth, and bearing in his countenance and gaze the marks of a profligate? Do I meet a grasping multitude, seeking to thrive by concealments and frauds? an anxious multitude, driven by fear of want to doubtful means of gain? an unfeeling multitude, caring nothing for others, if they may themselves prosper or enjoy? In the neighbourhood of your comfortable or splendid dwellings are there abodes of squalid misery, of reckless crime, of bestial intemperance, of half-famished childhood, of profaneness, of dissoluteness, of temptation for thoughtless youth? And are these multiplying with your prosperity, and outstripping and neutralizing the influences of truth and virtue? Then your prosperity is a vain show. Its true use is, to make

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a better people. The glory and happiness of a city consist not in the number, but the character, of its population. Of all the fine arts in a city, the grandest is the art of forming noble specimens of humanity. The costliest productions of our manufactures are cheap, compared with a wise and good human being. A city which should practically adopt the principle, that man is worth more than wealth or show, would gain an impulse that would place it at the head of cities. A city in which men should be trained worthy of the name would become the metropolis of the earth.

God has prospered us, and, as we believe, is again to prosper us, in our business; and let us show our gratitude by inquiring for what end prosperity is given, and how it may best accomplish the end of the Giver. Let us use it to give a higher character to our city, to send refining, purifying influences through every department of life. Let us especially use it to multiply good influences in those classes which are most exposed to temptation. Let us use it to prevent the propagation of crime from parent to child. Let us use it in behalf of those in whom our nature is most depressed, and who, if neglected, will probably bring on themselves the arm of penal law. Nothing is so just a cause of self-respect in a city as the healthy, moral condition of those who are most exposed to crime. This is the best proof that the prosperous classes are wise, intelligent, and worthy of their prosperity. Crime is to the state what dangerous disease is to the human frame, and to expel it should be to the community an object of the deepest concern. This topic is so important that I cannot leave it without urging it on your serious thoughts.

Society has hitherto employed its energy chiefly to

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punish crime. It is infinitely more important to prevent it; and this I say not for the sake of those alone on whom the criminal preys. I do not think only or chiefly of those who suffer from crime. I plead also, and plead more, for those who perpetrate it. In moments of clear, calm thought I feel more for the wrong-doer than for him who is wronged. In a case of theft, incomparably the most wretched man is he who steals, not he who is robbed. The innocent are not *undone* by acts of violence or fraud from which they suffer. They are innocent, though injured. They do not bear the brand of infamous crime; and no language can express the import of this distinction. When I visit the cell of a convict, and see a human being who has sunk beneath his race, who is cast out by his race, whose name cannot be pronounced in his home, or can be pronounced only to start a tear, who has forfeited the confidence of every friend, who has lost that spring of virtue and effort, the hope of esteem, whose conscience is burdened with irreparable guilt, who has hardened himself against the appeals of religion and love, here, here I see a Ruin. The man whom he has robbed or murdered, how much happier than he! What I want is, not merely that society should protect itself against crime, but that it shall do all that it can to preserve its exposed members from crime, and so do for the sake of these as truly as for its own. It should not suffer human nature to fall so deeply, so terribly, if the ruin can be avoided. Society ought not to breed Monsters in its bosom. If it will not use its prosperity to save the ignorant and poor from the blackest vice, if it will even quicken vice by its selfishness and luxury, its worship of wealth, its scorn of human nature, then it must suffer, and deserves to suffer, from crime.

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I would that, as a city, we might understand and feel how far we are chargeable with much of the crime and misery around us of which we complain. Is it not an acknowledged moral truth, that we are answerable for all evil which we are able, but have failed, to prevent? Were Providence to put us in possession of a remedy for a man dying at our feet, and should we withhold it, would not the guilt of his death lie at our door? Are we not accessory to the destruction of the blind man who in our sight approaches a precipice and whom we do not warn of his danger? On the same ground much of the guilt and misery around us must be imputed to ourselves. Why is it that so many children in a large city grow up in ignorance and vice? Because that city abandons them to ruinous influences, from which it might and ought to rescue them. Why is beggary so often transmitted from parent to child? Because the public, and because individuals, do little or nothing to break the fatal inheritance. Whence come many of the darkest crimes? From despondency, recklessness, and a pressure of suffering which sympathy would have lightened. Human sympathy, Christian sympathy, were it to penetrate the dwellings of the ignorant, poor, and suffering, were its voice lifted up to encourage, guide, and console, and its arm stretched out to sustain, what a new world would it call into being! What a new city should we live in! How many victims of stern justice would become the living, joyful witnesses of the regenerating power of a wise Christian love!

In these remarks I have expressed sympathy with the criminal; but do not imagine that I have any desire to screen him from that wise punishment which aims at once to reform offenders and protect society. The

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mercy which would turn aside the righteous penalties of law is, however unconsciously, a form of cruelty. As friends of the tempted part of the community we should make the escape of the criminal next to hopeless. But let not society stop here. Let it use every means in its power of rescuing its members from the degradation and misery of crime and public punishment. Let it especially protect the exposed child. Here is a paramount duty which no community has yet fulfilled. If the child be left to grow up in utter ignorance of duty, of its Maker, of its relation to society, to grow up in an atmosphere of profaneness and intemperance, and in the practice of falsehood and fraud, let not the community complain of his crime. It has quietly looked on and seen him, year after year, arming himself against its order and peace; and who is most to blame, when at last he deals the guilty blow? A moral care over the tempted and ignorant portion of the state is a primary duty of society.

I know that objection will be made to this representation of duty. It will be said by not a few, "We have not time to take care of others. We do our part in taking care of ourselves and our families. Let every man watch over his own household, and society will be at peace."

I reply, First, this defence is not founded in truth. Very few can honestly say, that they have no time or strength to spend beyond their families. How much time, thought, wealth, strength, is wasted, absolutely wasted, by a large proportion of every people! Were the will equal to the power, were there a fraternal concern for the falling and fallen members of the community, what an amount of energy would be spent in redeeming society from its terrible evils, without the slightest diminution of exertion at home!

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But, still more, we defeat ourselves, when we neglect the moral state of the city where we live, under pretence of caring for our families. How little may it profit you, my friends, that you labor at home, if in the next street, amidst haunts of vice, the incendiary, the thief, the ruffian, is learning his lesson or preparing his instruments of destruction! How little may it profit you that you are striving to educate your children, if around you the children of others are neglected, are contaminated with evil principles or impure passions! Where is it that our sons often receive the most powerful impulses? In the street, at school, from associates. Their ruin may be sealed by a young female brought up in the haunts of vice. Their first oaths may be echoes of profaneness which they hear from the sons of the abandoned. What is the great obstruction to our efforts for educating our children? It is the corruption around us. That corruption steals into our homes, and neutralizes the influence of home. We hope to keep our little circle pure amidst general impurity. This is like striving to keep our particular houses healthy, when infection is raging around us. If an accumulation of filth in our neighbourhood were sending forth foul stench and pestilential vapors on every side, we should not plead, as a reason for letting it remain, that we were striving to prevent a like accumulation within our own doors. Disease would not less certainly invade us because the source of it was not prepared by ourselves. The infection of moral evil is as perilous as that of the plague We have a personal interest in the prevalence of order and good principles on every side. If any member of the social body suffer, all must suffer with it. This is God's ordination, and his merciful ordination. It is thus

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that he summons us to watch over our brother for his good. In this city, where the children are taught chiefly in public schools, all parents have peculiar reason for seeking that all classes of society be improved.

Let me add one more reply to the excuse for neglecting others drawn from the necessity of attending to our own families. True, we must attend to our families; but what is the great end which we should propose in regard to our children? Is it to train them up for themselves only? to shut them up in their own pleasures? to give them a knowledge by which they may serve their private interests? Should it not be our first care to breathe into them the spirit of Christians? to give them a generous interest in our race? to fit them to live and to die for their fellow-beings? Is not this the true education? And can we, then, educate them better than by giving them, in our own persons, examples of a true concern for our less prosperous fellow-creatures? Should not our common tones awaken in them sympathy with the poor, and ignorant, and depraved? Should not the influences of home fit them to go forth as the benefactors of their race? This is a Christian education. This is worth all accomplishments. Give to society a generous, disinterested son or daughter, and you will pay with interest the debt you owe it. Blessed is that home where such members are formed, to be heads of future families and fountains of pure influence to the communities of which they form a part. In this respect our education is most deficient. Whilst we pay profusely for superficial accomplishments, very little is done to breathe a noble, heroic, self-sacrificing spirit into the young.

In reply to these remarks, ill-boding skepticism will

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cry out, "Why all this labor? Society cannot be improved. Its evils cannot be done away." But this croaking has little significance to one who believes in Christ, the divinely ordained Regenerator of the world, and who compares, in the light of history, the present with past times. On these authorities, I maintain that society *can* be improved. I am confident that this city would become a new place, a new creation, were the intelligent and good to seek in earnest to spread their intelligence and goodness. We have powers enough here for a mighty change, were they faithfully used. I would add, that God permits evils for this very end, that they should be resisted and subdued. He intends that this world shall grow better and happier, not through his own immediate agency, but through the labors and sufferings of benevolence. This world is left, in a measure, to the power of evil, that it should become a monument, a trophy, to the power of goodness. The greatness of its crimes and woes is not a ground for despair, but a call to greater effort. On our earth the divine Philanthropist has begun a war with evil. His cross is erected to gather together soldiers for the conflict, and victory is written in his blood. The spirit which Jesus Christ breathes has already proved itself equal to this warfare. How much has it already done to repress ferocity in Christian nations, to purify domestic life, to abolish or mitigate slavery, to provide asylums for disease and want! These are but its first fruits. In the progress already made by communities under its influences we are taught that society is not destined to repeat itself perpetually, to stand still for ever. We learn that great cities need not continue to be sinks of pollution. No man has seized the grand peculiarity of the present age

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who does not see in it the means and material of a vast and beneficent social change. The revolution which we are called to advance has, in truth, begun. The great distinction of our times is a diffusion of intelligence, and refinement, and of the spirit of progress, through a vastly wider sphere than formerly. The middle and laboring classes have means of improvement not dreamed of in earlier times. And why stop here? Why not increase these means where now enjoyed? Why not extend them where they are not possessed? Why shall any portion of the community be deprived of light, of sympathy, of the aids by which they may rise to comfort and virtue?

At the present moment it is singularly unreasonable to doubt and despair of the improvement of society. Providence is placing before our eyes, in broad light, the success of efforts for the melioration of human affairs. I might refer to the change produced among ourselves, within a few years, by the exertions of good men for the suppression of intemperance, the very vice which seemed the most inveterate, and which more than all others spreads poverty and crime. But this moral revolution in our own country sinks into nothing, when compared with the amazing and almost incredible work now in progress on the other side of the ocean. A few years ago, had we been called to name the country of all others most degraded, beggared, and hopelessly crushed, by intemperance, we should have selected Ireland. There men and women, old and young, were alike swept away by what seemed the irresistible torrent. Childhood was baptized into drunkenness. And now, in the short space of two or three years, this vice of ages has almost been rooted out. In a moral point

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of view, the Ireland of the past is vanished. A new Ireland has started into life. Three millions of her population have taken the pledge of total abstinence, and instances of violating the pledge are very, very rare. The great national anniversaries, on which the whole laboring population used to be dissolved in excess, are now given to innocent pleasures. The excise on ardent spirits has now been diminished nearly half a million sterling. History records no revolution like this. It is the grand event of the present day. Father Matthew, the leader in this moral revolution, ranks far above the heroes and statesmen of the times. As Protestants, we smile at the old legends of the Catholic Church; but here is something greater, and it is true. However we may question the claims of her departed saints, she has a living minister, if he may be judged from one work, who deserves to be canonized, and whose name should be placed in the calendar not far below Apostles. And is this an age in which to be skeptical as to radical changes in society, as to the recovery of the mass of men from brutal ignorance and still more brutal vice?

The remarks which have now been made are needed at the present moment. Our city is growing, and we are impatient for its more rapid growth, as if size and numbers were happiness. We are anxious to swell our population. Is it not worth our while to inquire, what kind of a population we are to gather here? Are we so blind as to be willing and anxious to repeat the experience of other cities? Are we willing to increase only our physical comforts, our material wealth? Do we not know that great cities have hitherto drawn together the abandoned? have bred a horde of ignorant,

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profligate, criminal poor? have been deformed by the horrible contrasts of luxury and famine, of splendor and abject woe? Do we not know that among the indigent and laborious classes of great cities the mortality is fearfully great in comparison with that of the country? a result to be traced to the pestilential atmosphere which these people breathe, to the filth, darkness, and dampness of their dwellings, to the suffering, comfortless condition of their children, and to the gross vices which spring up from ignorance and destitution. Do we want no better destiny for this our dear and honored metropolis? You will not suspect me of being a foe to what are called improvements. Let our city grow. Let railroads connect it with the distant West. Let commerce link it with the remotest East. But, whilst its wealth and numbers grow, let its means of intelligence, religion, virtue, domestic purity, and fraternal union grow faster. Let us be more anxious for moral than physical growth. May God withhold prosperity, unless it is to be inspired, hallowed, ennobled by public spirit, by institutions for higher education, and by increasing concern of the enlightened and opulent for the ignorant and poor! If prosperity is to narrow and harden us, to divide us into castes of high and low, to corrupt the rich by extravagance and pride, and to create a more reckless class of poor, then God avert it from us! But prosperity need not be so abused. It admits of noble uses. It may multiply the means of good. It may multiply teachers of truth and virtue. It may make the desert places of society blossom as the rose. To this end may our prosperity be consecrated. Thus may we requite the Author of all good.

How we may accomplish the good work now set be-

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fore us I have not time to say. I would only ask your attention to one means of improving our city, to which our attention is particularly called by the occasion which has brought us together. I refer to the Ministry at Large. The reasons of this institution are too obvious to require labored exposition. That those classes of society which enjoy fewest advantages of education peculiarly need instruction and the voice of the living teacher; that those whose habits, conditions, and wants exclude them, in effect, from our churches should be visited in their homes by the ministers of Christianity, who does not see and acknowledge? If we, with every means of culture, need the Christian ministry, the poor need it more. Is it not a duty, and should we not rejoice, to send forth faithful, enlightened men whose office shall be, to strengthen those whom corrupt influences are sweeping from duty with peculiar power, to guide those who have no other counsellor, to admonish and cheer those who are pressed with heaviest temptations, to awaken the minds of those who are almost unconscious of their intellectual powers, to breathe fortitude into those who suffer most, to open a better world to those to whom this world is darkened, and, above all, to snatch their children from ruin, to protect the young who seem borne to a heritage of want or crime? The ministry devoted to these offices is, undeniably, a wise, Christian, noble institution. This evening you are called to contribute to its support. Do so cheerfully. You are not called to uphold a plan of doubtful charity, or to send teachers to remote regions, where years of anxious labor must be spent on an unbroken, unthankful soil before the fruit can appear. You are invited to sustain an institution seated in the heart of our city, and

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which, as you know, is sending the waters of life through our own population. Its chapels, Sunday schools, libraries, are in the midst of you. The doors to which its ministers carry counsel and consolation are near your own. You see its influences this moment in these children. Its aim is, to remove the saddest features of our civilization, the deep corruption of great cities; and in the energy which it now puts forth we have a pledge of a happier era, in which society will prosper without the terrible sacrifice of so many of its members. May this good work go on and spread, and may future generations bless us for saving them from some of the worst evils which darken our own age!

I have now closed my remarks on the general topic suggested by this occasion. But the work of the Ministry for the Poor has brought to my mind solemn and tender thoughts, which I know you will not think foreign to our present meeting, and which it will be a relief to my own spirit to express. The Ministry at Large in this city was chiefly originated and established by one of my earliest, dearest friends, who closed his eyes not many months since on a foreign shore. Allow me to pay a tribute to his memory; and in doing this allow me to speak with the freedom of friendship. I have not labored to collect materials for a regular history of this distinguished man, for I believe that I shall be more just to his memory in giving reminiscences of our long intercourse than in reporting a series of events. I will utter with all simplicity what rises to my memory, and I hope that the clear image which I bear of my departed friend may be transferred to the hearts of my hearers.

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My acquaintance with JOSEPH TUCKERMAN began about forty-seven years ago, and during most of the time which has since elapsed we lived together as brothers, communicating thoughts, feelings, reproofs, encouragements, with a faithfulness not often surpassed. I think of him with peculiar pleasure, as he was, perhaps, the most signal example within my remembrance of Improvement; of a man overcoming obstacles, and making progress under disadvantages. When I first met him in college he had the innocence of childhood; he was sympathizing, generous, without a stain of the vices to which youth is prone; but he did not seem to have any serious views of life. Three years he passed almost as a holyday, unconscious of his privileges, uninterested in his severer studies, surrendering himself to sportive impulses, which, however harmless in themselves, consumed the hours which should have been given to toil. How often has he spoken to me with grief and compunction of his early wasted life! In his last college year a change began, and the remote cause of it he often spoke of with lively sensibility. His mother, he was accustomed to say, was one of the best of women. She had instilled into him the truths of religion with a mother's love, tempered with no common wisdom. The seed was sown in a kindly nature. The religious principle, which at first had only been a restraint from evil, began to incite to good; and to this the progress and greatness of his life were mainly due. On leaving college he gave himself to the Christian ministry; but, with the unchastened inconsideration of his youth, he plunged into its duties with little preparation. The consequence was a succession of mortifications, most painful at the time, but of which he afterwards

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spoke as a merciful discipline. So unpromising was the opening of a career of singular energy and usefulness.

By the kind ordination of Providence he was settled in a small, obscure parish, which offered nothing to gratify ambition or to dissipate the mind. Years passed in a life which we should call monotonous, but which was singularly fitted to give him the calmness and steadiness which he needed. Here he became a student, a faithful, laborious student, and accumulated much knowledge, and devoted no little time to the thorny topics of theology. Thus the defects of his early intellectual training were repaired, and his faculties sharpened and invigorated.

He was not, however, made to wear out life in such pursuits. His strength did not lie in abstract speculation. Had he given himself to this, he would never have forced his way to new or great views. His heart was his great power. To his moral, religious, benevolent sentiments he owed, chiefly, the expansion of his intellectual nature. Having laid a good foundation by study, an unerring instinct taught him that study was not his vocation. His heart yearned for active life. He became more and more penetrated with the miseries and crimes of the world. As he sat in his lonely study, the thought of what men endured on the land and the sea withdrew him from his books. He was irresistibly attracted towards his fellow-creatures, by their sufferings, and, still more, by a consciousness that there was something great beneath their sufferings, by a sympathy with their spiritual wants. His study window looked on the sea; and the white sail, as it skirted the horizon, reminded him of the ignorance and moral perils of the sailor; and, accordingly, he was the first man in the

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country to make an effort for the improvement and instruction of this class of men. The society which he instituted for this end did not answer its purpose ; for he knew little or nothing of the people he wished to serve, nor was the community then awake, as it now is, to the work of reform. But the spirit which was moving in him was not depressed by failure. He soon gave himself with zeal to the missionary cause ; thought, talked, and wrote about it with characteristic energy ; and, had not family ties prevented, would have devoted himself, I believe, to the service of the heathen.

Whilst the passion for conflict with evil was struggling within him his health failed, and for a time he had reason to fear that he was to be cut off from usefulness. But the same gracious Providence which had ordained with signal kindness the events of his past existence was guiding him through this dark passage to the great sphere and purpose of his life. His disease incapacitated him for answering the demand made upon his voice by the pulpit. He felt that he must cease from regular preaching ; and what, then, was he to do ? In a favored hour the thought of devoting himself to the service of the poor of this city entered his mind, and met a response within which gave it the character of a Divine monition. He consulted me ; and, in obedience to a long-rooted conviction, that society needs new ministries and agencies for its redemption, and that men inspired with self-sacrificing zeal for its redemption are God's best gifts to the world, I encouraged his faith and hope.

At first he entered almost tremblingly the houses of the poor where he was a stranger, to offer his sympathy and friendship. But "the sheep knew the voice of the shepherd." The poor recognized by instinct their friend,

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and from the first moment a relation of singular tenderness and confidence was established between them. That part of his life I well remember, for he came often to pour into my ear and heart his experience and success. I well remember the effect which contact with the poor produced on his mind. He had loved them when he knew little of them, when their distresses came to him through the imagination. But he was a proof that no speculation or imagination can do the work of actual knowledge. So deep was the sympathy, so intense the interest, which the poor excited in him, that it seemed as if a new fountain of love had been opened within him. No favorite of fortune could have repaired to a palace, where the rays of royal favor were to be centred on him, with a more eager spirit and quicker step than our friend hastened to the abodes of want in the darkest alleys of our city. How often have I stood humbled before the deep spiritual love which burst from him in those free communications which few enjoyed beside myself. I cannot forget one evening, when, in conversing with the late Dr. Follen and myself on the claims of the poor, and on the cold-heartedness of society, he not only deeply moved us, but filled us with amazement, by his depth of feeling and energy of utterance; nor can I forget how, when he left us, Dr. Follen, a man fitted by his own spirit to judge of greatness, said to me, "*He is* a great man."

This strong love for his fellow-creatures was not a wild enthusiasm. It was founded on clear, deliberate perception of the spiritual nature, the immortal destination, of every human being. Whoever discerns truly and feels deeply this greatness of humanity, this relation of the soul to God, must, indeed, pass for an enthusiast in the present day; for our state of society is, in a

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great degree, a denial of the higher rights, claims, and destinies of a human being.

It was this love for the poor which gave to our friend's labors their efficacy, which made his ministry a living thing, and which gave it perpetuity. This house and our other chapels had their foundation in this love. He could not be kept from the poor. Cold, storms, sickness, severe pain, could not shut him up at home. Nothing but his domestic ties prevented him from taking up his abode among the indigent. He would sometimes say, that, could he, on leaving the world, choose his sphere, it would be that of a ministering spirit to the poor; and if the spirits of departed good men return to our world, his, I doubt not, might be found in the haunts of want and woe. In this, as I have already said, there was no blinding enthusiasm. He saw distinctly the vices which are often found among the poor, their craft, and sloth, and ingratitude. His ministry was carried on in the midst of their frequent filth and recklessness. The coarsest realities pressed him on every side. These were not the scenes to make an enthusiast. But amidst these he saw, now the fainter signs, now the triumphs, of a divine virtue. It was his delight to relate examples of patience, disinterestedness, piety, amidst severest sufferings. These taught him, that, in the poorest hovels, he was walking among immortals, and his faith in the divinity within the soul turned his ministry into joy.

Dr. Tuckerman has sometimes been called the founder of the Ministry at Large. If by this language be meant that he first planned and established a distinct ministry for the poor, the language is incorrect. Before his time there had been men who had devoted themselves exclusively and faithfully to the religious instruc-

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tion of those who cannot be gathered into the ordinary places of worship. His merit lay in giving a new life to the work, in showing what it could do, in raising it from neglect to a high place among the means of regenerating the world, and in awakening new hopes of the improvement of what had been looked on as the hopeless portion of society. The greatest benefactors of men are, not so much those who discover or contrive wholly original and untried modes of action, as those who seize on familiar means or agencies and exalt them into new powers. Our friend had hardly entered into his ministry when he discovered its capacities. He saw that it opened a sphere of usefulness which had hardly been dreamed of. With prophetic faith, he threw into it his whole soul; and his example and success raised up others to confide in and to wield the same power. He may thus be said, in an important sense, to have established this ministry. Through him it has taken root in men's faith. It has passed, with all the energy which he imparted to it, into other hands, and is seen and felt to deserve a place among our permanent institutions. Much of this success was, undoubtedly, due to his singleness of heart; but much, also, to his clear insight into the principles of human nature which rendered the poor open to good influences, and into the means by which human beings in their condition may be most effectually approached.

In carrying on this great work Dr. Tuckerman did not stand alone. He received important aids from sympathizing friends. He began his labors under the patronage of the American Unitarian Association. At length, to insure the continuance of the Ministry at Large and to extend its operation, a union, or, as it is called, a

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Fraternity, of several churches in the city was formed, to take this important work under its guidance and care. There were some among us who had come to feel that a Christian church was established not only for the edification of its own members, but for the general cause of Christianity; and that it was especially bound to extend the means of moral and religious instruction to such families or individuals in its neighbourhood as, from poverty, or any other causes, were deprived of the benefit of the public ordinances of religion. In conformity to this idea the Fraternity was formed, on a simple but efficient plan. In each of the churches disposed to cooperate for the support of the Ministry at Large a branch-association is established, the members of which contribute to this work according to their means or sense of duty, and which is represented in a central board, to whose discretion the management of the whole concern is intrusted. By this arrangement various good ends are accomplished. The Ministry of the Poor has become linked with our most important religious institution, and may be hoped to partake of the durableness of the regular ministry. The churches are knit together by a new bond, not one of creeds, or tribunals, or organizations to accumulate power, but the holy bond of charity; and, still more, they are brought to recognize distinctly and practically their obligation to look beyond themselves, and to labor for the extension of Christian truth and virtue.

This association gave but a small salary to Dr. Tuckerman, but he desired nothing beyond what was necessary to save him from debt; and this he did desire. On this point he was peculiarly sensitive, so much so that a notice of him would be imperfect in which this

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trait should be omitted. He shrunk from the slightest pecuniary embarrassment as an intolerable evil. "Owe no man any thing," was a precept which he kept in sight in all his domestic arrangements; and, by his strict economy and wise providence, he was able to spend a long life and bring up a large family without once anticipating his income and without contracting a debt. Some of his friends, of looser habits, received lessons of wisdom and reproof in this respect from his counsel and example.

As to the great ideas which ruled over and guided his ministry, and as to the details of his operations, they may be gathered best from the Reports which he was accustomed to make to the societies under whose patronage he acted. He published, indeed, a volume on this subject; but it is hardly worthy of his abilities or his cause. It was prepared under the pressure of disease, when his constitution was so exhausted by excessive labor that he was compelled to forego all out-door duties. He wrote it with a morbid impatience, as if he might be taken away before giving it to the world. It ought, in truth, to be regarded as an extemporaneous effusion. It was hurried through the press whilst the friends whom he had consulted were hoping that it was undergoing a patient revision. Thus hastily composed, it was necessarily diffuse, a fault which marks his most careful writings. It might, indeed, have been compressed to half the size; and, as might be expected, it fell almost dead from the press. This sore trial he bore with great equanimity; but he felt it deeply. The saddest words I heard from him in his sickness were those in which he expressed his regrets at having precipitated this publication.

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It is in his Reports, chiefly, that the history of his ministry is to be studied. These are a treasure for the man who would act wisely on the poor. They are records of an uncommonly various experience. They show his insight into the temptations, perils, hearts, of the depressed and indigent; and, whilst exposing their errors and sins, breathe a never-failing sympathy. It is easy to see in these that the great principle which animated his ministry was an immovable faith in God's merciful purposes towards the poor. Their condition never, for a moment, seemed to him to separate them from their Creator. On the contrary, he felt God's presence in the narrow, comfortless dwelling of the poor as he felt it nowhere else.

His perpetual recognition of the spiritual, immortal nature of the poor gave to all his intercourse a character of tenderness and respect. He spoke to them plainly, boldly, but still as to the children of the same infinite Father. He trusted in man's moral nature, however bruised and crushed; he was sure that no heart could resist him, if he could but convince it of his sincere brotherly concern. One rule he observed almost too instinctively to make it a rule. He always spoke encouragingly. He felt that the weight under which the poor man's spirit was already sinking needed no addition from the harshness of his spiritual guide. He went forth in the power of brotherly love, and found it a divine armor. On this point too much cannot be said. The city of Boston has the honor, above all cities, of proving how much can be accomplished by a generous, affectionate mode of speech and action among those classes of society which it has been thought can only be reached by menace, sternness, and terror. Dr.

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Tuckerman and his successors, in their intercourse with the poor, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, in his labors among seamen, have taught us that men, in the most unpromising conditions, are to be treated as men; that under coarse jackets, and even rags, may be found tender and noble hearts; and that the heart, even when hardened, still responds to the voice of a true friend and brother. The horrible thought, that certain portions of society are to be kept down by appeals to their superstition and fear, has here received a refutation very cheering to the friends of humanity. Dr. Tuckerman carried among the poor his own highest views of religion, and often spoke to me of the eagerness with which they were received. He was, indeed, too wise a man to give them in an abstract form, or in technical language. They were steeped in his heart before they found their way to his lips; and, flowing warm and fresh from this fountain, they were drunk in as living waters by the thirsty souls of the poor.

A great secret of Dr. Tuckerman's success lay in his strong interest in individuals. It was not in his nature to act on masses by general methods; he threw his soul into particular cases. Every sufferer whom he visited seemed to awaken in him a special affection and concern. I remember well the language which he once used in regard to a man who had gone far astray. He said to me with deep emotion, "I want that man's soul; I *must* save him." He made the worst feel that they had a friend, and by his personal interest linked them anew with their race.

Let me add another explication of his success. He sought for something to love in all. He seized on any thing good which might remain in the fallen spirit; on

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any domestic affection, any generous feeling, which might have escaped the wreck of the character. If he could but touch one chord of love, one tender recollection of home, one feeling of shame or sorrow for the past, no matter how faintly, he rejoiced and took courage, like the good physician who, in watching over the drowned, detects a flutter of the pulse, or the feeblest sign of life. His hope in such cases tended to fulfil itself. His tones awakened a like hope in the fallen. "He did not break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax."

He began his ministry expecting to accomplish his work by visiting and conversation, and this he always relied on as the most important means of usefulness. But he soon found that social worship could not be dispensed with, that this was a want of human nature; that the poor, by the mere circumstance of leaving their homes and coming together in decent apparel for the worship of God, received a salutary impulse, and that in this way they could be brought most effectually to act on one another for good. He therefore resumed preaching, though unequal to the effort. The effect of this new situation in awakening his powers as a preacher was striking. In his sermons written for common congregations he had never been very attractive; but his free, extemporaneous, fervent address drew round him a crowd of poor who hung on his lips; and those who were not poor were moved by his fervent utterance. His idea of preaching underwent a great change. Whilst abstaining from public complaint, he would in private mourn over the lifeless discussions of the pulpit, which too often make the church cold as the grave.

His influence over the poor was a good deal increased

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by the variety of forms in which he exerted it. He was not merely a spiritual guide. He had much skill in the details of common life, was a good economist, understood much about the trades and labors in which the poor are most occupied, could suggest expedients for diminishing expense and multiplying comforts, and by these homely gifts won the confidence of the poor. He could sympathize with them in their minutest wants and sufferings, and opened a way for his high truths by being a wise counsellor as to their worldly interests. At the very moment when he passed with some for an enthusiast, he was teaching household management to a poor woman, or contriving employment for her husband, or finding a place for her child.

This reminds me of one branch of his labors in which he took special interest. He felt deeply for the children of the poor. They were in his mind habitually, as he walked the streets, and when he entered the indigent dwelling. He used to stop to inquire into the residence and history of the begging child. He visited the market and the wharf to discover the young who were wasting the day in sloth, taking their first lessons in the art of theft. He was unwearied in his efforts to place these children in schools ; and multitudes owe to him their moral safety and the education which prepared them for respectable lives. Through his means, not a few, who had escaped all domestic control and entered on the downward path of crime, were sent to the House of Reformation ; and he delighted to meet, or speak of, those who, under this influence, had been restored to innocence. To the interest which he awakened in the unprotected children of the poor we owe chiefly the establishment of the Farm School. If any

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subject peculiarly occupied his thoughts and heart, it was the duty of the city to that portion of the young who, if not adopted by society, must grow up to guilt and shame and public punishment. If his benevolence ever broke out in bitter reproach, it was in speaking of the general insensibility to the neglected child, trained up by its parents to beggary and fraud, accustomed to breathe the fumes of intemperance, and left to look on vice as its natural state. Such was his influence that street-beggary sensibly declined among us, an effect indicating an extent of good influence not easily apprehended.

To show his generous modes of viewing the poor, I would state, that, for a time, he assembled the children one afternoon in the week to give them instruction in natural history. He took great delight in this branch of knowledge, and had stored up in his mind a large number of facts illustrative of the wisdom and goodness of God in the creation. These he used to unfold, and was able to awaken the curiosity and fix the attention of his young hearers; of which, indeed, they furnished proof, by giving him a portion of time usually spent in play. His want of strength, which compelled him to relinquish the pulpit, obliged him to give up this mode of teaching after a short trial.

I mention these various exertions as illustrative of the enlarged spirit which he carried into his work. His great object was to promote religion; but religion did not stand alone in his mind. He felt its connexion with intellectual cultivation, with wise household management, with neatness and propriety of manners, and especially with the discharge of parental duty; and his labors may be said to have covered almost all the departments of

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social life. The truth is, that his heart was in his work. He did not think of it as the work of a day, or of a few years, but of life. He wanted to grow old and die in it. The world opened nothing to him, in all its various callings, more honorable, more godlike. His ambition, of which he had his share, and his disinterested and religious principles, all flowed into this channel; so that he acted with undivided energy, with a whole soul. Hence he became fruitful in expedients, detected new modes of influence, wound his way to his end gently and indirectly, and contrived to turn almost every thing to account. Some, indeed, complained that he dragged his poor into all companies and conversation. But we must learn to bear the infirmities of a fervent spirit, and to forgive a love which is stronger than our own, though it may happen to want the social tact in which the indifferent and trifling are apt to make the most proficiency.

On one subject Dr. Tuckerman agreed in opinion and feeling with all who visit and labor for the poor. He felt that the poverty of our city was due chiefly to Intemperance, and that this enhances infinitely the woes of a destitute condition. A poor family into which this vice had not found its way was a privileged place in his sight. Poverty without drunkenness hardly seemed to rank, as an evil, by the side of that which drunkenness had generated. If there was one of our citizens whom he honored as eminently the friend of the poor, it was that unwearied philanthropist who, whilst his heart and hands are open to all the claims of misery, has selected, as his peculiar care, the cause of Temperance.* Dr. Tuckerman's spirit groaned under the evils of intemperance, as the ancient prophets under the burden of the

* Moses Grant

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woes which they were sent to denounce. The fumes of a distillery were, to his keen feelings, more noisome and deadly than the vapors of putrefaction and pestilence. He looked on a shop for vending ardent spirits as he would have looked on a pitfall opening into hell. At the sight of men who, under all our present lights, are growing rich by spreading these poisons through the land, he felt, I doubt not, how the curses of the lost and the groans of ruined wives and children were rising up against them. I know, for I have heard, the vehemence of entreaty with which Dr. Tuckerman sometimes approached the intemperate, and he has often related to me his persevering efforts for their recovery. Could he have bequeathed to the sober and Christian part of this city and Commonwealth his intense convictions in regard to this vice, it would soon be repressed; the sanction of public authority would no longer be given to its detestable haunts; one chief source of the miseries of our civilization would be dried up.

The influence of Dr. Tuckerman's labors was not confined to this city or country. His Reports found their way to Europe, and awakened similar exertions. When his declining health obliged him to cross the ocean not many years since, he met in England a cordial welcome from kindred spirits. His society was coveted by the good and eminent, and his experience listened to with profound respect. It was his happiness to meet there Rammohun Roy. I was informed by a friend, who was present at their interviews, that this wise and great Hindoo, whose oriental courtesy overflowed towards all, still distinguished our countryman by the affectionate veneration with which he embraced him. In France he was received with much kindness by the

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Baron Degerando, the distinguished philosopher and philanthropist, whose extensive and profound researches into poverty, and into the means of its prevention or cure, have left him no rival, whether in the present or past times. This virtuous man, whose single name is enough to redeem France from the reproach, sometimes thrown on her, of indifference to the cause of humanity, has testified, in private letters and in his writings, his high consideration for the character and labors of our departed friend. In truth, Dr. Tuckerman's influence is now felt on both sides the ocean; and his name, linked as it is with the Ministry of the Poor, is one of the few among us which will be transmitted to remote posterity. There is hardly a more enduring monument on which a man can inscribe his name than a beneficent institution founded on the principles of human nature, and which is to act on large portions of society. Schemes of policy, accumulations of power, and almost all the writings of an age, pass away. The men who make most noise are lost and forgotten like the blasts of a trumpet. But institutions wrought into a people's habits, and, especially, incorporated with Christianity, that immortal truth, that everlasting kingdom, endure for ages. Our friend has left a name to live;—not that a name is worth an anxious thought;—but the ambitious, who mistake for it the shout of a brief day, may be usefully reminded that it is the meed of those who are toiling in obscure paths, and on whom they hardly deign to bestow a passing thought. Dr. Tuckerman was not wholly raised above this motive; and who of us is? But his work was incomparably dearer to him than renown; he toiled for years without dreaming of the reputation it was to bestow; and in that season of small things he used to

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say, that, if the rich and great who helped to sustain him could understand the dignity and happiness of his calling, they would covet it themselves, and choose to partake the toil which they deputed to another.

There was one testimony to his usefulness which gave him pleasure, and that was the sympathy of Christians who differed from him in opinion. He went among the poor to serve the purposes of no sect, but to breathe into them the spirit and hopes of Jesus Christ; and in all sects he found hearty well-wishers, and perhaps he left on none of us a deeper impression of his piety than on those with whose peculiarities he had least communion.

Among the propitious circumstances of the life of Dr. Tuckerman I ought not to pass over his domestic ties. He was twice married, and each of these connexions gave him an invaluable friend. I was particularly acquainted with his last wife, with whom a large part of his life was spent, and I am happy to pay this tribute to her singular worth. Her reserve and shrinking delicacy threw a veil over her beautiful character. She was little known beyond her home; but there she silently spread around her that soft, pure light the preciousness of which is never fully understood till it is quenched. The good Providence which adapts blessings to our wants was particularly manifested in giving to our friend such a companion. Her calm, gentle wisdom, her sweet humility, her sympathy, which, though tender, was too serene to disturb her clear perceptions, fitted her to act instinctively, and without the consciousness of either party, on his more sanguine, ardent mind. She was truly a spirit of good, diffusing a tranquillizing influence too mildly to be thought of, and therefore more sure.

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The blow which took her from him left a wound which time could not heal. Had his strength been continued, so that he could have gone from the house of mourning to the haunts of poverty, he would have escaped, for a good part of the day, the sense of his bereavement. But a few minutes' walk in the street now sent him wearied home. There the loving eye which had so long brightened at his entrance was to shed its mild beam on him no more. There the voice that had daily inquired into his labors, and like another conscience had whispered a sweet approval, was still. There the sympathy which had pressed with tender hand his aching head, and by its nursing care had postponed the hour of exhaustion and disease, was gone. He was not, indeed, left alone; for filial love and reverence spared no soothing offices; but these, though felt and spoken of as most precious, could not take the place of what had been removed. This great loss produced no burst of grief. It was a still, deep sorrow, the feeling of a mighty void, the last burden which the spirit can cast off. His attachment to life from this moment sensibly declined. In seasons of peculiar sensibility he wished to be gone. He kept near him the likeness of his departed friend, and spoke to me more than once of the solace which he had found in it, as what I in my more favored lot could not comprehend. He heard her voice from another world, and his anticipations of that world, always strong, became now more vivid and touching.

Enough has been said to illustrate the singular social virtues of Dr. Tuckerman. It is, however, true, that, in his casual intercourse with strangers, he did not make as favorable an impression as might have been expected from such a man. He seemed, to those who saw him

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seldom, too self-conscious. His excitable temperament sometimes hurried him into extravagance of speech. His feelings sometimes prevailed over his judgment. He wanted skill to detect the point beyond which the sympathy of the hearer could not follow him, so that he sometimes seemed to exact undue attention. The truth is, human nature, even in very good men, is disproportioned, imperfect. We sometimes express our wonder at the meeting of elements so incongruous in the same character. But is there one of us so advanced as not to know from inward experience the contradictions of the human soul? It is cheering to think how little our trust in superior goodness is impaired by these partial obscurations. No man, perhaps, saw more distinctly than myself the imperfections of the good man of whom I speak. But my confidence in his great virtues was as firm as if he had been faultless. There was a genuineness in his love, his disinterestedness, of which I had no more doubt than of his existence. If ever man gave himself sincerely to the service of his race, it was he. —I have made these remarks because I have long questioned the morality and wisdom of the prevalent style of indiscriminate praise of the dead. I fear we give a suspiciousness to our delineations of our friends by throwing over them the hues of unreal perfection. I hold no man to be worthy of eulogy who cannot afford to be spoken of as he was, who, after the worst is known, cannot inspire reverence and love.

I have spoken of Dr. Tuckerman in relation to his fellow-creatures; I should wrong him greatly if I did not speak of him in his highest relations. In these the beauty of his character was most apparent to those who saw farthest into his heart. Others admired his philan-

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thropy; to me his piety was more impressive. It partook of the warmth of his nature, but was calmer, wiser, purer, than his other emotions. It was simple, free, omnipresent, coming out in unaffected utterance, coloring his common thoughts and feelings, and giving strength and elevation to all his virtues. It was such a piety as might be expected from its early history, a piety breathed from the lips and caught from the beaming countenance of an excellent mother.

His religion was of the most enlarged, liberal character. He did not shut himself up even in Christianity. He took a lively interest in the testimony borne to God by nature, and in the strivings of ancient philosophy after divine truth. But Christianity was his rock, his defence, his nutriment, his life. He understood the character of Jesus by sympathy, as well as felt the need of his "glad tidings." He had been a faithful student of the Old Testament, and had once thought of preparing a work on Jewish antiquities. But his growing reverence for the New Testament led him to place a vast distance between it and the ancient Scriptures. At one period of his ministry, when the pressing demands of the poor compelled him to forego study entirely, I recollect his holding up to me a Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels, and his saying, that here was his library, that Christ's history was his theology, and that in the morning he snatched a moment for this, when he could find time for nothing else.

Religion in different individuals manifests itself in different forms. In him it shone forth peculiarly in faith or filial trust, and in gratitude. His faith in God was unbounded. It never wavered, never seemed to undergo a momentary eclipse. I have seen him under an

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affliction which in a few days wrought in his appearance the change of years; and his trust was like a rock, his submission entire. Much as he saw of the crimes and miseries of life, no doubt of the merciful purposes of God crossed his mind. Some ray of Divine goodness streamed forth from the darkest trials and events. Undoubtedly his own love for the poor helped him to comprehend, as few do, how God loved them. The whole creation spoke to him of the paternal character and infinite glory of its Author. His filial piety called forth in him powers which would otherwise have slumbered. He was naturally wanting in the poetical element. He had little relish for music or the fine arts, and took no great pleasure in the higher works of imagination. But his piety opened his eye, ear, heart, to the manifestations of God in his works, revealed the beauty which surrounded him, and in this way became a source of sublime joy. On such a mind religious controversies could take but a slight hold. He outgrew them, and hardly seemed to know that they existed. That which pervades, tranquillizes, and exalts the souls of all Christians he understood; and in his busy life, which carried him from his study, he was willing to understand nothing more.

Congenial with this cheerful faith was the spirit of gratitude. In this he was probably the more eminent because it was favored by his temperament. He was naturally happy. There were next to no seeds of gloom, depression, in his nature. Life, as he first knew it, was bright, joyous, unclouded; and to this cause mainly the volatility of his early years was to be ascribed. As the magnet searches out and gathers round itself the scattered ore with which it has affinity, so his

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spirit selected and attached instinctively to itself the more cheerful views of Providence. In such a nature piety naturally took the form of gratitude. Thanks were the common breathings of his spirit. His lot seemed to him among the most favored on earth. His blessings did not wait to be recalled to his thoughts by a set, labored search. They started up of themselves, and stood before him robed in celestial light by association with the Goodness which bestowed them.

From these elements of his piety naturally grew up a hope of future glory, progress, happiness, more unmixed than I have known in others. The other world is commonly said to throw a brightness over the present. In his case the present also threw a brightness over the future. His constant experience of God's goodness awakened anticipations of a larger goodness hereafter. He would talk with a swelling heart, and in the most genuine language, of immortality, of heaven, of new access to God. In truth, his language was such as many good men could not always join in. The conscious unworthiness of many good men throws occasional clouds over the future. But no cloud seemed ever to dim his prospect; not that he was unconscious of unworthiness; not that he thought of approaching Infinite Purity with a claim of merit; such a feeling never crossed his mind. But it was so natural to him to enjoy, his sense of God's constant goodness was so vivid, and Christ's promises so accordant with his experience, that heaven came to him as a reality without the ordinary effort which the faith and hope of most men require.

In his last sickness his character came out in all its beauty. He had not wholly lost the natural love of

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life. At times, when unpromising symptoms seemed to be giving way, he would use the means of recovery with hope. But generally he felt himself a dying man, whose chief work was finished, who had little to do with the world but to leave it. I have regretted that I did not take notes of some of his conversations. It was unsafe for him to talk, as the least excitement increased his burning fever; but when I would start an interesting topic a flood of thoughts would rush into his mind and compel him to give them utterance. The future state was, of course, often present to him; and his conceptions of the soul's life and progress, in its new and nearer relations to God, to Christ, to the just made perfect, seemed to transport him, for a time, beyond the darkness and pains of his present lot. To show that there was no morbidness in these views, I ought to observe that they were mingled with the natural tastes and feelings which had grown from his past life. In his short seasons of respite from exhaustion and suffering he would talk with interest of the more important events of the day, and would seek recreation in books which had formerly entertained him. He was the same man as in health, with nothing forced or unnatural in his elevation of mind. He had always taken great pleasure in the writings of the moralists of antiquity, and perhaps the last book I put into his hands was Cicero's Tusculan Questions, which he read with avidity and delight. So comprehensive was his spirit, that, whilst Christ was his hope, and Christian perfection his aspiration, he still rejoiced to discern in the great Roman, on whom Christian truth had not yet dawned, such deep reverence for the majesty of virtue. As might be expected, "His ruling passion was strong in death." To the last mo-

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ment of my intercourse with him the poor were in his heart. As he had given them his life, so death could not divide him from them.

One affecting view remains to be given. Dr. Tuckerman was a martyr to his cause. That his life was shortened by excessive toil cannot be doubted. His friends forewarned him of this result. He saw the danger himself, and once and again resolved to diminish his labors; but when he retreated from the poor they followed him to his house, and he could not resist their supplicating looks and tones. To my earnest and frequent remonstrance on this point he at times replied, that his ministry might need a victim, that labors beyond his strength might be required, to show what it was capable of effecting, and that he was willing to suffer and to die for the cause. Living thus, he grew prematurely old. His walks became more and more narrow. Then he was imprisoned at home. The prostration of strength was followed by a racking cough and burning fever. As we have seen, his last sickness was a bright testimony to his piety. But its end was sorrowful. By a mysterious ordination of Providence, the capacity of suffering often survives unimpaired, whilst the reason and affections seem to decay. So was it here. In the last hours of our friend the body seemed to prevail over the power of thought. He died in fearful pain. He was borne amidst agonies into the higher world. At length his martyrdom ceased; and who of us can utter or conceive the blessedness of the spirit rising from this thick darkness into the light of heaven?

Such was the founder of the Ministry at Large in this city; a man whom I thoroughly knew; a man whose imperfections I could not but know, for they stood out

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on the surface of his character; but who had a great heart, who was willingly a victim to the cause which in the love and fear of God he had espoused, and who has left behind him as a memorial, not this fleeting tribute of friendship, but an institution which is to live for ages, and which entitles him to be ranked among the benefactors of this city and the world. When he began his work he had no anticipation of such an influence and such an honor. He thought that he was devoting himself to an obscure life. He did not expect that his name would be heard beyond the dwellings of the poor. He was contented with believing that here and there an individual or a family would receive strength, light, and consolation from his ministry. But gradually the idea, that he was beginning a movement that might survive him, and might more and more repress the worst social evils, opened on his mind. He saw more and more clearly that the Ministry at Large, with other agencies, was to change the aspect of a large portion of society. It became his deliberate conviction, and one which he often repeated, that great cities need not be haunts of vice and poverty; that in this city there were now intelligence, virtue, and piety enough, could they be brought into united action, to give a new intellectual and moral life to the more neglected classes of society. In this faith he acted, toiled, suffered, and died. His gratitude to God for sending him into this field of labor never failed him. For weeks before he left the country, never to return, I was almost the only visiter whom he had strength to see; and it was a joy to look on his pale, emaciated face lighted up with thankfulness for the work which had been given him to do, and with the hope that it would endure and grow when he should

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sleep in the dust. From such a life and such a death let us learn to love our poor and suffering brethren; and as we have ability let us send to them faithful and living men, whose sympathy, counsels, prayers, will assuage sorrow, awaken the conscience, touch the heart, guide the young, comfort the old, and shed over the dark paths of this life the brightness of the life to come.

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APPENDIX.

In the preceding Discourse I have not spoken very distinctly of one part of Dr. Tuckerman's character, the strength of his attachment to individuals. He was not absorbed in one great object. The private and public affections lived together in him harmoniously and with equal fervor. His experience of life had not the common effect of chilling his early enthusiasm or his susceptibility of ardent attachment. He was true to old friends and prepared for new ones. His strong interest and delight in Dr. Follen and Dr. Spurzheim showed how naturally his heart opened itself to noble-minded strangers. From the latter his mind received a leaning towards phrenology. When he went to England his sympathies created a home for him wherever he stayed. Where other men would have made acquaintance he formed friendships. One of these was so precious to him, and contributed so much to the happiness of both parties, that it deserves notice in a memoir of him. I refer to his friendship with Lady Byron. Of his college classmates there were others as well as myself who enjoyed much of his affection to the last. One of these was Jonathan Phillips, Esq., whom he accompanied to Europe, and who had a true reverence for his goodness. The other was Judge Story, so eminent as a jurist at home and abroad. While the preceding Discourse was passing through the press I wrote to the latter,

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requesting him to communicate to me his reminiscences of our friend ; and with characteristic kindness and warmth of heart he sent me the following letter, written, as he says, in haste, but which will give much pleasure to all who have an interest in the deceased. I publish it the more gladly because his views of our friend's life at college are more favorable than those which I have given.

TO THE REV. W. E. CHANNING, D. D.

CAMBRIDGE, April 10, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR : — I comply very cheerfully with your request, although there are very few reminiscences of our late lamented classmate and friend, the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, which I could supply, which are not already familiar to your mind. During our collegiate life my acquaintance with him was but slight until my junior year, when he became my chum ; and so pleasant and confidential was our intercourse during that year that we should undoubtedly have continued chums during the remainder of our college studies, if some family arrangements had not made it convenient for him to adopt a different course. The change, however, did not prove the slightest interruption to our intercourse and friendship ; and I feel great gratification in saying, that, from that period until the close of his life, I am not conscious that there was on either side any abatement of mutual affection and respect ; and whenever and wherever we met, it was with the warm welcome of early and unsuspected friendship.

Many of the characteristics so fully developed in his later life were clearly manifested when our acquaintance first commenced. During his college life he did not seem to have any high relish for most of the course of studies then pursued. He had an utter indifference, if not dislike, to mathematics, and logic, and metaphysics ; and but a slight inclination for natural philosophy. He read the prescribed classical writers with moderate diligence, not so much as a matter of taste or ambition as of duty and as a task belonging to the recitation-room, the Latin being uniformly preferred to the Greek. And yet I should not say,

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that he was idle or indolent, or without a strong desire of improvement. His principal pleasure lay in a devotion to the more open and facile branches of literature, and especially of English literature. History, moral philosophy, poetry, the drama, and the class of studies generally known by the name of belles-lettres, principally attracted his attention ; and in these his reading was at once select and various. The writings of Addison, Johnson, and Goldsmith were quite familiar to him. The historical works of Robertson, and Gillies, and Ferguson, and other authors distinguished in that day, as well as the best biographical works, were within the range of his studies. In poetry he was more attached to those who addressed the feelings and imagination than to those who addressed the understanding, and moralized their song in the severe language of the condensed expression of truth, or the pungent pointedness of satire, or the sharp sallies of wit. Gray's Bard and Collins's Ode to the Passions were his favorites ; and, above all, Shakspeare, in whose writings he was thoroughly well read ; and he often declaimed many of the most stirring passages with the spirit and interest of the dramatic action of the stage. Young's Night Thoughts seemed to be almost the only work which, from its deep and touching appeals, and elevated devotion, and darkened descriptions of life, and sudden bursts of eloquence and enthusiasm, made him feel at that time the potency of genius employed in unfolding religious truths. He possessed, also, a singular readiness and facility in composition, perhaps what would by some persons be deemed a dangerous facility. What he wrote he threw off at once in the appropriate language, rarely correcting his first sketch, and not ambitious of condensing or refining the materials by successive efforts.

I have thus far spoken of his tastes and intellectual pursuits and attachments in our college life. But what I most delight to dwell on are his warm-hearted benevolence, his buoyant and cheerful temper, his active, sympathetic charity, his gentle and frank manners, and, above all, that sunniness of soul which cast a bright light over all hours, and made our fireside one of the most pleasant of all social scenes. So uniform, indeed, was his kindness and desire to oblige that I do not remember a single instance in which he ever betrayed either a hastiness of temper or a flash of resentment. He was accustomed to distribute a por-

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tion of his weekly allowance among the poor, and the friendless, and the suffering. His love of morals and virtue was as ardent as it was elevated. His conduct was blameless and pure. I do not believe that he ever wrote a word which, dying, he could have wished to blot on account of impurity of thought or allusion; and his conversation was at all times that which might have been heard by the most delicate and modest ears. Occasionally his buoyancy of spirits might lead him to indulge in giddy dreaminess, or romantic fervors, such as belong to the untried hopes and inexperience of youth. But it might with truth be said, that, even if he had any failings in this respect, they leaned to virtue's side.

I confess, however, that the opening of his literary career did not then impress me with the notion, that he would afterwards attain in his profession and character the eminence to which every one will now deem him justly entitled. He seemed to want that steadiness of purpose which looks difficulties in the face and overcomes obstacles because a high object lies behind them. His mind touched and examined many subjects, but was desultory and varying in its efforts. I was in this view mistaken; and I overlooked the probable effects, upon a mind like his, of deep religious sensibility, and, if I may so say, of an enthusiasm for goodness, when combined with a spirit of glowing benevolence.

When we quitted college our opportunities of familiar intercourse, from the wide diversity of our pursuits, as well as from our local distance, were necessarily diminished. I saw him only at distant intervals while he was engaged in his preparatory studies for the ministry; and when, on entering his study one day, I found him reading Griesbach's edition of the New Testament with intense attention, and in his comments on it, in our conversation, discoursing with a force and discrimination which showed the earnestness with which he was endeavouring to master his profession, a new light struck upon me, and I began to perceive that he was redeeming his time, and disciplining his thoughts to the highest purposes. During his residence, after his settlement, at Chelsea, I saw him frequently, either at Salem, where I then resided, or at Chelsea, where I took occasion, on my visits to Boston, to pass some time at his house. His improvement was

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constantly visible ; his studies more expanded ; his knowledge more exact, as well as various ; and his piety, that beautiful ornament so deeply set in his character, shining forth, with its deep, and mild, and benignant light, with a peculiar attractiveness. I remember that for a long time Tucker's Light of Nature was one of his favorite studies ; and he made it the theme both of his praise and his criticism at many of our meetings. It was while he was at Chelsea, the minister of a comparatively small and isolated parish, that he nourished and matured the great scheme of his life and ambition, the Ministry at Large for the Poor. I need not dwell upon its beneficial effects, or its extraordinary success. I deem it one of the most glorious triumphs of Christian charity over the cold and reluctant doubts of popular opinion. The task was full of difficulties, to elevate the poor into a self-consciousness of their duty and destiny, and to bring the rich into sympathy with them ; to relieve want and suffering without encouraging indolence or sloth ; to give religious instruction where it was most needed, freely and without stint, and thus to widen the sphere of virtue, as well as the motives to its practice, among the desolate and the desponding. It was, in fact, doing what Burke has so beautifully expressed ; — it was to remember the forgotten.

But I am wandering from my purpose, and speaking to one who fully understands and has eagerly supported this excellent institution ; and yet I think you will agree with me in saying, that its establishment and practical success were mainly owing to the uncompromising zeal and untiring benevolence of Dr. Tuckerman. It was the crowning labor of his life, and entitles him to a prominent rank among the benefactors of mankind.

I do not know any one who exemplified in his life and conduct a more fervent or unaffected piety than Dr. Tuckerman did. It was cheerful, confiding, fixed, and uniform. It was less an intellectual exercise than a homage of the heart. It sprung from a profound feeling of the mercy and goodness of God. It was reverential ; but at the same time filial. His death was in perfect keeping with his life ; it was a good man's end, with a good man's Christian resignation, hope, and confidence.

It was in the summer which preceded his death, that, on his recovery from a severe illness, he rode out to Cam-

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bridge. He came to my house, and in his warm, yet anxious manner, said to me, "I could not pass your house, my friend, without desiring to see you once more before I died. I have been very ill, and, as I thought, very near to death. But I was tranquil and resigned, and ready to depart, if it was God's good pleasure. And I felt no fears." He stayed with me some time, as long as I would allow him in his then feeble state of health. He talked over our long friendship, our youthful doings, and our advancing years. And when we parted he bade me a most affectionate farewell. It was our final farewell. I saw his face no more.

I send you, my dear sir, these hasty sketches, such as they are, with a flying pen. I cannot suppose that there is any thing in them which would not have occurred more forcibly to others who knew Dr. Tuckerman. But I was unwilling to withhold my tribute to the great excellences of his character, his zeal in all good works, and his diffusive benevolence.

> "His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
> Munere."

Believe me, truly and affectionately,
Your Classmate and Friend,

JOSEPH STORY.

A friend has kindly translated the following from the Introduction to Baron Degerando's late work on Public Charity:

In a work recently published in Boston, by the respectable Dr. Tuckerman, we have a very remarkable exemplification of this assiduous, enlightened charity, quickened by religious sentiment. Dr. Tuckerman holds the offices of minister at large and distributer of charity to the indigent people of the city of Boston, and renders to a society of which he is the delegate a yearly account of his ministrations and observations. A work that he has just published contains the substance of a series of pe-

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riodical reports, which throw invaluable light upon the condition and wants of the indigent, and the influence which an enlightened charity can exert. As we read, we follow the steps of the minister of the gospel, carrying assistance and consolation into the bosom of families overwhelmed with misfortune, and raising the debased, reforming the depraved. In such a school we learn the secrets of the art of benevolence. The author finds occasion, in treating this subject, to rise to the highest views of the theory and rules of this art. He makes his readers feel all the power of Christianity for the moral improvement of the lower classes ; he compares the legislation in his own country in respect to the poor with that of England and Scotland ; discusses the rights of the indigent ; and compares the relative situations of the rich and the poor, in order to the discovery of their mutual duties. He particularly discriminates between poverty and pauperism, and points out the grievous effects of the error which confounds them.

The following Biographical Sketch of Dr. Tuckerman is taken from an article upon his life and character, by Rev. E. S. Gannett, in the "Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters," July, 1840.

Joseph Tuckerman was born in Boston, January 18, 1778. Of the early instructions of his mother, a truly pious woman, he always spoke with peculiar gratitude. His youth was passed in preparation for college partly at Phillips Academy in Andover, and partly in the family of Rev. Mr. Thacher, of Dedham. In 1794 he entered Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1798, as one of the class to which Judge Story and Rev. Dr. Channing also belonged. His preparatory studies for the ministry were pursued under the direction of Rev. Mr. Thacher, of Dedham. Soon after he began to preach he received an invitation to become the successor of Rev. Dr. Payson at Chelsea, where he was ordained Novem-

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ber 4, 1801. In June, 1803, he was married to a daughter of the late Samuel Parkman, Esq., of this city, who died in the summer of 1807. In November, 1808, he was again married, to Miss Sarah Cary, of Chelsea, who, after thirty-one years of the most happy connexion, was taken to a higher life, leaving a remembrance dear to the hearts of a large circle of friends. In 1816 Mr. Tuckerman visited England, in the hope of deriving benefit to his health, but was absent only a short time; after his return he suffered much from dyspepsy, and never recovered the full tone of health. He continued in the active discharge of the duties of his ministry till the spring of 1826, when he felt the necessity of relinquishing in some measure the labors of the pulpit, and his mind, which had become much interested in the condition of the neglected poor of our cities, sought an opportunity of conducting a ministry peculiarly suited to their wants. On the 4th of November, 1826, just twenty-five years from the day of his ordination, he preached his farewell sermon at Chelsea, and immediately commenced his service in Boston, to which place he soon removed with his family. He was at first assisted in this work by a private association of gentlemen, who had for some time held stated meetings for their own religious improvement and for conference upon the means of benevolent action; but he was very soon appointed a Minister at Large in this city by the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association, who became responsible for the small salary which he received, and which for several years was raised by the contributions of ladies in our different congregations. In 1828 the Friend-Street Chapel was erected for his use, as a place of worship for those whom he had brought to a sense of the value of religious institutions, but who were unable to pay for the privileges of the sanctuary. His untiring zeal in this ministry, the success of his labors among the poor, and the extent of his influence over the rich, evinced particularly in the confidence which they reposed in him as the almoner of their charities, were subjects of too familiar remark to need any illustration. The ardor with which he prosecuted his labors was too much for his bodily strength, and in 1833 he again visited Europe, in company with his friend, Mr. Phillips, and passed a year abroad, princi-

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pally in England, where he formed many valuable friendships, and was instrumental in awakening much interest in his favorite subject, the moral elevation of the neglected and vicious poor. On his return he found the Ministry at Large placed on a more stable foundation than he had left it, the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches having been organized with a special view to its support. A more commodious chapel was erected, and younger laborers were associated with him. His own ability to render active service was, however, irretrievably impaired. The winter of 1836 – 7 he was obliged to spend in the milder climate of St. Croix, from which he returned, as it was thought, much benefited. But the vital force was too nearly exhausted. Repeatedly prostrated by disease, he rose only to show the steadfastness of those principles and purposes which filled his soul, and sunk again as if to prove the constancy of the faith which seemed to gain new power from suffering and bereavement. From a severe illness in the autumn of 1839 he so far revived, that, after much hesitation, a voyage to Cuba was recommended as the only means of prolonging his life. He sailed for Havana, and soon sought the interior of the island ; but a short trial proved the hopelessness of the attempt to recruit an exhausted frame, and he returned, with the daughter who was his devoted companion, to Havana, where, after some days of extreme debility, attended with great suffering, he died, April 20, 1840, in his sixty-third year.

Dr. Tuckerman received the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity from Harvard University in 1826. It was a tribute to his ministerial fidelity. His published writings are few, excepting those which arose from his connexion with the Ministry at Large. One of the last services he rendered to this institution was the preparation of a volume, which we fear has not obtained a wide circulation, upon "The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large."

At a meeting of the Central Board of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, May 10, 1840, the following resolution was unanimously passed :

"*Resolved*, That the death of Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, D. D., demands on the part of this Board an expression of their deep sense of the value of his services to this community, and that,

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recognizing in him the first incumbent, if not the founder,* of the present institution of the Ministry at Large, they cannot but acknowledge the usefulness of a life the last years of which were devoted to this institution, in whose service his strength was exhausted; and while they submit to the Divine will that has deprived them of the counsels and labors of this Christian philanthropist, they would cherish his spirit, and hold up his example before themselves and others as a motive and a guide to future exertions in behalf of the neglected and the sinful."

A resolution similar in character was passed at the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association, May 26, 1840, namely:

"*Resolved*, That the death of Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, senior Minister at Large in this city, an institution once under the care of this Association, demands the expression of our sincere respect for his memory, our deep gratitude for his services; and while we regret that his life of eminent usefulness and distinguished Christian philanthropy is closed, we would bow with submission to the Divine will, and gather from his example lessons to quicken and guide our own efforts in the cause of human happiness and virtue."

Dr. Tuckerman's remains were brought to this country, and the funeral service was attended in King's Chapel, where he had been accustomed to worship during the last years of his life, in the afternoon of May 26. They were afterwards deposited at Mount Auburn.

* In strictness of speech it might be doubted if Dr. Tuckerman should be styled the *founder* of the Ministry at Large, as gratuitous instruction to the poor had been given both by laymen and clergymen before his removal to Boston. In 1822 the association to which we have adverted had established evening religious lectures for those who attended no place of worship during the day; and Rev. Dr. Jenks was employed by another society in visiting and preaching to the poor. When Dr. Tuckerman came to Boston his own mind had not clearly defined its plans of operation, and the idea which was subsequently expanded into the institution of the Ministry at Large had not, perhaps, proceeded beyond a general purpose of devoting himself to the spiritual benefit of those who had no religious teacher or friend. The Committee of the American Unitarian Association must also share in the honor of establishing this ministry. But as it was his perseverance and success that gave both form and efficiency to the institution, it is but a small deviation from accuracy to call him its founder.

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THE PRESENT AGE.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA,

MAY 11, 1841

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TO MY VENERABLE FRIEND,

JOHN VAUGHAN, Esq.,

WHO HAS MADE THE PAST GENERATION AND THE PRESENT HIS DEBTORS
BY UNWEARIED WELL-DOING,

THIS ADDRESS

IS AFFECTIONATELY AND RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

W. E. C.

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ADDRESS ON THE PRESENT AGE.

GENTLEMEN OF THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY COMPANY,

I BEG you to consider my appearance in this place as an expression of my interest in this and in kindred institutions. I welcome them as signs of the times, as promises and means of increased intellectual activity. I shall be glad, if a good word or a friendly effort on my part can serve them. I know that the lectures delivered before such societies are called superficial; but this does not discourage me. All human productions, even those of genius, are very superficial, compared with the unfathomable depths of truth. The simple question is, Do these lectures rouse the mind to new action? Do they give it new objects of thought, and excite a thirst for knowledge? I am sure that they do; and therefore, though the field is sometimes called humble, I enter it with pleasure. — Will you allow me to observe, that to render lectures useful one condition is necessary; they must be frank, honest, free. He who speaks must speak what he thinks; speak courteously, but uncompromisingly. What makes our communications unprofitable in this country is, the dread of giving offence, now to the majority, and now to the fashionable or refined. We speak without force because not true

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to our convictions. A lecturer will, of course, desire to wound no man's prejudices or feelings; but his first duty is to truth; his chief power lies in simple, natural, strong utterance of what he believes; and he should put confidence in his hearers that the tone of manly sincerity will be responded to by candor and good-will.

The subject to which I call your attention is, the Present Age; a vast theme, demanding volumes. An age is needed to expound an age; and, of course, little is to be expected in a brief hour. I profess no great understanding of the subject, though I have given it much thought. In truth, it cannot be grasped, as yet, by the highest intellect. This age is the result, issue, of all former ages. All are pouring themselves into it. The struggles, passions, discoveries, revolutions of all former time survive in their influences on the present moment. To interpret the present thoroughly we must understand and unfold all the past. This work I shall not undertake. I am not now to be an historian. Do not fear that I shall compel you to journey backward to the Deluge or to Paradise. I shall look only at the present; nor do I think of unfolding all the present. I shall seize on a single characteristic of our age, if not the profoundest, yet the most prominent, and the best fitted to an address like the present. In performing this task my aim will be to speak the simple truth. I wish to say what the age is, not to be its advocate; and yet I hope to lead you to look tenderly and trustfully on it, to love it, and to resolve, with generous, stout hearts, that you will serve it, as far as God may give you ability.

In looking at our age I am struck immediately with one commanding characteristic, and that is, the tendency in all its movements to expansion, to diffusion, to univer

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sality. To this I ask your attention. This tendency is directly opposed to the spirit of exclusiveness, restriction, narrowness, monopoly, which has prevailed in past ages. Human action is now freer, more unconfined. All goods, advantages, helps, are more open to all. The privileged, petted individual is becoming less, and the human race are becoming more. The multitude is rising from the dust. Once we heard of the few, now we hear of the many; once of the prerogatives of a part, now of the rights of all. We are looking as never before through the disguises, envelopments of ranks and classes to the common nature which lies below them, and are beginning to learn that every being who partakes of it has noble powers to cultivate, solemn duties to perform, inalienable rights to assert, a vast destiny to accomplish. The grand idea of humanity, of the importance of man as man, is spreading silently, but surely. Not that the worth of the human being is at all understood as it should be; but the truth is glimmering through the darkness. A faint consciousness of it has seized on the public mind. Even the most abject portions of society are visited by some dreams of a better condition for which they were designed. The grand doctrine, that every human being should have the means of self-culture, of progress in knowledge and virtue, of health, comfort, and happiness, of exercising the powers and affections of a man, this is slowly taking its place as the highest social truth. That the world was made for all, and not for a few; that society is to care for all; that no human being shall perish but through his own fault; that the great end of government is, to spread a shield over the rights of all, — these propositions are growing into axioms, and the spirit of them is coming forth in all the departments of life.

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If we look at the various movements of our age, we shall see in them this tendency to universality and diffusion. Look first at Science and Literature. Where is Science now? Locked up in a few colleges, or royal societies, or inaccessible volumes? Are its experiments mysteries for a few privileged eyes? Are its portals guarded by a dark phraseology which to the multitude is a foreign tongue? No; Science has now left her retreats, her shades, her selected company of votaries, and with familiar tone begun the work of instructing the race. Through the press, discoveries and theories once the monopoly of philosophers have become the property of the multitude. Its professors, heard not long ago in the university or some narrow school, now speak in the mechanic institute. The doctrine, that the laborer should understand the principles of his art, should be able to explain the laws and processes which he turns to account, that, instead of working as a machine, he should join intelligence to his toil, is no longer listened to as a dream. Science, once the greatest of distinctions, is becoming popular. A lady gives us Conversations on Chemistry, revealing to the minds of our youth vast laws of the universe which fifty years ago had not dawned on the greatest minds. The school-books of our children contain grand views of the Creation. There are parts of our country in which Lyceums spring up in almost every village for the purpose of mutual aid in the study of natural science. The characteristic of our age, then, is not the improvement of science, rapid as this is, so much as its extension to all men.

The same characteristic will appear, if we inquire into the use now made of science. Is it simply a matter of

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speculation, a topic of discourse, an employment of the intellect? In this case, the multitude, with all their means of instruction, would find in it only a hurried gratification. But one of the distinctions of our time is, that science has passed from speculation into life. Indeed, it is not pursued enough for its intellectual and contemplative uses. It is sought as a mighty power, by which nature is not only to be opened to thought, but to be subjected to our needs. It is conferring on us that dominion over earth, sea, and air, which was prophesied in the first command given to man by his Maker; and this dominion is now employed, not to exalt a few, but to multiply the comforts and ornaments of life for the multitude of men. Science has become an inexhaustible mechanician; and by her forges, and mills, and steam-cars, and printer's presses, is bestowing on millions, not only comforts, but luxuries which were once the distinction of a few.

Another illustration of the tendency of science to expansion and universality may be found in its aims and objects. Science has burst all bounds and is aiming to comprehend the universe, and thus it multiplies fields of inquiry for all orders of minds. There is no province of nature which it does not invade. Not content with exploring the darkest periods of human history, it goes behind the birth of the human race, and studies the stupendous changes which our globe experienced for hundred of centuries, to become prepared for man's abode. Not content with researches into visible nature, it is putting forth all its energies to detect the laws of invisible and imponderable matter. Difficulties only provoke it to new efforts. It would lay open the secrets of the polar ocean and of untrodden barbarous lands.

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Above all, it investigates the laws of social progress, of arts and institutions of government and political economy, proposing as its great end the alleviation of all human burdens, the weal of all the members of the human race. In truth, nothing is more characteristic of our age than the vast range of inquiry which is opening more and more to the multitude of men. Thought frees the old bounds to which men used to confine themselves. It holds nothing too sacred for investigation. It calls the past to account; and treats hoary opinions as if they were of yesterday's growth. No reverence drives it back. No great name terrifies it. The foundations of what seems most settled must be explored. Undoubtedly this is a perilous tendency. Men forget the limits of their powers. They question the infinite, the unsearchable, with an audacious self-reliance. They shock pious and revering minds, and rush into an extravagance of doubt more unphilosophical and foolish than the weakest credulity. Still, in this dangerous wildness we see what I am stating, the tendency to expansion in the movements of thought.

I have hitherto spoken of science; and what is true of science is still more true of Literature. Books are now placed within reach of all. Works once too costly except for the opulent are now to be found on the laborer's shelf. Genius sends its light into cottages. The great names of literature are become household words among the crowd. Every party, religious or political, scatters its sheets on all the winds. We may lament, and too justly, the small comparative benefit as yet accomplished by this agency; but this ought not to surprise or discourage us. In our present stage of improvement, books of little worth, deficient in taste

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and judgment, and ministering to men's prejudices and passions, will almost certainly be circulated too freely. Men are never very wise and select in the exercise of a new power. Mistake, error, is the discipline through which we advance. It is an undoubted fact, that, silently, books of a higher order are taking place of the worthless. Happily, the instability of the human mind works sometimes for good as well as evil. Men grow tired at length even of amusements. Works of fiction cease to interest them; and they turn from novels to books which, having their origin in deep principles of our nature, retain their hold of the human mind for ages. At any rate, we see in the present diffusion of literature the tendency to universality of which I have spoken.

The same tendency will appear, if we consider the kind of literature which is obtaining the widest favor. The works of genius of our age breathe a spirit of universal sympathy. The great poet of our times, Wordsworth, one of the few who are to live, has gone to common life, to the feelings of our universal nature, to the obscure and neglected portions of society, for beautiful and touching themes. Nor ought it to be said, that he has shed over these the charms of his genius; as if in themselves they had nothing grand or lovely. Genius is not a creator, in the sense of fancying or feigning what does not exist. Its distinction is, to discern more of truth than common minds. It sees under disguises and humble forms everlasting beauty. This it is the prerogative of Wordsworth to discern and reveal in the ordinary walks of life, in the common human heart. He has revealed the loveliness of the primitive feelings, of the universal affections of the human soul. The grand truth which pervades his poetry is, that the beau-

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tiful is not confined to the rare, the new, the distant, to scenery and modes of life open only to the few; but that it is poured forth profusely on the common earth and sky, that it gleams from the loneliest flower, that it lights up the humblest sphere, that the sweetest affections lodge in lowly hearts, that there is sacredness, dignity, and loveliness in lives which few eyes rest on, that, even in the absence of all intellectual culture, the domestic relations can quietly nourish that disinterestedness which is the element of all greatness, and without which intellectual power is a splendid deformity. Wordsworth is the poet of humanity; he teaches reverence for our universal nature; he breaks down the factitious barriers between human hearts.

The same is true, in an inferior degree, of Scott, whose tastes, however, were more aristocratic. Scott had a childish love of rank, titles, show, pageants, and, in general, looked with keener eye on the outward life than into the soul. Still, he had a human heart and sympathized with his race. With few exceptions, he was just to all his human brethren. A reconciling spirit breathes through his writings. He seizes on the interesting and beautiful features in all conditions of life; gives us bursts of tender and noble feelings even from rude natures; and continually knits some new tie between the reader and the vast varieties of human nature which start up under his teeming pen. He delighted, indeed, in Highland chiefs, in border thieves and murderers, in fierce men and fierce encounters. But he had an eye to catch the stream of sweet affections, as it wound its way through humble life. What light has Jeanie Deans shed on the path of the obscure! He was too wanting in the religious sentiment to compre-

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hend the solemn bearing, the stern grandeur of the Puritans. But we must not charge with narrowness a writer who embodied in a Jewish maiden his highest conceptions of female nobleness.

Another writer illustrating the liberalizing, all-harmonizing tendency of our times is Dickens, whose genius has sought and found subjects of thrilling interest in the passions, sufferings, virtues of the mass of the people. He shows that life in its rudest forms may wear a tragic grandeur; that, amidst follies and sensual excesses provoking laughter or scorn, the moral feelings do not wholly die; and that the haunts of the blackest crimes are sometimes lighted up by the presence and influence of the noblest souls. He has, indeed, greatly erred in turning so often the degradation of humanity into matter of sport; but the tendency of his dark pictures is, to awaken sympathy with our race, to change the unfeeling indifference which has prevailed towards the depressed multitude into sorrowful and indignant sensibility to their wrongs and woes.

The remarks now made on literature might be extended to the Fine Arts. In these we see, too, the tendency to universality. It is said, that the spirit of the great artists has died out; but the taste for their works is spreading. By the improvements of engraving, and the invention of casts, the genius of the great masters is going abroad. Their conceptions are no longer pent up in galleries open to but few, but meet us in our homes, and are the household pleasures of millions. Works designed for the halls and eyes of emperors, popes, and nobles, find their way, in no poor representations, into humble dwellings, and sometimes give a consciousness of kindred powers to the child of pover-

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ty. The art of drawing, which lies at the foundation of most of the fine arts, and is the best education of the eye for nature, is becoming a branch of common education, and in some countries is taught in schools to which all classes are admitted.

I am reminded by this remark of the most striking feature of our times, and showing its tendency to universality, and that is, the unparalleled and constantly accelerated diffusion of Education. This greatest of arts, as yet little understood, is making sure progress, because its principles are more and more sought in the common nature of man; and the great truth is spreading, that every man has a right to its aid. Accordingly education is becoming the work of nations. Even in the despotic governments of Europe schools are open for every child without distinction; and not only the elements of reading and writing, but music and drawing are taught, and a foundation is laid for future progress in history, geography, and physical science. The greatest minds are at work on popular education. The revenues of states are applied most liberally, not to the universities for the few, but to the common schools. Undoubtedly much remains to be done; especially a new rank in society is to be given to the teacher; but even in this respect a revolution has commenced, and we are beginning to look on the guides of the young as the chief benefactors of mankind.

I thought that I had finished my illustrations on this point; but there has suddenly occurred to me another sign of the tendency to universal intellectual action in this country, a sign which we are prone to smile at, but which is yet worthy of notice. I refer to the commonness among us of Public Speaking. If we may trust

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our newspapers, we are a nation of orators. Every meeting overflows with eloquence. Men of all conditions find a tongue for public debate. Undoubtedly there is more sound than sense in our endless speeches before all kinds of assemblies and societies. But no man, I think, can attend our public meetings without being struck with the force and propriety of expression in multitudes whose condition has confined them to a very imperfect culture. This exercise of the intellect, which has almost become a national characteristic, is not to be undervalued. Speech is not merely the dress, as it is often called, but the very body of thought. It is to the intellect what the muscles are to the principle of physical life. The mind acts and strengthens itself through words. It is a chaos, till defined, organized by language. The attempt to give clear, precise utterance to thought is one of the most effectual processes of mental discipline. It is, therefore, no doubtful sign of the growing intelligence of a people, when the power of expression is cultivated extensively for the purpose of acting on multitudes. We have here one invaluable influence of popular institutions. They present at the same moment to a whole people great subjects of thought, and bring multitudes to the earnest discussion of them. Here are, indeed, moral dangers; but still, strong incitements to general intellectual action. It is in such stirring schools, after all, that the mind of a people is chiefly formed. Events of deep general interest quicken us more than formal teaching; and by these the civilized world is to be more and more trained to thought.

Thus we see in the intellectual movements of our times the tendency to expansion, to universality; and

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this must continue. It is not an accident, or an inexplicable result, or a violence on nature; it is founded in eternal truth. Every mind was made for growth, for knowledge; and its nature is sinned against when it is doomed to ignorance. The divine gift of intelligence was bestowed for higher uses than bodily labor, than to make hewers of wood, drawers of water, ploughmen, or servants. Every being so gifted is intended to acquaint himself with God and his works, and to perform wisely and disinterestedly the duties of life. Accordingly, when we see the multitude of men beginning to thirst for knowledge, for intellectual action, for something more than an animal life, we see the great design of nature about to be accomplished; and society having received this impulse will never rest till it shall have taken such a form as will place within every man's reach the means of intellectual culture. This is the revolution to which we are tending; and without this all outward political changes would be but children's play, leaving the great work of society yet to be done.

I have now viewed the age in its Intellectual aspects. If we look next at its Religious movements, we shall see in these the same tendency to universality. It is more and more understood that religious truth is every man's property and right; that it is committed to no order or individual, to no priest, minister, student, or sage, to be given or kept back at will; but that every man may and should seek it for himself; that every man is to see with his own mind, as well as with his own eyes; and that God's illuminating spirit is alike promised to every honest and humble seeker after truth. This recognition of every man's right of judgment appears in the teachings of all denominations of Christians.

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In all, the tone of authority is giving place to that of reason and persuasion. Men of all ranks are more and more addressed as those who must weigh and settle for themselves the grandest truths of religion.

The same tendency to universality is seen in the generous toleration which marks our times, in comparison with the past. Men, in general, cannot now endure to think that their own narrow church holds all the goodness on the earth. Religion is less and less regarded as a name, a form, a creed, a church, and more and more as the spirit of Christ, which works under all forms and all sects. True, much intolerance remains ; its separating walls are not fallen; but, with a few exceptions, they no longer reach to the clouds. Many of them have crumbled away, till the men whom they sever can shake hands, and exchange words of fellowship, and recognize in one another's faces the features of brethren.

At the present day the grand truth of religion is more and more brought out ; I mean the truth, that God is the Universal Father, that every soul is infinitely precious to him, that he has no favorites, no partial attachments, no respect of persons, that he desires alike the virtue and everlasting good of all. In the city of Penn I cannot but remember the testimony to this truth borne by George Fox and his followers, who planted themselves on the grand principle, that God's illuminating spirit is shed on every soul, not only within the bounds of Christendom, but through the whole earth. This universal, impartial love of God is manifested to us more and more by science, which reveals to us vast, all-pervading laws of nature, administered with no favoritism and designed for the good of all. I know that this principle is not universally received. Men have always been inclined

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to frame a local, partial, national, or sectarian God, to shut up the Infinite One in some petty enclosure; but at this moment larger views of God are so far extended that they illustrate the spirit of the age.

If we next consider by whom religion is taught, we shall see the same tendency to diffusion and universality. Religious teaching is passing into all hands. It has ceased to be a monopoly. For example, what an immense amount of instruction is communicated in Sunday schools! These are spreading over the Christian world, and through these the door of teaching is open to crowds, to almost all, indeed, who would bear a part in spreading religion. In like manner associations of vast extent are springing up in our cities for the teaching of the poor. By these means woman, especially, is becoming an evangelist. She is not only a priestess in her own home, instilling with sweet, loving voice the first truths of religion into the opening mind, but she goes abroad on missions of piety. Woman, in one age made man's drudge, and in another his toy, is now sharing more and more with him the highest labors. Through the press, especially, she is heard far and wide. The press is a mightier power than the pulpit. Books outstrip the voice; and woman, availing herself of this agency, becomes the teacher of nations. In churches, where she may not speak, her hymns are sung; the inspirations of her genius are felt. Thus our age is breaking down the monopolies of the past.

But a more striking illustration remains. One of the great distinctions of our times is found in the more clear and vital perception of the truth, that the universal, impartial love which is the glory of God is the characteristic spirit and glory of Christianity. To this we owe the extension of philanthropic and religious effort beyond all

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former experience. How much we are better on the whole than former times I do not say; but that benevolence is acting on a larger scale, in more various forms, to more distant objects, this we cannot deny. Call it pretension, or enthusiasm, or what you will, the fact remains; and it attests the diffusive tendencies of our times. Benevolence now gathers together her armies. Vast associations are spread over whole countries for assailing evils which it is thought cannot be met by the single-handed. There is hardly a form of evil which has not awakened some antagonist effort. Associated benevolence gives eyes to the blind and ears to the deaf, and is achieving even greater wonders; that is, it approaches the mind without the avenues of eye and ear, and gives to the hopelessly blind and deaf the invaluable knowledge which these senses afford to others. Benevolence now shuts out no human being, however low, from its regard. It goes to the cell of the criminal with words of hope, and is laboring to mitigate public punishment, to make it the instrument, not of vengeance, but reform. It remembers the slave, pleads his cause with God and man, recognizes in him a human brother, respects in him the sacred rights of humanity, and claims for him, not as a boon, but as a right, that freedom without which humanity withers and God's child is degraded into a tool or a brute. Still more, benevolence now is passing all limits of country and ocean. It would send our own best blessing to the ends of the earth. It would make the wilderness of heathenism bloom, and join all nations in the bonds of one holy and loving faith. Thus, if we look at the religious movements of the age, we see in them that tendency to diffusion and universality which I have named as its most striking characteristic.

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Let me briefly point out this same tendency in Government. Here, indeed, it is too obvious for illustration. To what is the civilized world tending? To popular institutions, or, what is the same thing, to the influence of the people, of the mass of men, over public affairs. A little while ago and the people were unknown as a power in the state. Now they are getting all power into their hands. Even in despotisms, where they cannot act through institutions, they act through public opinion. Intelligence is strength; and in proportion as the many grow intelligent they must guide the world. Kings and nobles fill less and less place in history; and the names of men who once were lost amidst the glare of courts and titles are now written there imperishably. Once history did not know that the multitude existed, except when they were gathered together on the field of battle to be sabred and shot down for the glory of their masters. Now they are coming forward into the foreground of her picture. It is now understood that government exists for one end, and one alone; and that is, not the glory of the governor, not the pomp and pleasure of a few, but the good, the safety, the rights of all. Once government was an inherited monopoly, guarded by the doctrine of divine right, of an exclusive commission from the Most High. Now office and dignity are thrown open as common things, and nations are convulsed by the multitude of competitors for the prize of public power. Once the policy of governments had no higher end than to concentrate property into a few hands, and to confirm the relation of dependent and lord. Now it aims to give to each the means of acquiring property, and of carving out his fortune for himself. Such is the political current of our times. Many look on it with

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dark forebodings, as on a desolating torrent; while others hail it as a fertilizing stream. But in one thing both agree; whether torrent or stream, the mighty current exists, and overflows, and cannot be confined; and it shows us in the political, as in the other movements of our age, the tendency to universality, to diffusion.

I shall notice but one more movement of the age as indicating the tendency to universality, and this is, its Industry. How numberless are the forms which this takes! Into how many channels is human labor pouring itself forth! How widely spread is the passion for acquisition, not for simple means of subsistence, but for wealth! What vast enterprises agitate the community! What a rush into all the departments of trade! How next to universal the insanity of speculation! What new arts spring up! Industry pierces the forests, and startles with her axe the everlasting silence. To you, Gentlemen, commerce is the commanding interest; and this has no limits but the habitable world. It no longer creeps along the shore, or lingers in accustomed tracks; but penetrates into every inlet, plunges into the heart of uncivilized lands, sends its steam-ships up unexplored rivers, girdles the earth with railroads, and thus breaks down the estrangements of nations. Commerce is a noble calling. It mediates between distant nations, and makes men's wants, not, as formerly, stimulants to war, but bonds of peace. The universal intellectual activity of which I have spoken is due, in no small degree, to commerce, which spreads the thoughts, inventions, and writings of great men over the earth, and gathers scientific and literary men everywhere into an intellectual republic. So it carries abroad the missionary, the Bible, the Cross, and is giving universality to true religion.

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Gentlemen, allow me to express an earnest desire and hope that the merchants of this country will carry on their calling with these generous views. Let them not pursue it for themselves alone. Let them rejoice to spread improvements far and wide, and to unite men in more friendly ties. Let them adopt maxims of trade which will establish general confidence. Especially, in their intercourse with less cultivated tribes, let them feel themselves bound to be harbingers of civilization. Let their voyages be missions of humanity, useful arts, science, and religion. It is a painful thought, that commerce, instead of enlightening and purifying less privileged communities, has too often made the name of Christian hateful to them, has carried to the savage, not our useful arts and mild faith, but weapons of war and the intoxicating draught. I call not on God to smite with his lightnings, to overwhelm with his storms, the accursed ship which goes to the ignorant, rude native, freighted with poison and death; which goes to add new ferocity to savage life, new licentiousness to savage sensuality. I have learned not to call down fire from heaven. But, in the name of humanity, of religion, of God, I implore the merchants of this country not to use the light of a higher civilization to corrupt, to destroy our uncivilized brethren. Brethren they are, in those rude huts, in that wild attire. Establish with them an intercourse of usefulness, justice, and charity. Before they can understand the name of Christ, let them see his spirit in those by whom it is borne. It has been said, that the commerce of our country is not only corrupting uncivilized countries, but that it wears a deeper, more damning stain; that, in spite of the laws of the land and the protest of nations, it sometimes lends itself to the slave-

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trade; that, by its capital, and accommodations, and swift sailers, and false papers, and prostituted flag, it takes part in tearing the African from his home and native shore, and in dooming him, first to the horrors of the middle passage, and then to the hopelessness of perpetual bondage. Even on men so fallen I call down no curse. May they find forgiveness from God through the pains of sincere repentance; but, continuing what they are, can I help shrinking from them as among the most infamous of their race?

Allow me to say a word to the merchants of our country on another subject. The time is come when they are particularly called to take yet more generous views of their vocation, and to give commerce a universality as yet unknown. I refer to the juster principles which are gaining ground on the subject of free trade, and to the growing disposition of nations to promote it. Free trade! — this is the plain duty and plain interest of the human race. To level all barriers to free exchange; to cut up the system of restriction, root and branch; to open every port on earth to every product; this is the office of enlightened humanity. To this a free nation should especially pledge itself. Freedom of the seas; freedom of harbours; an intercourse of nations, free as the winds; — this is not a dream of philanthropists. We are tending towards it, and let us hasten it. Under a wiser and more Christian civilization we shall look back on our present restrictions as we do on the swaddling bands by which in darker times the human body was compressed. The growing freedom of trade is another and glorious illustration of the tendency of our age to universality.

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I have thus aimed to show in the principal movements of our time the character of diffusion and universality, and in doing this I have used language implying my joy in this great feature of our age. But you will not suppose that I see in it nothing but good. Human affairs admit no unmixed good. This very tendency has its perils and evils. To take but one example; the opening of vast prospects of wealth to the multitude of men has stirred up a fierce competition, a wild spirit of speculation, a feverish, insatiable cupidity, under which fraud, bankruptcy, distrust, distress are fearfully multiplied, so that the name of American has become a by-word beyond the ocean. I see the danger of the present state of society, perhaps as clearly as any one. But still I rejoice to have been born in this age. It is still true that human nature was made for growth, expansion; this is its proper life, and this must not be checked because it has perils. The child, when it shoots up into youth, exchanges its early repose and security for new passions, for strong emotions, which are full of danger; but would we keep him for ever a child? Danger we cannot avoid. It is a grand element of human life. We always walk on precipices. It is unmanly, unwise, it shows a want of faith in God and humanity, to deny to others and ourselves free scope and the expansion of our best powers because of the possible collisions and pains to be feared from extending activity. Many, indeed, sigh for security as the supreme good. But God intends us for something better, for effort, conflict, and progress. And is it not well to live in a stirring and mighty world, even though we suffer from it? If we look at outward nature, we find ourselves surrounded with vast and fearful elements, air, sea, and fire, which

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sometimes burst all bounds, and overwhelm man and his labors in ruin. But who of us would annihilate these awful forces, would make the ocean a standing pool, and put to silence the loud blast, in order that life may escape every peril? This mysterious, infinite, irresistible might of nature, breaking out in countless forms and motions, makes nature the true school for man, and gives it all its interest. In the soul still mightier forces are pent up, and their expansion has its perils. But all are from God, who has blended with them checks, restraints, balances, reactions, by which all work together for good. Let us never forget, that, amidst this fearful stir, there is a paternal Providence, under which the education of our race has gone on, and a higher condition of humanity has been achieved.

There are, however, not a few who have painful fears of evil from the restless, earnest action which we have seen spreading itself more and more through all departments of society. They call the age wild, lawless, presumptuous, without reverence. All men, they tell us, are bursting their spheres, quitting their ranks, aspiring selfishly after gain and preëminence. The blind multitude are forsaking their natural leaders. The poor, who are the majority, are contriving against the rich. Still more, a dangerous fanaticism threatens destruction to the world under the name of Reform; society totters; property is shaken; and the universal freedom of thought and action, of which so many boast, is the precursor of social storms which only despotism can calm. Such are the alarms of not a few; and it is right that fear should utter its prophecies, as well as hope. But it is the true office of fear to give a wise direction to human effort, not to chill or destroy it. To despair of

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the race, even in the worst times, is unmanly, unchristian. How much more so in times like the present! What I most lament in these apprehensions is, the utter distrust of human nature which they discover. Its highest powers are thought to be given only to be restrained. They are thought to be safe only when in fetters. To me, there is an approach to impiety in thinking so meanly of God's greatest work. Human nature is not a tiger which needs a constant chain. In this case it is the chain which makes the tiger. It is the oppressor who has made man fit only for a yoke.

When I look into the great movements of the age, particularly as manifested in our own country, they seem to me to justify no overwhelming fear. True, they are earnest and wide spreading; but the objects to which they are directed are pledges against extensive harm. For example, ought the general diffusion of science and literature and thought to strike dread? Do habits of reading breed revolt? Does the astronomer traverse the skies, or the geologist pierce the earth, to gather materials for assault on the social state? Does the study of nature stir up rebellion against its Author? Is it the lesson which men learn from history, that they are to better their condition by disturbing the state? Does the reading of poetry train us to insurrection? Does the diffusion of a sense of beauty through a people incline them to tumult? Are not works of genius and the fine arts soothing influences? Is not a shelf of books in a poor man's house some pledge of his keeping the peace? It is not denied that thought, in its freedom, questions and assails the holiest truth. But is truth so weak, so puny, as to need to be guarded by bayonets from assault? Has truth no beauty, no might?

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Has the human soul no power to weigh its evidence, to reverence its grandeur? Besides, does not freedom of thought, when most unrestrained, carry a conservative power in itself? In such a state of things the erring do not all embrace the same error. Whilst truth is one and the same, falsehood is infinitely various. It is a house divided against itself, and cannot stand. Error soon passes away, unless upheld by restraint on thought. History tells us, and the lesson is invaluable, that the physical force which has put down free inquiry has been the main bulwark of the superstitions and illusions of past ages.

In the next place, if we look at the chief direction of the universal activity of the age, we shall find that it is a conservative one, so as to render social convulsion next to impossible. On what, after all, are the main energies of this restlessness spent? On property, on wealth. High and low, rich and poor, are running the race of accumulation. Property is the prize for which all strain their nerves; and the vast majority compass in some measure this end. And is such a society in danger of convulsion? Is tumult the way to wealth? Is a state of insecurity coveted by men who own something and hope for more? Are civil laws, which, after all, have property for their chief concern, very likely to be trodden under foot by its worshippers? Of all the dreams of fear, few seem to me more baseless than the dread of anarchy among a people who are possessed almost to a man with the passion for gain. I am especially amused, when, among such a people, I sometimes hear of danger to property and society from enthusiastic, romantic reformers who preach levelling doctrines, equality of wealth, quaker plainness of dress, vegetable

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food, and community-systems where all are to toil and divide earnings alike. What! Danger from romance and enthusiasm in this money-getting, self-seeking, self-indulging, self-displaying land? I confess that to me it is a comfort to see some outbreak of enthusiasm, whether transcendental, philanthropic, or religious, as a proof that the human spirit is not wholly ingulfed in matter and business, that it can lift up a little the mountains of worldliness and sense with which it is so borne down. It will be time enough to fear, when we shall see fanaticism of any kind stopping, ever so little, the wheels of business or pleasure, driving, ever so little, from man's mind the idea of gain, or from woman's the love of display. Are any of you dreading an innovating enthusiasm? You need only to step into the streets to be assured that property and the world are standing their ground against the spirit of reform as stoutly as the most worldly man could desire.

Another view which quiets my fear as to social order, from the universal activity of the times, is the fact, that this activity appears so much in the form of steady labor. It is one distinction of modern over ancient times, that we have grown more patient of toil. Our danger is from habits of drudgery. The citizens of Greece and Rome were above work. We seem to work with something of the instinct of the ant and the bee; and this is no mean security against lawlessness and revolt.

Another circumstance of our times which favors a quiet state of things is, the love of comforts which the progress of arts and industry has spread over the community. In feudal ages and ancient times the mass of the population had no such pleasant homes, no such defences against cold and storms, no such decent ap-

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parel, no such abundant and savory meals, as fall to the lot of our population. Now it must be confessed, though not very flattering to human nature, that men are very slow to part with these comforts even in defence of a good cause, much less to throw them away in wild and senseless civil broils.

Another element of security in the present is, the strength of domestic affection Christianity has given new sacredness to home, new tenderness to love, new force to the ties of husband and wife, parent and child. Social order is dear to us all, as encircling and sheltering our homes. In ancient and rude times the family bond was comparatively no restraint. We should all pause before we put in peril beings whom we hold most dear.

Once more; Christianity is a pledge of social order which none of us sufficiently prize. Weak as its influence seems to be, there are vast numbers into whom it has infused sentiments of justice, of kindness, of reverence for God, and of deep concern for the peace and order of the state. Rapine and bloodshed would awaken now a horror altogether unknown in ages in which this mild and divine truth had not exerted its power.

With all these influences in favor of social influence, have we much to fear from the free, earnest, universal movements of our times? I believe that the very extension of human powers is to bring with it new checks against their abuse.

The prosperous part of society are, of course, particularly liable to the fear of which I have spoken. They see danger especially in the extension of power and freedom of all kinds to the laboring classes of society. They look with a jealous eye on attempts to ele-

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vate these, though one would think that to improve a man was the surest way to disarm his violence. They talk of agrarianism. They dread a system of universal pillage. They dread a conspiracy of the needy against the rich. Now the manual laborer has burdens enough to bear without the load of groundless suspicion or reproach. It ought to be understood that the great enemies to society are not found in its poorer ranks. The mass may, indeed, be used as tools; but the stirring and guiding powers of insurrection are found above Communities fall by the vices of the prosperous ranks. We are referred to Rome, which was robbed of her liberties and reduced to the most degrading vassalage by the lawlessness of the Plebeians, who sold themselves to demagogues, and gave the republic into the hands of a dictator. But what made the Plebeians an idle, dissolute, rapacious horde? It was the system of universal rapine which, under the name of conquest, had been carried on for ages by Patricians, by all the powers of the state; a system which glutted Rome with the spoils of the pillaged world; which fed her population without labor, from the public treasures, and corrupted them by public shows. It was this which helped to make the metropolis of the earth a sink of crime and pollution such as the world had never known. It was time that the grand robber-state should be cast down from her guilty eminence. Her brutish populace, which followed Cæsar's car with shouts, was not worse than the venal, crouching senate which registered his decrees. Let not the poor bear the burden of the rich. At this moment we are groaning over the depressed and dishonored state of our country; and who, let me ask, have shaken its credit, and made so many of its institutions bankrupt?

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The poor, or the rich? Whence is it that the incomes of the widow, the orphan, the aged have been narrowed, and multitudes on both sides of the ocean brought to the brink of want? Is it from an outbreak of popular fury? Is it from gangs of thieves sprung from the mob? We know the truth, and it shows us where the great danger to property lies.

Communities fall by the vices of the great, not the small. The French Revolution is perpetually sounded in our ears as a warning against the lawlessness of the people. But whence came this Revolution? Who were the regicides? Who beheaded Louis the Sixteenth? You tell me the Jacobins; but history tells a different tale. I will show you the beheaders of Louis the Sixteenth. They were Louis the Fourteenth, and the Regent who followed him, and Louis the Fifteenth. These brought their descendant to the guillotine. The priesthood who revoked the edict of Nantz, and drove from France the skill and industry and virtue and piety which were the sinews of her strength; the statesmen who intoxicated Louis the Fourteenth with the scheme of universal empire; the profligate, prodigal, shameless Orleans; and the still more brutalized Louis the Fifteenth, with his court of panders and prostitutes; these made the nation bankrupt, broke asunder the bond of loyalty, and overwhelmed the throne and altar in ruins. We hear of the horrors of the Revolution; but in this, as in other things, we recollect the effect without thinking of the guiltier cause. The Revolution was indeed a scene of horror; but when I look back on the reigns which preceded it, and which made Paris almost one great stew and gaming-house, and when I see altar and throne desecrated by a licentiousness unsurpassed in any former

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age, I look on scenes as shocking to the calm and searching eye of reason and virtue as the tenth of August and the massacres of September. Bloodshed is indeed a terrible spectacle; but there are other things almost as fearful as blood. There are crimes that do not make us start and turn pale like the guillotine, but are deadlier in their workings. God forbid, that I should say a word to weaken the thrill of horror with which we contemplate the outrages of the French Revolution! But when I hear that Revolution quoted to frighten us from reform, to show us the danger of lifting up the depressed and ignorant mass, I must ask whence it came; and the answer is, that it came from the intolerable weight of misgovernment and tyranny, from the utter want of culture among the mass of the people, and from a corruption of the great too deep to be purged away except by destruction. I am also compelled to remember that the people, in this their singular madness, wrought far less woe than kings and priests have wrought, as a familiar thing, in all ages of the world. All the murders of the French Revolution did not amount, I think, by one fifth, to those of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's. The priesthood and the throne, in one short night and day, shed more blood, and that the best blood of France, than was spilled by Jacobinism and all other forms of violence during the whole Revolution. Even the atheism and infidelity of France were due chiefly to a licentious priesthood and a licentious court. It was religion, so called, that dug her own grave. In offering this plea for the multitude I have no desire to transfer to the multitude uncontrolled political power. I look at power in all hands with jealousy. I wish neither rich nor poor to be my masters. What I wish is, the improvement, the

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elevation of all classes, and especially of the most numerous class, because the most numerous, because the many are mankind, and because no social progress can be hoped but from influences which penetrate and raise the mass of men. The mass must not be confined and kept down through a vague dread of revolutions. A social order requiring such a sacrifice would be too dearly bought. No order should satisfy us but that which is in harmony with universal improvement and freedom.

In the general tone of this Discourse it may be thought that I have proposed to vindicate the present age. I have no such thought. I would improve, not laud it. I feel its imperfections and corruptions as deeply as any, though I may be most shocked by features that give others little pain. The saddest aspect of the age, to me, is that which undoubtedly contributes to social order. It is the absorption of the multitude of men in outward, material interests; it is the selfish prudence which is never tired of the labor of accumulation, and which keeps men steady, regular, respectable drudges from morning to night. The cases of a few murders, great crimes, lead multitudes to exclaim, How wicked this age! But the worst sign is the chaining down of almost all the minds of a community to low, perishable interests. It is a sad thought, that the infinite energies of the soul have no higher end than to cover the back, and fill the belly, and keep caste in society. A few nerves, hardly visible, on the surface of the tongue, create most of the endless stir around us. Undoubtedly, eating and drinking, dressing, house-building, and caste-keeping, are matters not to be despised; most of them are essential. But surely life has a higher use than to adorn this body which is so

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soon to be wrapped in grave-clothes, than to keep warm and flowing the blood which is so soon to be cold and stagnant in the tomb. I rejoice in the boundless activity of the age, and I expect much of it to be given to our outward wants. But over all this activity there should preside the great idea of that which is alone ourselves; of our inward, spiritual nature; of the thinking, immortal soul; of our supreme good, our chief end, which is, to bring out, cultivate, and perfect our highest powers, to become wise, holy, disinterested, noble beings, to unite ourselves to God by love and adoration, and to revere his image in his children. The vast activity of this age, of which I have spoken, is too much confined to the sensual and material, to gain and pleasure and show. Could this activity be swayed and purified by a noble aim, not a single comfort of life would be retrenched, whilst its beauty and grace and interest would be unspeakably increased.

There is another dark feature of this age. It is the spirit of collision, contention, discord, which breaks forth in religion, in politics, in business, in private affairs; a result and necessary issue of the selfishness which prompts the endless activity of life. The mighty forces which are this moment acting in society are not and cannot be in harmony, for they are not governed by Love. They jar; they are discordant. Life now has little music in it. It is not only on the field of battle that men fight. They fight on the exchange. Business is war, a conflict of skill, management, and too often fraud; to snatch the prey from our neighbour is the end of all this stir. Religion is war; Christians, forsaking their one Lord, gather under various standards to gain victory for their sects. Politics are war, breaking the

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whole people into fierce and unscrupulous parties, which forget their country in conflicts for office and power The age needs nothing more than peace-makers, men of serene, commanding virtue, to preach in life and word the gospel of human brotherhood, to allay the fires of jealousy and hate.

I have named discouraging aspects of our time to show that I am not blind to the world I live in. But I still hope for the human race. Indeed, I could not live without hope. Were I to look on the world as many do, were I to see in it a maze without a plan, a whirl of changes without aim, a stage for good and evil to fight without an issue, an endless motion without progress, a world where sin and idolatry are to triumph for ever, and the oppressor's rod never to be broken, I should turn from it with sickness of heart, and care not how soon the sentence of its destruction were fulfilled. History and philosophy plainly show to me in human nature the foundation and promise of a better era, and Christianity concurs with these. The thought of a higher condition of the world was the secret fire which burned in the soul of the great Founder of our religion, and in his first followers. That he was to act on all future generations, that he was sowing a seed which was to grow up and spread its branches over all nations, this great thought never forsook him in life and death. That under Christianity a civilization has grown up containing in itself nobler elements than are found in earlier forms of society, who can deny? Great ideas and feelings, derived from this source, are now at work. Amidst the prevalence of crime and selfishness, there has sprung up in the human heart a sentiment or principle unknown in earlier ages, an enlarged and trustful philanthropy,

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which recognizes the rights of every human being, which is stirred by the terrible oppressions and corruptions of the world, and which does not shrink from conflict with evil in its worst forms. There has sprung up, too, a faith, of which antiquity knew nothing, in the final victory of truth and right, in the elevation of men to a clearer intelligence, to more fraternal union, and to a purer worship. This faith is taking its place among the great springs of human action, is becoming even a passion in more fervent spirits. I hail it as a prophecy which is to fulfil itself. A nature capable of such an aspiration cannot be degraded for ever. Ages rolled away before it was learned that this world of matter which we tread on is in constant motion. We are beginning to learn that the intellectual, moral, social world has its motion too, not fixed and immutable like that of matter, but one which the free will of men is to carry on, and which, instead of returning into itself like the earth's orbit, is to stretch forward for ever. This hope lightens the mystery and burden of life. It is a star which shines on me in the darkest night; and I should rejoice to reveal it to the eyes of my fellow-creatures.

I have thus spoken of the Present Age. In these brief words what a world of thought is comprehended! what infinite movements! what joys and sorrows! what hope and despair! what faith and doubt! what silent grief and loud lament! what fierce conflicts and subtle schemes of policy! what private and public revolutions In the period through which many of us have passed what thrones have been shaken! what hearts have bled! what millions have been butchered by their fellow-creatures! what hopes of philanthropy have been blighted! And at the same time what magnificent enter-

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prises have been achieved! what new provinces won to science and art! what rights and liberties secured to nations! It is a privilege to have lived in an age so stirring, so pregnant, so eventful. It is an age never to be forgotten. Its voice of warning and encouragement is never to die. Its impression on history is indelible. Amidst its events, the American Revolution, the first distinct, solemn assertion of the rights of men, and the French Revolution, that volcanic force which shook the earth to its centre, are never to pass from men's minds. Over this age the night will, indeed, gather more and more as time rolls away; but in that night two forms will appear, Washington and Napoleon, the one a lurid meteor, the other a benign, serene, and undecaying star. Another American name will live in history, your Franklin; and the kite which brought lightning from heaven will be seen sailing in the clouds by remote posterity, when the city where he dwelt may be known only by its ruins. There is, however, something greater in the age than its greatest men; it is the appearance of a new power in the world, the appearance of the multitude of men on that stage where as yet the few have acted their parts alone. This influence is to endure to the end of time. What more of the present is to survive? Perhaps much, of which we now take no note. The glory of an age is often hidden from itself. Perhaps some word has been spoken in our day which we have not deigned to hear, but which is to grow clearer and louder through all ages. Perhaps some silent thinker among us is at work in his closet whose name is to fill the earth. Perhaps there sleeps in his cradle some reformer who is to move the church and the world, who is to open a new era in history, who is to fire the human soul

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with new hope and new daring. What else is to survive the age? That which the age has little thought of, but which is living in us all; I mean the Soul, the Immortal Spirit. Of this all ages are the unfoldings, and it is greater than all. We must not feel, in the contemplation of the vast movements of our own and former times, as if we ourselves were nothing. I repeat it, we are greater than all. We are to survive our age, to comprehend it, and to pronounce its sentence. As yet, however, we are encompassed with darkness. The issues of our time how obscure! The future into which it opens who of us can foresee? To the Father of all Ages I commit this future with humble, yet courageous and unfaltering hope.

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THE CHURCH.

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL UNITARIAN CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA,

SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1841.

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DISCOURSE ON THE CHURCH.

MATTHEW vii. 21–27: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity

Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock.

And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it."

THESE words, which form the conclusion of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, teach a great truth, namely, that there is but one thing essential in religion, and this is, the doing of God's will, the doing of those sayings or precepts of Christ which constitute the substance of that memorable discourse. We learn that it will avail us nothing to call Christ, Lord, Lord, to profess ourselves his disciples, to hear his words, to teach in his name, to take our place in his church, or even to do

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wonderful works or miracles in attestation of his truth, if we neglect to cherish the spirit and virtues of his religion. God heeds not what we say, but what we are, and what we do. The subjection of our wills to the Divine, the mortification of sensual and selfish propensities, the cultivation of supreme love to God, and of universal justice and charity towards our neighbour, — this, this is the very essence of religion; this alone places us on a rock; this is the end, the supreme and ultimate good, and is to be prized and sought above all other things.

This is a truth as simple as it is grand. The child can understand it; and yet men, in all ages, have contrived to overlook it; have contrived to find substitutes for purity of heart and life; have hoped by some other means to commend themselves to God, to enter the kingdom of heaven. Forms, creeds, churches, the priesthood, the sacraments, these and other things have been exalted into supremacy. The grand and only qualification for heaven, that which in itself is heaven, the virtue and the spirit of Jesus Christ, has been obscured, depreciated; whilst assent to certain mysteries, or union with certain churches, has been thought the narrow way that leads to life. I have not time in a single discourse to expose all the delusions which have spread on this subject. I shall confine myself to one, which is not limited to the past, but too rife in our own times.

There has always existed, and still exists, a disposition to attach undue importance to "the church" which a man belongs to. To be a member of "the true church" has been insisted on as essential to human salvation. Multitudes have sought comfort, and not

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seldom found their ruin, in the notion, that they were embraced in the motherly arms of "the true church"; for with this they have been satisfied. Professed Christians have fought about "the church" as if it were a matter of life and death. The Roman Catholic shuts the gate of heaven on you because you will not enter his "church." Among the Protestants are those who tell you that the promises of Christianity do not belong to you, be your character what it may, unless you receive the Christian ordinances from the ministers of their "church." Salvation is made to flow through a certain priesthood, through an hereditary order, through particular rites administered by consecrated functionaries. Even among denominations in which such exclusive claims are not set up you will still meet the idea, that a man is safer in their particular "church" than elsewhere; so that something distinct from Christian purity of heart and life is made the way of salvation.

This error I wish to expose. I wish to show that Christ's spirit, Christ's virtue, or "the doing of the Sermon on the Mount," is the great end of our religion, the only essential thing, and that all other things are important only as ministering to this. I know, indeed, that very many acknowledge the doctrine now expressed. But too often their conviction is not deep and living, and it is impaired by superstitious notions of some mysterious saving influence in "the church," or in some other foreign agency. To meet these erroneous tendencies, I shall not undertake to prove in a formal way, by logical process, the supreme importance, blessedness, and glory of righteousness, of sanctity, of love towards God and man, or to prove that nothing else is indispensable. This truth shines by its own light. It runs through the whole

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New Testament; and is a gospel written in the soul by a divine hand. To vindicate it against the claims set up for "the church," nothing is needed but to offer a few plain remarks in the order in which they rise up of themselves to my mind.

I begin with the remark, that in the Sermon on the Mount Jesus said nothing about the "church"; nor do we find him, or his disciples, laying down anywhere a definite plan for its organization, or a ritual for its worship. Nor ought this to surprise us. It was the very thing to be expected in such a religion as Christianity. Judaism was intended to educate a particular nation, half civilized and surrounded with the grossest idolatry, and accordingly it hedged them in by multiplied and rigid forms. But Christianity proposes, as its grand aim, to spread the inward, spiritual worship of God through all nations, in all stages of society, under all varieties of climate, government, and condition; and such a religion cannot be expected to confine itself to any particular outward shape. Especially when we consider that it is destined to endure through all ages, to act on all, to blend itself with new forms of society and with the highest improvements of the race, it cannot be expected to ordain an immutable mode of administration, but must leave its modes of worship and communion to conform themselves silently and gradually to the wants and progress of humanity. The rites and arrangements which suit one period lose their significance or efficiency in another. The forms which minister to the mind now may fetter it hereafter, and must give place to its free unfolding. A system wanting this freedom and flexibleness would carry strong proof in itself of not having been intended for universality. It is one proof of Christ's

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having come to "inherit all nations," that he did not institute for all nations and all times a precise machinery of forms and outward rules, that he entered into no minute legislation as to the worship and government of his church, but left these outward concerns to be swayed by the spirit and progress of successive ages. Of consequence, no particular order of the church can be essential to salvation. No church can pretend that its constitution is defined and ordained in the Scriptures so plainly and undeniably that whoever forsakes it gives palpable proof of a spirit of disobedience to God. All churches are embraced by their members with equal religious reverence, and this assures us that in all God's favor may be equally obtained.

It is worthy of remark, that, from the necessity of the case, the church assumed at first a form which it could not long retain. It was governed by the apostles who had founded it, men who had known Christ personally, and received his truth from his lips, and witnessed his resurrection, and were enriched above all men by the miraculous illuminations and aids of his Spirit. These presided over the church with an authority peculiar to themselves, and to which none after them could with any reason pretend. They understood "the mind of Christ" as none could do but those who had enjoyed so long and close an intimacy with him; and not only were they sent forth with miraculous powers, but, by imposition of their hands, similar gifts of the Spirit were conferred on others. This presence of inspired apostles and supernatural powers gave to the primitive church obvious and important distinctions, separating it widely from the form which it was afterwards to assume. Of this we have a remarkable proof in a passage of Paul, in which he sets

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before us the offices or functions exercised in the original church. "God hath set in the church apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." * Now of all these endowments or offices, one only, that of teacher, remains in our day. The apostles, the founders and heroes of the primitive church, with their peculiar powers, have vanished, leaving as their representatives their writings, to be studied alike by all. Teachers remain, not because they existed in the first age, but because their office, from its nature, and from the condition of human nature, is needed still. The office, however, has undergone an important change. At first the Christian teacher enjoyed immediate communication with the apostles, and received miraculous aids, and thus enjoyed means of knowledge possessed by none of his successors. The Christian minister now can only approach the apostles as other men do, that is, through the Gospels and Epistles which they have left us; and he has no other aid from above in interpreting them than every true Christian enjoys. The promise of the Holy Spirit, that greatest of promises, is made without distinction to every man, of every office or rank, who perseveringly implores the Divine help; and this establishes an essential equality among all. Whether teachers are to continue in the brighter ages which prophecy announces is rendered doubtful by a very striking prediction of the times of the Messiah. "After those days," saith the Lord, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother,

* 1 Cor. xii. 28.

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saying, 'Know the Lord;' for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them." * Is it possible that any man, with a clear comprehension of the peculiarity of the primitive church, can look back to this as an immutable form and rule, can regard any church form as essential to salvation, can ascribe to outward ordinances, so necessarily fluctuating, an importance to be compared with that which belongs to the immutable, everlasting distinctions of holiness and virtue?

The church as at first constituted presents interesting and beautiful aspects. It was not a forced and arbitrary, but free, spontaneous union. It grew out of the principles and feelings of human nature. Our nature is social. We cannot live alone. We cannot shut up any great feeling in our hearts. We seek for others to partake it with us. The full soul finds at once relief and strength in sympathy. This is especially true in religion, the most social of all our sentiments, the only universal bond on earth. In this law of our nature the Christian church had its origin. Christ did not establish it in a formal way. If you consult the New Testament, you do not find Jesus or his apostles setting about the task of forming an artificial organization of the first disciples. Read in the book of Acts the simple, touching narratives of the union of the first converts. They "were of one heart and of one soul." They could not be kept asunder. The new truth melted them into one mass, knit them into one body. In their mutual love they could not withhold from one another their possessions, but had all things in common. Blessed unity! a type of that oneness and harmony which a purer Christianity is to spread through all nations. Among those

* Jeremiah, xxxi. 33, 34.

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early converts the most gifted and enlightened were chosen to be teachers in public assemblies. To these assemblies the brotherhood repaired with eagerness, to hear expositions of the new faith, to strengthen one another's loyalty to Christ, and to be open witnesses of him in the world. In their meetings they were left very much to follow the usages of the synagogue, in which they had been brought up; so little did Christianity trouble itself about forms. How simple, how natural this association! It is no mystery. It grew out of the plainest wants of the human heart. The religious sentiment, the spirit of love towards God and man, awakened afresh by Christ, craved for a new union through which to find utterance and strength. And shall this church union, the growth of the Christian spirit, and so plainly subordinate to it, usurp its place, or in any way detract from its sole sufficiency, from its supreme, unrivalled glory?

The church, according to its true idea and purpose, is an association of sincere, genuine followers of Christ; and at first this idea was in a good degree realized. The primitive disciples were drawn to Christ by conviction. They met together and confessed him, not from usage, fashion, or education, but in opposition to all these. In that age, profession and practice, the form and the spirit, the reality and the outward signs of religion went together. But with the growth of the church its life declined; its great idea was obscured; the name remained, and sometimes little more than the name. It is a remarkable fact, that the very spirit to which Christianity is most hostile, the passion for power, dominion, pomp, and preëminence, struck its deepest roots in the church. The church became the very stronghold of

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the lusts and vices which Christianity most abhors. Accordingly its history is one of the most melancholy records of past times. It is sad enough to read the blood-stained annals of worldly empires; but when we see the spiritual kingdom of Christ a prey for ages to usurping popes, prelates, or sectarian chiefs, inflamed with bigotry and theological hate and the lust of rule, and driven by these fires of hell to grasp the temporal sword, to persecute, torture, imprison, butcher their brethren, to mix with and embitter national wars, and to convulse the whole Christian world, we experience a deeper gloom, and are more tempted to despair of our race. History has not a darker page than that which records the persecutions of the Albigenses, or the horrors of the Inquisition. And when we come to later times, the church wears any thing rather than "Holiness" inscribed on her front. How melancholy to a Christian, the history lately given us by Ranke of the reaction of Catholicism against Protestantism! Throughout we see the ecclesiastical powers resorting to force as the grand instrument of conversion; thus proving their alliance, not with heaven, but with earth and hell. If we take broad views of the church in any age or land, how seldom do we see the prevalence of true sanctity! How many of its ministers preach for lucre or display, preach what they do not believe, or deny their doctrines in their lives! How many congregations are there, made up in a great degree of worldly men and women, who repair to the house of God from usage, or for propriety's sake, or from a vague notion of being saved; not from thirst for the Divine Spirit, not from a fulness of heart which longs to pour itself forth in prayer and praise! Such is the church. We are apt, indeed, to make it an ab-

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straction, or to separate it in our thoughts from the individuals who compose it; and thus it becomes to us a holy thing, and we ascribe to it strange powers. Theologians speak of it as a unity, a mighty whole, one and the same in all ages; and in this way the imagination is cheated into the idea of its marvellous sanctity and grandeur. But we must separate between the theory or the purpose of the church and its actual state. When we come down to facts, we see it to be, not a mysterious, immutable unity, but a collection of fluctuating, divided, warring individuals, who bring into it, too often, hearts and hands any thing but pure. Painful as it is, we must see things as they are; and so doing, we cannot but be struck with the infinite absurdity of ascribing to such a church mysterious powers, of supposing that it can confer holiness on its members, or that the circumstance of being joined to it is of the least moment in comparison with purity of heart and life.

Purity of heart and life, Christ's spirit of love towards God and man; this is all in all. This is the only essential thing. The church is important only as it ministers to this; and every church which so ministers is a good one, no matter how, when, or where it grew up, no matter whether it worship on its knees or on its feet, or whether its ministers are ordained by pope, bishop, presbyter, or people; these are secondary things, and of no comparative moment. The church which opens on heaven is that, and that only, in which the spirit of heaven dwells. The church whose worship rises to God's ear is that, and that only, where the soul ascends. No matter whether it be gathered in cathedral or barn; whether it sit in silence, or send up a hymn; whether the minister speak from carefully prepared notes, or

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from immediate, fervent, irrepressible suggestion. If God be loved, and Jesus Christ be welcomed to the soul, and his instructions be meekly and wisely heard, and the solemn purpose grow up to do all duty amidst all conflict, sacrifice, and temptation, then the true end of the church is answered. "This is no other than the house of God, the gate of heaven."

In these remarks I do not mean that all churches are of equal worth. Some undoubtedly correspond more than others to the spirit and purpose of Christianity, to the simple usages of the primitive disciples, and to the principles of human nature. All have their superstitions and corruptions, but some are more pure than the rest; and we are bound to seek that which is purest, which corresponds most to the Divine will. As far as we have power to select, we should go to the church where we shall be most helped to become devout, disinterested, and morally strong. Our salvation, however, does not depend on our finding the best church on earth, for this may be distant or unknown. Amidst diversities of administrations there is the same spirit. In all religious societies professing Christ as their Lord, the plainest, grandest truths of religion will almost certainly be taught, and some souls may be found touched and enlightened from above. This is a plain, undeniable fact. In all sects, various as they are, good and holy men may be found; nor can we tell in which the holiest have grown up. The church, then, answers its end in all; for its only end is, to minister to human virtue. It is delightful to read in the records of all denominations the lives of eminent Christians who have given up every thing for their religion, who have been faithful unto death, who have shed around them the sweet light and

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fragrance of Christian hope and love. We cannot, then, well choose amiss, if we choose the church which, as it seems to us, best represents the grand ideas of Christ, and speaks most powerfully to our consciences and hearts. This church, however, we must not choose for our brother. He differs from us, probably, in temperament, in his range of intellect, or in the impressions which education and habit have given him. Perhaps the worship which most quickens you and me may hardly keep our neighbour awake. He must be approached through the heart and imagination; we through the reason. What to him is fervor passes with us for noise. What to him is an imposing form is to us vain show. Condemn him not. If, in his warmer atmosphere, he builds up a stronger faith in God and a more steadfast choice of perfect goodness than ourselves, his church is better to him than ours to us.

One great error in regard to churches contributes to the false estimate of them as essential to salvation. We imagine that the church, the minister, the worship can do something for us mechanically; that there are certain mysterious influences in what we call a holy place, which may act on us without our own agency. It is not so. The church and the minister can do little for us in comparison with what we must do for ourselves, and nothing for us without ourselves. They become to us blessings through our own activity. Every man must be his own priest. It is his own action, not the minister's, it is the prayer issuing from his own heart, not from another's lips, which aids him in the church. The church does him good only as by its rites, prayers, hymns, and sermons it wakes up his spirit to think, feel, pray, praise, and resolve. The church is a help, not a force. It acts on us

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by rational and moral means, and not by mystical operations. Its influence resembles precisely that which is exerted out of church. Its efficiency depends chiefly on the clearness, simplicity, sincerity, love, and zeal with which the minister speaks to our understandings, consciences, and hearts; just as in common life we are benefited by the clearness and energy with which our friends set before us what is good and pure. The church is adapted to our free moral nature. It acts on us as rational and responsible beings, and serves us through our own efficiency. From these views we learn that the glory of the church does not lie in any particular government or form, but in the wisdom with which it combines such influences as are fitted to awaken and purify the soul.

Am I asked to state more particularly what these influences are to which the church owes its efficacy? I reply, that they are such as may be found in all churches, in all denominations. The first is, the character of the minister. This has an obvious, immediate, and powerful bearing on the great spiritual purpose of the church. I say, his character, not his ordination. Ordination has no end but to introduce into the sacred office men qualified for its duties, and to give an impression of its importance. It is by his personal endowments, by his intellectual, moral, and religious worth, by his faithfulness and zeal, and not through any mysterious ceremony or power, that the minister enlightens and edifies the church. What matters it how he is ordained or set apart, if he give himself to his work in the fear of God? What matters it who has laid hands on him, or whether he stand up in surplice or drab coat? I go to church to be benefited, not by hands or coats, but by the action of an en-

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lightened and holy teacher on my mind and heart; not an overpowering, irresistible action, but such as becomes effectual through my own free thought and will. I go to be convinced of what is true, and to be warmed with love of what is good; and he who thus helps me is a true minister, no matter from what school, consistory, or ecclesiastical body he comes. He carries his commission in his soul. Do not say, that his ministry has no "validity," because Rome, or Geneva, or Lambeth, or Andover, or Princeton, has not laid hands on him. What! Has he not opened my eyes to see, and roused my conscience to reprove? As I have heard him has not my heart burned within me, and have I not silently given myself to God with new humility and love? Have I not been pierced by his warnings, and softened by his looks and tones of love? Has he not taught and helped me to deny myself, to conquer the world, to do good to a foe? Has he done this; and yet has his ministry no "validity"? What other validity can there be than this? If a generous friend gives me water to drink when I am parched with thirst, and I drink and am refreshed, will it do to tell me, that, because he did not buy the cup at a certain licensed shop, or draw the water at a certain antiquated cistern, therefore his act of kindness is "invalid," and I am as thirsty and weak as I was before? What more can a minister with mitre or tiara do than help me, by wise and touching manifestations of God's truth, to become a holier, nobler man? If my soul be made alive, no matter who ministers to me; and if not, the ordinances of the church, whether high or low, orthodox or heretical, are of no validity so far as I am concerned. The diseased man who is restored to health cares little whether his physician wear wig or cowl, or

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receive his diploma from Paris or London; and so to the regenerate man it is of little moment where or by what processes he became a temple of the Holy Spirit.

According to these views a minister deriving power from his intellectual, moral, and religious worth is one of the chief elements of a true and quickening church. Such a man will gather a true church round him; and we here learn that a Christian community is bound to do what may aid, and to abstain from what may impair, the virtue, nobleness, spiritual energy of its minister. It should especially leave him free, should wish him to wear no restraints but those of a sense of duty. His office is, to utter God's truth according to his apprehension of it, and he should be encouraged to utter it honestly, simply. He must follow his own conscience, and no other. How can he rebuke prevalent error without an unawed spirit? Better that he should hold his peace than not speak from his own soul. Better that the pulpit be prostrated than its freedom be taken away. The doctrine of "instructions" in politics is of very doubtful expediency; but that instructions should issue from the congregation to the minister we all with one voice pronounce wrong. The religious teacher compelled to stifle his convictions grows useless to his people, is shorn of his strength, loses self-respect, shrinks before his own conscience, and owes it to himself to refrain from teaching. If he be honest, upright, and pure, worthy of trust, worthy of being a minister, he has a right to freedom; and when he uses it conscientiously, though he may err in judgment, and may give pain to judicious hearers, he has still a right to respect. There are, indeed, few religious societies which would knowingly make the minister a slave. Many err on the side

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of submission, and receive his doctrines with blind, unquestioning faith. Still, the members of a congregation, conscious of holding the support of their teacher in their hands, are apt to expect a cautious tenderness towards their known prejudices or judgments, which, though not regarded as servility, is very hostile to that firm, bold utterance of truth on which the success of his ministry chiefly depends.

I have mentioned the first condition of the most useful church; it is the high character of its minister. The second is to be found in the spiritual character of its members. This, like the former, is, from the very principles of human nature, fitted to purify and save. It was the intention of Christ that a quickening power should be exerted in a church, not by the minister alone, but also by the members on one another. Accordingly we read of the "working of every part, every joint," in his spiritual body. We come together in our places of worship that heart may act on heart; that in the midst of the devout a more fervent flame of piety may be kindled in our own breasts; that we may hear God's word more eagerly by knowing that it is drunk in by thirsty spirits around us; that our own purpose of obedience may be confirmed by the consciousness that a holy energy of will is unfolding itself in our neighbours. To this sympathy the church is dedicated; and in this its highest influence is sometimes found. To myself the most effectual church is that in which I see the signs of Christian affection in those around me, in which warm hearts are beating on every side, in which a deep stillness speaks of the absorbed soul, in which I recognize fellow-beings who in common life have impressed me with their piety. One look from a beaming counte-

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nance, one tone in singing from a deeply moved heart, perhaps aids me more than the sermon. When nothing is said, I feel it good to be among the devout; and I wonder not that the Quakers in some of their still meetings profess to hold the most intimate union, not only with God, but with each other. It is not with the voice only that man communicates with man. Nothing is so eloquent as the deep silence of a crowd. A sigh, a low breathing, sometimes pours into us our neighbour's soul more than a volume of words. There is a communication more subtile than freemasonry between those who feel alike. How contagious is holy feeling! On the other hand, how freezing, how palsying, is the gathering of a multitude who feel nothing, who come to God's house without reverence, without love, who gaze around on each other as if they were assembled at a show, whose restlessness keeps up a slightly disturbing sound, whose countenances reveal no collectedness, no earnestness, but a frivolous or absent mind! The very sanctity of the place makes this indifference more chilling. One of the coldest spots on earth is a church without devotion. What is it to me that a costly temple is set apart, by ever so many rites, for God's service, that priests who trace their lineage to apostles have consecrated it, if I find it thronged by the worldly and undevout? This is no church to me. I go to meet, not human bodies, but souls; and if I find them in an upper room like that where the first disciples met, or in a shed, or in a street, there I find a church. There is the true altar, the sweet incense, the accepted priest. These all I find in sanctified souls.

True Christians give a sanctifying power, a glory, to the place of worship where they come together In

them Christ is present and manifested in a far higher sense than if he were revealed to the bodily eye. We are apt, indeed, to think differently. Were there a place of worship in which a glory like that which clothed Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration were to shine forth, how should we throng to it as the chosen spot on earth! how should we honor this as eminently his church! But there is a more glorious presence of Christ than this. It is Christ formed in the souls of his disciples. Christ's bodily presence does not make a church. He was thus present in the thronged streets of Jerusalem, present in the synagogues and temples; but these were not churches. It is the presence of his spirit, truth, likeness, divine love, in the souls of men which attracts and unites them into one living body. Suppose that we meet together in a place consecrated by all manner of forms, but that nothing of Christ's spirit dwells in us. With all its forms, it is a synagogue of Satan, not a church of Jesus. Christ in the hearts of men, I repeat it, is the only church bond. The Catholics, to give them a feeling of the present Saviour, adorn their temples with paintings representing him in the most affecting scenes of his life and death; and had worship never been directed to these, I should not object to them. But there is a far higher likeness to Christ than the artist ever drew or chiselled. It exists in the heart of his true disciple. The true disciple surpasses Raphael and Michael Angelo. The latter have given us Christ's countenance from fancy, and, at best, having little likeness to the mild beauty and majestic form which moved through Judea. But the disciple who sincerely conforms himself to the disinterestedness, and purity, and filial worship, and all-sacrificing love of Christ gives us

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no fancied representation, but the true, divine lineaments of his soul, the very spirit which beamed in his face, which spoke in his voice, which attested his glory as the Son of God. The truest church is that which has in the highest degree this spiritual presence of our Lord, this revelation of Jesus in his followers. This is the church in which we shall find the greatest aid to our virtue which outward institution can afford us.

I have thus spoken of the two chief elements of a living and effectual church; a pure, noble-minded minister, and faithful followers of Christ. In the preceding remarks I have had chiefly in view particular churches, organized according to some particular forms; and I have maintained that these are important only as ministering to Christian holiness or virtue. There is, however, a grander church, to which I now ask your attention; and the consideration of this will peculiarly confirm the lesson on which I am insisting, namely, that there is but one essential thing, true holiness, or disinterested love to God and man. There is a grander church than all particular ones, however extensive; the Church Catholic or Universal, spread over all lands, and one with the church in heaven. That all Christ's followers form one body, one fold, is taught in various passages in the New Testament. You remember the earnestness of his last prayer, "that they might all be One, as he and his Father are one." Into this church all who partake the spirit of Christ are admitted. It asks not who has baptized us; whose passport we carry; what badge we wear. If "baptized by the Holy Ghost," its wide gates are opened to us. Within this church are joined those whom different names have severed or still

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sever. We hear nothing of Greek, Roman, English churches, but of Christ's church only. My friends, this is not an imaginary union. The Scriptures in speaking of it do not talk rhetorically, but utter the soberest truth. All sincere partakers of Christian virtue are essentially one. In the spirit which pervades them dwells a uniting power found in no other tie. Though separated by oceans, they have sympathies strong and indissoluble. Accordingly, the clear, strong utterance of one gifted, inspired Christian flies through the earth. It touches kindred chords in another hemisphere. The word of such a man as Fenelon, for instance, finds its way into the souls of scattered millions. Are not he and they of one church? I thrill with joy at the name of holy men who lived ages ago. Ages do not divide us. I venerate them more for their antiquity. Are we not one body? Is not this union something real? It is not men's coming together into one building which makes a church. Suppose that in a place of worship I sit so near a fellow-creature as to touch him; but that there is no common feeling between us, that the truth which moves me he inwardly smiles at as a dream of fancy, that the disinterestedness which I honor he calls weakness or wild enthusiasm. How far apart are we, though visibly so near! We belong to different worlds. How much nearer am I to some pure, generous spirit in another continent whose word has penetrated my heart, whose virtues have kindled me to emulation, whose pure thoughts are passing through my mind whilst I sit in the house of prayer! With which of these two have I church union?

Do not tell me that I surrender myself to a fiction of imagination, when I say, that distant Christians, that all Christians and myself, form one body, one church,

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just as far as a common love and piety possess our hearts. Nothing is more real than this spiritual union. There *is* one grand, all-comprehending church; and if I am a Christian, I belong to it, and no man can shut me out of it. You may exclude me from your Roman church, your Episcopal church, and your Calvinistic church, on account of supposed defects in my creed or my sect, and I am content to be excluded. But I will not be severed from the great body of Christ. Who shall sunder me from such men as Fenelon, and Pascal, and Borromeo, from Archbishop Leighton, Jeremy Taylor, and John Howard? Who can rupture the spiritual bond between these men and myself? Do I not hold them dear? Does not their spirit, flowing out through their writings and lives, penetrate my soul? Are they not a portion of my being? Am I not a different man from what I should have been, had not these and other like spirits acted on mine? And is it in the power of synod, or conclave, or of all the ecclesiastical combinations on earth, to part me from them? I am bound to them by thought and affection; and can these be suppressed by the bull of a pope or the excommunication of a council? The soul breaks scornfully these barriers, these webs of spiders, and joins itself to the great and good; and if it possess their spirit, will the great and good, living or dead, cast it off because it has not enrolled itself in this or another sect? A pure mind is free of the universe. It belongs to the church, the family of the pure, in all worlds. Virtue is no local thing. It is not honorable because born in this community or that, but for its own independent, everlasting beauty. This is the bond of the universal church. No man can be excommunicated from it but by himself, by

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the death of goodness in his own breast. All sentences of exclusion are vain, if he do not dissolve the tie of purity which binds him to all holy souls.

I honor the Roman Catholic church on one account; it clings to the idea of a Universal Church, though it has mutilated and degraded it. The word Catholic means Universal. Would to God that the church which has usurped the name had understood the reality! Still, Romanism has done something to give to its members the idea of their connexion with that vast spiritual community, or church, which has existed in all times and spread over all lands. It guards the memory of great and holy men who in all ages have toiled and suffered for religion, asserts the honors of the heroes of the faith, enshrines them in heaven as beatified saints, converts their legends into popular literature, appoints days for the celebration of their virtues, and reveals them almost as living to the eye by the pictures in which genius has immortalized their deeds. In doing this Rome has fallen, indeed, into error. She has fabricated exploits for these spiritual persons, and exalted them into objects of worship. But she has also done good. She has given to her members the feeling of intimate relation to the holiest and noblest men in all preceding ages. An interesting and often a sanctifying tie connects the present Roman Catholic with martyrs, and confessors, and a host of men whose eminent piety and genius and learning have won for them an immortality of fame. It is no mean service thus to enlarge men's ideas and affections, to awaken their veneration for departed greatness, to teach them their connexion with the grandest spirits of all times. It was this feature of Catholicism which most interested me in visiting Catholic countries. The services at the

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altar did not move, but rather pained me. But when I cast my eyes on the pictures on the walls, which placed before me the holy men of departed ages, now absorbed in devotion and lost in rapture, now enduring with meek courage and celestial hope the agonies of a painful death in defence of the truth, I was touched, and I hope made better. The voice of the officiating priest I did not hear; but these sainted dead spoke to my heart, and I was sometimes led to feel as if an hour on Sunday spent in this communion were as useful to me as if it had been spent in a Protestant church. These saints never rose to my thoughts as Roman Catholics. I never connected them with any particular church. They were to me living, venerable witnesses to Christ, to the power of religion, to the grandeur of the human soul. I saw what men might suffer for the truth, how they could rise above themselves, how real might become the ideas of God and a higher life. This inward reverence for the departed good helped me to feel myself a member of the church universal. I wanted no pope or priest to establish my unity with them. My own heart was witness enough to a spiritual fellowship. Is it not to be desired that all our churches should have services to teach us our union with Christ's whole body? Would not this break our sectarian chains, and awaken reverence for Christ's spirit, for true goodness, under every name and form? It is not enough, to feel that we are members of this or that narrow communion. Christianity is universal sympathy and love. I do not recommend that our churches should be lined with pictures of saints. This usage must come in, if it come at all, not by recommendation, but by gradual change of tastes and feelings. But why may not the pulpit be used occasionally to give us the lives

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and virtues of eminent disciples in former ages? It is customary to deliver sermons on the history of Peter, John, Paul, and of Abraham, and Elijah, and other worthies of the Old Testament; and this we do because their names are written in the Bible. But goodness owes nothing to the circumstance of its being recorded in a sacred book, nor loses its claim to grateful, reverent commemoration because not blazoned there. Moral greatness did not die out with the apostles. Their lives were reported for this, among other ends, that their virtues might be propagated to future times, and that men might spring up as worthy a place among the canonized as themselves. What I wish is, that we should learn to regard ourselves as members of a vast spiritual community, as joint heirs and fellow-worshippers with the goodly company of Christian heroes who have gone before us, instead of immuring ourselves in particular churches. Our nature delights in this consciousness of vast connexion. This tendency manifests itself in the patriotic sentiment, and in the passionate clinging of men to a great religious denomination. Its true and noblest gratification is found in the deep feeling of a vital, everlasting connexion with the universal church, with the innumerable multitude of the holy on earth and in heaven. This church we shall never make a substitute for virtue.

I have spoken of the Roman Catholic Church. My great objection to this communion is, that it has fallen peculiarly into the error which I am laboring to expose in this Discourse, that it has attached idolatrous importance to the institution of the Church, that it virtually exalts this above Christ's spirit, above inward sanctity. Its other errors are of inferior importance. It does not

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offend me, that the Romanist maintains that a piece of bread, a wafer, over which a priest has pronounced some magical words, is the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. I learn, indeed, in this error, an humbling lesson of human credulity, of the weakness of human reason; but I see nothing in it which strikes at the essential principles of religion. When, however, the Roman Catholic goes farther, and tells me that God looks with abhorrence on all who will not see in the consecrated wafer Christ's flesh and blood; and when he makes the reception of this from the hands of a consecrated priest the door into Christ's fold, then I am shocked by the dishonor he casts on God and virtue, by his debasing conceptions of our moral nature and of the Divine, and by his cruel disruption of the ties of human and Christian brotherhood. How sad and strange that a man educated under Christianity should place religion in a church-connexion, in church-rites, should shut from God's family the wisest and the best because they conscientiously abstain from certain outward ordinances! Is not holiness of heart and life dear to God for its own sake, dear to him without the manipulations of a priest, without the agency of a consecrated wafer? The grand error of Roman Catholicism is, its narrow church-spirit, its blind sectarianism, its exclusion of virtuous, pious men from God's favor because they cannot eat, drink, or pray according to certain prescribed rites. Romanism has to learn that nothing but the inward life is great and good in the sight of the Omniscient, and that all who cherish this are members of Christ's body. Romanism is any thing but what it boasts to be, the Universal Church. I am too much a Catholic to enlist under its banner.

I belong to the Universal Church; nothing shall sep-

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arate me from it. In saying this, however, I am no enemy to particular churches. In the present age of the world it is perhaps best that those who agree in theological opinions should worship together; and I do not object to the union of several such churches in one denomination, provided that *all* sectarian and narrow feeling be conscientiously and scrupulously resisted. I look on the various churches of Christendom with no feelings of enmity. I have expressed my abhorrence of the sectarian spirit of Rome; but in that, as in all other churches, individuals are better than their creed; and, amidst gross error and the inculcation of a narrow spirit, noble virtues spring up, and eminent Christians are formed. It is one sign of the tendency of human nature to goodness, that it grows good under a thousand bad influences. The Romish church is illustrated by great names. Her gloomy convents have often been brightened by fervent love to God and man. Her St. Louis, and Fenelon, and Massillon, and Cheverus; her missionaries who have carried Christianity to the ends of the earth; her sisters of charity who have carried relief and solace to the most hopeless want and pain; do not these teach us that in the Romish church the Spirit of God has found a home? How much, too, have other churches to boast! In the English church we meet the names of Latimer, Hooker, Barrow, Leighton, Berkeley, and Heber; in the Dissenting Calvinistic church, Baxter, Howe, Watts, Doddridge, and Robert Hall; among the Quakers, George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and our own Anthony Benezet, and John Woolman; in the Anti-trinitarian church, John Milton, John Locke, Samuel Clarke, Price, and Priestley. To repeat these names does the heart good. They

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breathe a fragrance through the common air. They lift up the whole race to which they belonged. With the churches of which they were pillars or chief ornaments I have many sympathies; nor do I condemn the union of ourselves to these or any other churches whose doctrines we approve, provided that we do it without severing ourselves in the least from the universal church. On this point we cannot be too earnest. We must shun the spirit of sectarianism as from hell. We must shudder at the thought of shutting up God in any denomination. We must think no man the better for belonging to our communion; no man the worse for belonging to another. We must look with undiminished joy on goodness, though it shine forth from the most adverse sect. Christ's spirit must be equally dear and honored, no matter where manifested. To confine God's love or his good Spirit to any party, sect, or name is to sin against the fundamental law of the kingdom of God, to break that living bond with Christ's universal church which is one of our chief helps to perfection.

I have now given what seem to me the most important views in relation to the church; and in doing this I have not quoted much from Scripture, because quotations cannot be given fully on this or on any controverted point in the compass of a discourse. I have relied on what is vastly more important, on the general strain and tone of Scripture, on the spirit of the Christian religion, on the sum and substance of Christ's teachings, which is plainly this, that inward holiness, or goodness, or disinterested love, is all in all. I also want time to consider at large the arguments or modes of reasoning by which this or that church sets itself forth as the only true

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church, and by which the necessity of entering it is thought to be proved. I cannot, however, abstain from offering a few remarks on these.

The principal arguments on which exclusive churches rest their claims are drawn from Christian history and literature, in other words, from the records of the primitive ages of our faith, and from the writings of the early Fathers. These arguments, I think, may be disposed of by a single remark, that they cannot be comprehended or weighed by the mass of Christians. How very, very few in our congregations can enter into the critical study of ecclesiastical history, or wade through the folios of the Greek and Latin Fathers! Now if it were necessary to join a particular church in order to receive the blessings of Christianity, is it to be conceived that the discovery of this church should require a learning plainly denied to the mass of human beings? Would not this church shine out with the brightness of the sun? Would it be hidden in the imperfect records of distant ages, or in the voluminous writings of a body of ancient authors, more remarkable for rhetoric than for soundness of judgment? The learned cannot agree about these authorities. How can the great multitudes of believers interpret them? Would not the Scriptures guide us by simple, sure rules to the only true church, if to miss it were death? To my own mind this argument has a force akin to demonstration.

I pass to another method of defending the claims which one or another church sets up to exclusive acceptance with God. It is an unwarrantable straining of the figurative language of Scripture. Because the church is spoken of as one body, vine, or temple, theologians have argued that it is one outward organization, to which

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all men must be joined. But a doctrine built on metaphor is worth little. Every kind of absurdity may find a sanction in figures of speech, explained by tame, prosaic, cold-hearted commentators. The beautiful forms of speech to which I have referred were intended to express the peculiarly close and tender unions which necessarily subsist among all the enlightened and sincere disciples of such a religion as Christ's, a religion whose soul, essence, and breath of life is love, which reveals to us in Jesus the perfection of philanthropy, and which calls to us to drink spiritually of that blood of self-sacrifice which was shed for the whole human race. How infinitely exalted is the union of minds and hearts formed by such a religion above any outward connexion established by rites and forms! Yet the latter has been seized on by the earthly understanding as the chief meaning of Scripture, and magnified into supreme importance. Has not Paul taught us that there is but one perfect bond, Love? * Has not Christ taught us that the seal set on his disciples, by which all men are to know them, is Love? † Is not this the badge of the true church, the life of the true body of Christ? And is not every disciple, of every name and form, who is inspired with this, embraced indissolubly in the Christian union?

It is sometimes urged by those who maintain the necessity of connexion with what they call "the true church," that God has a right to dispense his blessings through what channels or on what terms he pleases; that, if he sees fit to communicate his Holy Spirit through a certain priesthood or certain ordinances, we are bound to seek the gift in his appointed way; and that, having actually chosen this method of imparting it, he may just-

* Colossians, iii. 14. † John, xiii. 35.

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ly withhold it from those who refuse to comply with his appointment. I reply, that the right of the Infinite Father to bestow his blessings in such ways as to his infinite wisdom and love may seem best no man can be so irreverent as to deny. But is it not reasonable to expect that he will adopt such methods or conditions as will seem to accord with his perfection? And ought we not to distrust such as seem to dishonor him? Suppose, for example, that I were told that the Infinite Father had decreed to give his Holy Spirit to such as should bathe freely in the sea. Ought I not to require the most plain, undeniable proofs of a purpose apparently so unworthy of his majesty and goodness, before yielding obedience to it? The presumption against it is exceedingly strong. That the Infinite Father, who is ever present to the human soul, to whom it is unspeakably dear, who has created it for communion with himself, who desires and delights to impart to it his grace, that he should ordain sea-bathing as a condition or means of spiritual communication is so improbable that I must insist on the strongest testimony to its truth. Now I meet precisely this difficulty in the doctrine, that God bestows his Holy Spirit on those who receive bread and wine, or flesh and blood, or a form of benediction or baptism, or any other outward ministration, from the hands or lips of certain privileged ministers or priests. It is the most glorious act and manifestation of God's power and love, to impart enlightening, quickening, purifying influences to the immortal soul. To imagine that these descend in connexion with certain words, signs, or outward rites, administered by a frail fellow-creature, and are withheld or abridged in the absence of such rites, seems, at first, an insult to his wisdom and goodness; seems to bring down

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his pure, infinite throne, to set arbitrary limits to his highest agency, and to assimilate his worship to that of false gods. The Scriptures teach us that "God giveth grace to the humble;" that "he giveth his Holy Spirit to them that ask him." This is the great law of Divine communications; and we can see its wisdom, because the mind which hungers for Divine assistances is most prepared to use them aright. And can we really believe that the prayers and aspirations of a penitent, thirsting soul need to be seconded by the outward offices of a minister or priest? or that for want of these they find less easy entrance into the ear of the ever-present, all-loving Father? My mind recoils from this doctrine as dishonorable to God, and I ought not to receive it without clear proofs. I want something more than metaphors, or analogies, or logical inferences. I want some express Divine testimony. And where is it given? Do we not know that thousands and millions of Christians, whose lives and deaths have borne witness to their faith, have been unable to find it in the Scriptures, or anywhere else? And can we believe that the spiritual communication of such men with the Divinity has been forfeited or impaired, because they have abstained from rites which in their consciences they could not recognize as of Divine appointment? That so irrational and extravagant a doctrine should enter the mind of a man who has the capacity of reading the New Testament would seem an impossibility, did not history show us that it has been not only believed, but made the foundation of the bitterest intolerance and the bloodiest persecutions.

The notion, that, by a decree of God's sovereign will, his grace or Spirit flows through certain rites to those who are in union with a certain church, and that

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it is promised to none besides, has no foundation in Scripture or reason. The church, as I have previously suggested, is not an arbitrary appointment; it does not rest on Will, but is ordained on account of its obvious fitness to accomplish the spiritual improvement which is the end of Christianity. It corresponds to our nature. It is a union of means, and influences, and offices which rational and moral creatures need. It has no affinity with the magical operations so common in false religions; its agency is intelligible and level to the common mind. Its two great rites, baptism and the Lord's supper, are not meant to act as charms. When freed from the errors and superstitions which have clung to them for ages, and when administered, as they should be, with tenderness and solemnity, they are powerful means of bringing great truths to the mind and of touching the heart, and for these ends they are ordained. The adaptation of the church to the promotion of holiness among men is its grand excellence; and where it accomplishes this end its work is done, and no greater can be conceived on earth or in heaven. The moment we shut our eyes on this truth, and conceive of the church as serving us by forms and ordinances which are effectual only in the hands of privileged officials or priests, we plunge into the region of shadows and superstitions; we have no ground to tread on, no light to guide us. This mysterious power, lodged in the hands of a few fellow-creatures, tends to give a servile spirit to the mass of Christians, to impair manliness and self-respect, to subdue the intellect to the reception of the absurdest dogmas. Religion loses its simple grandeur, and degenerates into mechanism and form. The conscience is quieted by something short of true repentance; some-

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thing besides purity of heart and life is made the qualification for heaven. The surest device for making the mind a coward and a slave is a wide-spread and closely cemented church the powers of which are concentrated in the hands of a "sacred order," and which has succeeded in arrogating to its rites or ministers a sway over the future world, over the soul's everlasting weal or woe. The inevitably degrading influence of such a church is demonstrative proof against its Divine original.

There is no end to the volumes written in defence of this or that church which sets itself forth as the only true church, and claims exclusive acceptance with God. But the unlettered Christian has an answer to them all. He cannot and need not seek it in libraries. He finds it, almost without seeking, in plain passages of the New Testament, and in his own heart. He reads, and he feels, that religion is an Inward Life. This he knows, not by report, but by consciousness, by the prostration of his soul in penitence, by the surrender of his will to the Divine, by overflowing gratitude, by calm trust, and by a new love to his fellow-creatures. Will it do to tell such a man that the promises of Christianity do not belong to him, that access to God is denied him, because he is not joined with this or that exclusive church? Has not this access been granted to him already? Has he not prayed in his griefs, and been consoled? in his temptations, and been strengthened? Has he not found God near in his solitudes and in the great congregation? Does he thirst for any thing so fervently as for perfect assimilation to the Divine purity? And can he question God's readiness to help him, because he is unable to find in Scripture a command to bind himself to this or another self-magnifying church? How

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easily does the experience of the true Christian brush away the cobwebs of theologians! He loves and reveres God, and in this spirit has a foretaste of heaven; and can heaven be barred against him by ecclesiastical censures? He has felt the power of the cross and resurrection and promises of Jesus Christ; and is there any "height or depth" of human exclusiveness and bigotry which can separate him from his Lord? He can die for truth and humanity; and is there any man so swelled by the conceit of his union with the true church as to stand apart and say, "I am holier than thou"? When, by means of the writings or conversations of Christians of various denominations, you look into their hearts, and discern the deep workings, and conflicts, and aspirations of piety, can you help seeing in them tokens of the presence and operations of God's Spirit more authentic and touching than in all the harmonies and beneficent influences of the outward universe? Who can shut up this Spirit in any place or any sect? Who will not rejoice to witness it in its fruits of justice, goodness, purity, and piety, wherever they meet the eye? Who will not hail it as the infallible sign of the accepted worshipper of God?

One word more respecting the arguments adduced in support of one or another exclusive church. They are continually, and of necessity, losing their force. Arguments owe their influence very much to the mental condition of those to whom they are addressed. What is proof to one man is no proof to another. The evidence which is triumphant in one age is sometimes thought below notice in the next. Men's reasonings on practical subjects are not cold, logical processes, standing separate in the mind, but are carried on in in-

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timate connexion with their prevalent feelings and modes of thought. Generally speaking, that, and that only, is truth to a man which accords with the common tone of his mind, with the mass of his impressions, with the results of his experience, with his measure of intellectual development, and especially with those deep convictions and biases which constitute what we call character. Now it is the tendency of increasing civilization, refinement, and expansion of mind, to produce a tone of thought and feeling unfriendly to the church spirit, to reliance on church forms as essential to salvation. As the world advances it leaves matters of form behind. In proportion as men get into the heart of things they are less anxious about exteriors. In proportion as religion becomes a clear reality we grow tired of shows. In the progress of ages there spring up in greater numbers men of mature thought and spiritual freedom, who unite self-reverence with reverence of God, and who cannot, without a feeling approaching shame and conscious degradation, submit to a church which accumulates outward, rigid, mechanical observances towards the Infinite Father. A voice within them, which they cannot silence, protests against the perpetual repetition of the same signs, motions, words, as unworthy of their own spiritual powers, and of Him who deserves the highest homage of the reason and the heart. Their filial spirit protests against it. In common life, a refined, lofty mind expresses itself in simple, natural, unconstrained manners; and the same tendency, though often obstructed, is manifested in religion. The progress of Christianity, which must go on, is but another name for the growing knowledge and experience of that spiritual worship of the Father which Christ proclaimed as the end of his mission; and before

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this the old idolatrous reliance on ecclesiastical forms and organizations cannot stand. There is thus a perpetually swelling current which exclusive churches have to stem, and which must sooner or later sweep away their proud pretensions. What avails it, that this or another church summons to its aid fathers, traditions, venerated usages? The spirit, the genius of Christianity is stronger than all these. The great ideas of the religion must prevail over narrow, perverse interpretations of it. On this ground I have no alarm at reports of the triumphs of the Catholic church. The spirit of Christianity is stronger than popes and councils. Its venerableness and divine beauty put to shame the dignities and pomps of a hierarchy; and men must more and more recognize it as alone essential to salvation.

From the whole discussion through which I have now led you you will easily gather how I regard the Church, and what importance I attach to it. In its true idea, or regarded as the union of those who partake in the spirit of Jesus Christ, I revere it as the noblest of all associations. Our common social unions are poor by its side. In the world we form ties of interest, pleasure, and ambition. We come together as creatures of time and sense, for transient amusement or display. In the church we meet as God's children; we recognize in ourselves something higher than this animal and worldly life. We come that holy feeling may spread from heart to heart. The church, in its true idea, is a retreat from the world. We meet in it, that, by union with the holy, we may get strength to withstand our common intercourse with the impure. We meet to adore God, to open our souls to his Spirit, and, by recognition of the common Fa-

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ther, to forget all distinction among ourselves, to embrace all men as brothers. This spiritual union with the holy who are departed and who yet live is the beginning of that perfect fellowship which constitutes heaven. It is to survive all ties. The bonds of husband and wife, parent and child, are severed at death; the union of the virtuous friends of God and man is as eternal as virtue, and this union is the essence of the true church.

To the church relation, in this broad, spiritual view of it, I ascribe the highest dignity and importance. But as to union with a particular denomination or with a society of Christians for public worship and instruction, this, however important, is not to be regarded as the highest means of grace. We ought, indeed, to seek help for ourselves, and to give help to others, by upholding religious institutions, by meeting together in the name of Christ. The influence of Christianity is perpetuated and extended, in no small degree, by the public offices of piety, by the visible "communion of saints." But it is still true that the public means of religion are not its chief means. Private helps to piety are the most efficacious. The great work of religion is to be done, not in society, but in secret, in the retired soul, in the silent closet. Communion with God is eminently the means of religion, the nutriment and life of the soul, and we can commune with God in solitude as nowhere else. Here his presence may be most felt. It is by the breathing of the unrestrained soul, by the opening of the whole heart to "Him who seeth in secret"; it is by reviewing our own spiritual history, by searching deeply into ourselves, by solitary thought, and solitary solemn consecration of ourselves to a new virtue; it is by these acts, and not by public gatherings,

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that we chiefly make progress in the religious life. It is common to speak of the house of public worship as a holy place; but it has no exclusive sanctity. The holiest spot on earth is that where the soul breathes its purest vows, and forms or executes its noblest purposes; and on this ground, were I to seek the holiest spot in your city, I should not go to your splendid sanctuaries, but to closets of private prayer. Perhaps the "Holy of Holies" among you is some dark, narrow room from which most of us would shrink as unfit for human habitation; but God dwells there. He hears there music more grateful than the swell of all your organs, sees there a beauty such as nature, in these her robes of spring, does not unfold; for there he meets, and sees, and hears the humblest, most thankful, most trustful worshipper; sees the sorest trials serenely borne, the deepest injuries forgiven; sees toils and sacrifices cheerfully sustained, and death approached through poverty and lonely illness with a triumphant faith. The consecration which such virtues shed over the obscurest spot is not and cannot be communicated by any of those outward rites by which our splendid structures are dedicated to God.

You see the rank which belongs to the church, whether gathered in one place or spread over the whole earth. It is a sacred and blessed union; but must not be magnified above other means and helps of religion. The great aids of piety are secret, not public. The Christian cannot live without private prayer; he may live and make progress without a particular church. Providence may place us far from the resorts of our fellow-disciples, beyond the sound of the Sabbath-bell, beyond all ordinances; and we may find Sabbaths and ordinances in

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our own spirits. Illness may separate us from the outward church as well as from the living world, and the soul may yet be in health and prosper. There have been men of eminent piety who, from conscience, have separated themselves from all denominations of Christians and all outward worship. Milton, that great soul, in the latter years of his life forsook all temples made with hands, and worshipped wholly in the inward sanctuary. So did William Law, the author of that remarkable book, "The Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life." His excess of devotion (for in him devotion ran into excess) led him to disparage all occasional acts of piety. He lived in solitude, that he might make life a perpetual prayer. These men are not named as models in this particular. They mistook the wants of the soul, and misinterpreted the Scriptures. Even they, with all their spirituality, would have found moral strength and holy impulse in religious association. But, with such examples before us, we learn not to exclude men from God's favor because severed from the outward church.

The doctrine of this Discourse is plain. Inward sanctity, pure love, disinterested attachment to God and man, obedience of heart and life, sincere excellence of character, this is the one thing needful, this the essential thing in religion ; and all things else, ministers, churches, ordinances, places of worship, all are but means, helps, secondary influences, and utterly worthless when separated from this. To imagine that God regards any thing but this, that he looks at any thing but the heart, is to dishonor him, to express a mournful insensibility to his pure character. Goodness, purity, virtue, this is the only distinction in God's sight. This is intrinsically,

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essentially, everlastingly, and by its own nature, lovely, beautiful, glorious, divine. It owes nothing to time, to circumstance, to outward connexions. It shines by its own light. It is the sun of the spiritual universe. It is God himself dwelling in the human soul. Can any man think lightly of it because it has not grown up in a certain church, or exalt any church above it? My friends, one of the grandest truths of religion is, the supreme importance of character, of virtue, of that divine spirit which shone out in Christ. The grand heresy is, to substitute any thing for this, whether creed, or form, or church. One of the greatest wrongs to Christ is, to despise his character, his virtue, in a disciple who happens to wear a different name from our own.

When I represent to myself true virtue or goodness; not that which is made up of outward proprieties and prudent calculations, but that which chooses duty for its own sake and as the first concern; which respects impartially the rights of every human being; which labors and suffers with patient resolution for truth and others' welfare; which blends energy and sweetness, deep humility and self-reverence; which places joyful faith in the perfection of God, communes with him intimately, and strives to subject to his pure will all thought, imagination, and desire; which lays hold on the promise of everlasting life, and in the strength of this hope endures calmly and firmly the sorest evils of the present state; when I set before me this virtue, all the distinctions on which men value themselves fade away. Wealth is poor; worldly honor is mean; outward forms are beggarly elements. Condition, country, church, all sink into unimportance. Before this simple greatness I bow, I revere. The robed priest, the gorgeous altar, the great assembly, the

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pealing organ, all the exteriors of religion, vanish from my sight as I look at the good and great man, the holy, disinterested soul. Even I, with vision so dim, with heart so cold, can see and feel the divinity, the grandeur of true goodness. How, then, must God regard it? To his pure eye how lovely must it be! And can any of us turn from it, because some water has not been dropped on its forehead, or some bread put into its lips by a minister or priest; or because it has not learned to repeat some mysterious creed which a church or human council has ordained?

My friends, reverence virtue, holiness, the upright will which inflexibly cleaves to duty and the pure law of God. Reverence nothing in comparison with it. Regard this as the end, and all outward services as the means. Judge of men by this. Think no man the better, no man the worse, for the church he belongs to. Try him by his fruits. Expel from your breasts the demon of sectarianism, narrowness, bigotry, intolerance. This is not, as we are apt to think, a slight sin. It is a denial of the supremacy of goodness. It sets up something, whether a form or dogma, above the virtue of the heart and the life. Sectarianism immures itself in its particular church as in a dungeon, and is there cut off from the free air, the cheerful light, the goodly prospects, the celestial beauty of the church universal.

My friends, I know that I am addressing those who hold various opinions as to the controverted points of theology. We have grown up under different influences. We bear different names. But if we purpose solemnly to do God's will, and are following the precepts and example of Christ, we are one church, and let nothing divide us. Diversities of opinion may incline us to

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worship under different roofs; or diversities of tastes or habit, to worship with different forms. But these varieties are not schisms; they do not break the unity of Christ's church. We may still honor and love and rejoice in one another's spiritual life and progress as truly as if we were cast into one and the same unyielding form. God loves variety in nature and in the human soul, nor does he reject it in Christian worship. In many great truths, in those which are most quickening, purifying, and consoling, we all, I hope, agree. There is, too, a common ground of practice, aloof from all controversy, on which we may all meet. We may all unite hearts and hands in doing good, in fulfilling God's purposes of love towards our race, in toiling and suffering for the cause of humanity, in spreading intelligence, freedom, and virtue, in making God known for the reverence, love, and imitation of his creatures, in resisting the abuses and corruptions of past ages, in exploring and drying up the sources of poverty, in rescuing the fallen from intemperance, in succouring the orphan and widow, in enlightening and elevating the depressed portions of the community, in breaking the yoke of the oppressed and enslaved, in exposing and withstanding the spirit and horrors of war, in sending God's Word to the ends of the earth, in redeeming the world from sin and woe. The angels and pure spirits who visit our earth come not to join a sect, but to do good to all. May this universal charity descend on us, and possess our hearts; may our narrowness, exclusiveness, and bigotry melt away under this mild, celestial fire. Thus we shall not only join ourselves to Christ's Universal Church on earth, but to the Invisible Church, to the innumerable company of the just made perfect, in the mansions of everlasting purity and peace.

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NOTES.

I HAVE spoken in this Discourse of the Romish church as excluding from salvation those who do not submit to it. I know, and rejoice to know, that many Catholics are too wise and good to hold this doctrine; but the church, interpreted by its past words and acts, is not so liberal.

I have also expressed my reverence for the illustrious names which have adorned the English church. This church sets up higher claims than any other in the Protestant world; but by a man acquainted with its early history it will be seen to be clothed with no peculiar authority. If any Protestant church deserves to be called a creature of the state, it is this. It was shaped by the sovereign very much after his own will. It is a problem in history, how the English people, so sturdy and stout-hearted in the main, could be so tame and flexible in matters of religion, under Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth. They seem to have received, almost as unresistingly as the coin, the image and superscription of the king. The causes of this yieldingness are to be found in the averseness to civil broils to which the nation had been brought by the recent bloody and exhausting wars of the Roses; in the formidable power of the Tudor sovereigns; in the insular position of England, and her distance from Rome, which checked the domination of the papacy; in the ignorance of the people; in the ravenousness of the nobles for the property of the church in the first instance,

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and afterwards in their greediness for court favor. This strange pliancy is a stain on the annals of the country. It was in the Puritans that the old national sturdiness revived, that England became herself again. These men were rude in aspect, and forbidding in manners; but, with all their sternness, narrowness, frowning theology, and high religious pretensions, they were the master spirits of their times. To their descendants it is delightful to think of the service they rendered to the civil and religious liberties of England and the world, and to recall their deep, vital piety, a gem most rudely set, but too precious to be overvalued.

Since the preceding Discourse has been printed, the following extract from an article in the Edinburgh Review for July, 1841, entitled "The Port-Royalists," has been deemed so strikingly coincident that it is herewith appended.

"But for every labor under the sun, says the Wise Man, there is a time. There is a time for bearing testimony against the errors of Rome; why not also a time for testifying to the sublime virtues with which those errors have been so often associated? Are we for ever to admit and never to practise the duties of kindness and mutual forbearance? Does Christianity consist in a vivid perception of the faults, and an obtuse blindness to the merits of those who differ from us? Is charity a virtue only when we ourselves are the objects of it? Is there not a church as pure and more catholic than that of Oxford or Rome, — a church comprehending within its limits every human being who, according to the measure of the knowledge placed within his reach, strives habitually to be conformed to the will of the common Father of us all? To indulge hope beyond the pale of some narrow communion has, by each Christian society in its turn, been denounced as a daring presumption. Yet hope has come to all; and with her, faith and charity, her inseparable companions. Amidst

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the shock of contending creeds and the uproar of anathemas, they who have ears to hear and hearts to understand have listened to gentler and more kindly sounds. Good men may debate as polemics, but they will feel as Christians. On the universal mind of Christendom is indelibly engraven one image, towards which the eyes of all are more or less earnestly directed. Whoever has himself caught any resemblance, however faint and imperfect, to that divine and benignant Original, has, in his measure, learned to recognize a brother wherever he can discern the same resemblance.

"There is an essential unity in that kingdom which is not of this world. But within the provinces of that mighty state there is room for endless varieties of administration, and for local laws and customs widely differing from each other. The unity consists in the one object of worship, the one object of affiance, the one source of virtue, the one cementing principle of mutual love which pervades and animates the whole. The diversities are, and must be, as numerous and intractable as are the essential distinctions which nature, habit, and circumstances have created amongst men. Uniformity of creeds, of discipline, of ritual, and of ceremonies, in such a world as ours! a world where no two men are not as distinguishable in their mental as in their physical aspect; where every petty community has its separate system of civil government; where all that meets the eye, and all that arrests the ear has the stamp of boundless and infinite variety! What are the harmonies of tone, of color, and of form, but the result of contrasts; of contrasts held in subordination to one pervading principle, which reconciles without confounding the component elements of the music, the painting, or the structure? In the physical works of God beauty could have no existence without endless diversities. Why assume that in religious society — a work not less surely to be ascribed to the supreme Author of all things — this law is absolutely reversed? Were it possible to subdue that innate tendency of the human mind which compels men to differ in religious opinions and observances, at least as widely as on all other subjects, what would be the results of such a triumph? Where would then be the free comparison and the continual enlargement of thought; where the self-distrusts which are the springs of

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humility, or the mutual dependencies which are the bonds of love? He who made us with this infinite variety in our intellectual and physical constitution must have foreseen, and foreseeing, must have intended, a corresponding dissimilarity in the opinions of his creatures on all questions submitted to their judgment and proposed for their acceptance. For truth is his law; and if all will profess to think alike, all must live in the habitual violation of it.

"Zeal for uniformity attests the latent distrusts, not the firm convictions of the zealot. In proportion to the strength of our self-reliance is our indifference to the multiplication of suffrages in favor of our own judgment. Our minds are steeped in imagery; and where the visible form is not, the impalpable spirit escapes the notice of the unreflecting multitude. In common hands analysis stops at the species or the genus, and cannot rise to the order or the class. To distinguish birds from fishes, beasts from insects, limits the efforts of the vulgar observer of the face of nature. But Cuvier could trace the sublime unity, the universal type, the fontal Idea existing in the creative Intelligence, which connects as one the mammoth and the snail. So, common observers can distinguish from each other the different varieties of religious society, and can rise no higher. Where one assembly worships with harmonies of music, fumes of incense, ancient liturgies, and a gorgeous ceremonial, and another listens to the unaided voice of a single pastor, they can perceive and record the differences; but the hidden ties which unite them both escape such observation. All appears as contrast, and all ministers to antipathy and discord. It is our belief that these things may be rightly viewed in a different aspect, and yet with the most severe conformity to the Divine will, whether as intimated by natural religion, or as revealed in Holy Scripture. We believe, that, in the judgment of an enlightened charity, many Christian societies who are accustomed to denounce each other's errors will at length come to be regarded as members in common of the one great and comprehensive church, in which diversities of forms are harmonized by an all-pervading unity of spirit. For ourselves, at least, we should deeply regret to conclude that we are aliens from that great Christian commonwealth of which the nuns and recluses of the valley of Port-Royal were members, and members assuredly of no common excellence."

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THE

DUTY OF THE FREE STATES

OR

REMARKS

SUGGESTED BY THE CASE OF THE CREOLE.

PART I.

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The Author is aware that the following argument might have been more condensed, had circumstances allowed; but he is reconciled to publishing it in the present form by the belief that a degree of expansion and even of repetition may adapt it to its end, which is, to bring the subject within the comprehension of all who desire to know the truth. He now presents the first part of his work, in the hope that the second will soon follow

BOSTON, *March* 26, 1842.

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THE DUTY OF THE FREE STATES.

I RESPECTFULLY ask your attention, fellow-citizens of the Free States, to a subject of great and pressing importance. The case of the Creole, taken by itself, or separated from the principles which are complicated with it, however it might engage my feelings, would not have moved me to the present Address. I am not writing to plead the cause of a hundred or more men, scattered through the West Indies, and claimed as slaves. In a world abounding with so much wrong and woe, we at this distance can spend but a few thoughts on these strangers. I rejoice that they are free; I trust that they will remain so; and with these feelings, I dismiss them from my thoughts. The case of the Creole involves great and vital principles, and as such I now invite to it your serious consideration.

The case is thus stated in the letter of the American Secretary of State to the American Minister in London:

"It appears that the brig Creole, of Richmond, Virginia, Ensor master, bound to New Orleans, sailed from Hampton roads with a cargo of merchandise, principally tobacco, and slaves, about one hundred and thirty-five in number; that, on the evening of the 7th of November, some of the slaves rose upon the crew of the vessel, murdered a passenger named Hewell, who owned some of the negroes, wounded the captain dangerously, and the first mate and two of the crew severely; that the slaves soon

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obtained complete possession of the brig, which, under their direction, was taken into the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, where she arrived on the morning of the 9th of the same month; that, at the request of the American consul in that place, the governor ordered a guard on board, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, and with a view to an investigation of the circumstances of the case; that such investigation was accordingly made by two British magistrates, and that an examination also took place by the consul; that, on the report of the magistrates, nineteen of the slaves were imprisoned by the local authorities, as having been concerned in the mutiny and murder; and their surrender to the consul, to be sent to the United States for trial for these crimes, was refused, on the ground, that the governor wished first to communicate with the government in England on the subject; that, through the interference of the colonial authorities, and even before the military guard was removed, the greater number of the slaves were liberated, and encouraged to go beyond the power of the master of the vessel, or the American consul, by proceedings which neither of them could control. This is the substance of the case, as stated in two protests, one made at Nassau, and one at New Orleans, and the consul's letters, together with sundry depositions taken by him; copies of all which are herewith transmitted."

This statement of the case of the Creole is derived chiefly from the testimony of the officers and crew of the vessel, and very naturally falls under suspicion of being colored, in part, by prejudice and passion. We must hear the other side, and compare all the witnesses, before we can understand the whole case. The main facts, however, cannot be misunderstood. The shipping of the slaves at Norfolk, the rising of a part of their number against the officers of the vessel, the success of the insurrection, the carrying of the vessel into the port of Nassau, and the recognition and treatment of the slaves as free by the British authorities of that place these material points of the case cannot be questioned.

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The letter of our government, stating these facts as grounds of complaint against England, is written with much caution, and seems wanting in the tone of earnestness and confidence which naturally belongs to a good cause. It does not go to the heart of the case. It relies more on the comity of nations than on principles of justice and natural law. Still, in one respect it is decided. It protests against, and complains of, the British authorities, and "calls loudly for redress." It maintains that "it was the plain and obvious duty" of the authorities at Nassau to give aid and succour to the officers of the Creole in reducing the slaves to subjection, in resuming their voyage with their cargo of men as well as of tobacco, and in bringing the insurgents to trial in this country. It maintains that the claims of the American masters to their slaves existed and were in force in the British port, and that these claims ought to have been acknowledged and sustained by the British magistrate. The plain inference is, that the government of the United States is bound to spread a shield over American slavery abroad as well as at home. Such is the letter.

This document I propose to examine, and I shall do so chiefly for two reasons: First, because it maintains morally unsound and pernicious doctrines, and is fitted to deprave the public mind; and secondly, because it tends to commit the Free States to the defence and support of slavery. This last point is at this moment of peculiar importance. The Free States are gradually and silently coming more and more into connexion with slavery; are unconsciously learning to regard it as a national interest; and are about to pledge their wealth and strength, their bones and muscles and lives, to its defence. Slavery is mingling more and more with the

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politics of the country, determining more and more the individuals who shall hold office, and the great measures on which the public weal depends. It is time for the Free States to wake up to the subject; to weigh it deliberately; to think of it, not casually, when some startling fact forces it up into notice, but with earnest, continued, solemn attention; to inquire into their duties in regard to it; to lay down their principles; to mark out their course; and to resolve on acquitting themselves righteously towards God, towards the South, and towards themselves. The North has never come to this great matter in earnest. We have trifled with it. We have left things to take their course. We have been too much absorbed in pecuniary interests to watch the bearing of slavery on the government. Perhaps we have wanted the spirit, the manliness, to look the subject fully in the face. Accordingly, the slave-power has been allowed to stamp itself on the national policy, and to fortify itself with the national arm. For the pecuniary injury to our prosperity which may be traced to this source I care little or nothing. There is a higher view of the case. There is a more vital question to be settled than that of interest, the question of duty; and to this my remarks will be confined.

The letter which is now to be examined may be regarded either as the work of an individual, or as the work of the government. I shall regard it in the latter light alone. Its personal bearings are of no moment. No individual will enter my thoughts in this discussion. I regard the letter as issuing from the Cabinet, as an Executive document, as laying down the principles to which the public policy is in danger of being conformed, as fitted to draw the whole country into support of an in-

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stitution which the Free States abhor. With the opinions of an individual I have nothing to do. Corrupt principles adopted by the government, — these, and these alone, it will be my object to expose.

There is a difficulty lying at the threshold of such a discussion, which I should be glad to remove. A Northern man writing on slavery is supposed to write as a Northern man, to be swayed by State feelings and local biases; and the distrust thus engendered is a bar to the conviction which he might otherwise produce. But the prejudices which grow out of the spot where we live are far from being necessary or universal. There are persons whose peculiarity, perhaps whose infirmity it is, to be exceedingly alive to evils in their neighbourhood, to defects in the state of society in which they live, whilst their imaginations are apt to cast rosy hues over distant scenes. There are persons who, by living in retirement and holding intercourse with gifted minds in other regions, are even in danger of wanting a proper local attachment, and of being unjust to their own homes. There are also worthier causes which counteract the bigotry of provincial feelings. A man, then, is not necessarily presumptuous in thinking himself free from local biases. In truth, slavery never presents itself to me as belonging to one or another part of the country. It does not come to me in its foreign relations. I regard it simply and nakedly in itself, and on this account feel that I have a right to discuss it.

May I be allowed one more preliminary remark? The subject of slavery is separated in my mind not only from local considerations, but from all thought of the individuals by whom it is sustained. I speak against this institution freely, earnestly, some may think, vehemently;

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but I have no thought of attaching the same reproach to all who uphold it; and this I say, not to propitiate the slave-holder, who cannot easily forgive the irreconcilable enemy of his wrong-doing, but to meet the prepossessions of not a few among ourselves, who, from esteem towards the slave-holder, repel what seems to them to involve an assault on his character. I do, indeed, use, and cannot but use, strong language against slavery. No greater wrong, no grosser insult on humanity can well be conceived; nor can it be softened by the customary plea of the slave-holder's kindness. The first and most essential exercise of love towards a human being is, to respect his rights. It is idle to talk of kindness to a human being whose rights we habitually trample under foot. "Be just before you are generous." A human being is not to be loved as a horse or a dog, but as a being having rights; and his first grand right is that of free action; the right to use and expand his powers; to improve and obey his higher faculties; to seek his own and others' good; to better his lot; to make himself a home; to enjoy inviolate the relations of husband and parent; to live the life of a man. An institution denying to a being this right, and virtually all rights, which degrades him into a chattel, and puts him beneath the level of his race, is more shocking to a calm, enlightened philanthropy than most of the atrocities which we shudder at in history; and this for a plain reason. These atrocities, such as the burning of heretics, and the immolation of the Indian woman on the funeral pile of her husband, have generally some foundation in ideas of duty and religion. The inquisitor murders to do God service; and the Hindoo widow is often fortified against the flames by motives of inviolable constancy and gener

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ous self-sacrifice. The Indian in our wilderness, when he tortures his captives, thinks of making an offering, of making compensation, to his own tortured friends. But in slavery, man seizes his brother, subjects him to brute force, robs him of all his rights, for purely selfish ends, —as selfishly as the robber fastens on his prey. No generous affections, no ideas of religion and self-sacrifice throw a gleam of light over its horrors. As such I must peak of slavery, when regarded in its own nature, and especially when regarded in its origin. But when I look on a community among whom this evil exists, but who did not originate it; who grew up in the midst of it; who connect it with parents and friends; who see it intimately entwined with the whole system of domestic, social, industrial, and political life; who are blinded by long habit to its evils and abuses; and who are alarmed by the possible evils of the mighty change involved in its abolition; I shrink from passing on such a community the sentence which is due to the guilty institution. All history furnishes instances of vast wrongs inflicted, of cruel institutions upheld, by nations or individuals who in other relations manifest respect for duty. That slavery has a blighting moral influence, where it exists, is, indeed, unquestionable; but in that bad atmosphere so much that is good and pure may and does grow up as to forbid us to deny esteem and respect to a man simply because he is a slave-holder. I offer these remarks because I wish that the subject may be approached without the association of it with individuals, parties, or local divisions, which blind the mind to the truth.

I now return to the Executive document with which I began. I am first to consider its doctrines, to show their moral unsoundness and inhumanity; and then I shall con-

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sider the bearing of these doctrines on the Free States in general, and the interest which the Free States have at this critical moment in the subject of slavery. Thus my work divides itself into two parts, the first of which is now offered to the public.

In regard to the reasonings and doctrines of the document, it is a happy circumstance, that they come within the comprehension of the mass of the people. The case of the Creole is a simple one, which requires no extensive legal study to be understood. A man who has had little connexion with public affairs is as able to decide on it as the bulk of politicians. The elements of the case are so few, and the principles on which its determination rests are so obvious, that nothing but a sound moral judgment is necessary to the discussion. Nothing can darken it but legal subtlety. None can easily doubt it, but those who surrender conscience and reason to arbitrary rules.

The question between the American and English governments turns mainly on one point. The English government does not recognize within its bounds any property in man. It maintains that slavery rests wholly on local, municipal legislation ; that it is an institution not sustained and enforced by the law of nature, and, still more, that it is repugnant to this law ; and that, of course, no man who enters the territory or is placed under the jurisdiction of England can be regarded as a slave, but must be treated as free. The law creating slavery, it is maintained, has and can have no force beyond the state which creates it. No other nation can be bound by it. Whatever validity this ordinance, which deprives a man of all his rights, may have within the jurisdiction of the community in which it had its birth, it can have no va-

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lidity anywhere else. This is the principle on which the English government founds itself.

This principle is so plain that it has been established and is acted upon among ourselves, and in the neighbouring British provinces. When a slave is brought by his master into Massachusetts, he is pronounced free, on the ground, that the law of slavery has no force beyond the State which ordains it, and that the right of every man to liberty is recognized as one of the fundamental laws of the Commonwealth. A slave flying from his master to this Commonwealth is, indeed, restored, but not on account of the validity of the legislation of the South on this point, but solely on the ground of a positive provision of the Constitution of the United States; and he is delivered, not as a slave, but as a "person held to service by law in another State." We should not think, for a moment, of restoring a slave flying to us from Cuba or Turkey. We recognize no right of a foreign master on this soil. The moment he brings his slave here his claim vanishes into air; and this takes place because we recognize freedom as the right of every human being.

By the provision of the Constitution, as we have said, the fugitive slave from the South is restored by us, or, at least, his master's claim is not annulled. But we have proof at our door that this exception rests on positive, not natural law. Suppose the fugitive to pass through our territory undiscovered, and to reach the soil of Canada. The moment he touches it he is free. The master finds there an equal in his slave. The British authority extends the same protection over both. Accordingly, a colony of fugitive slaves is growing up securely, beyond our border, in the enjoyment of all the

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rights of British subjects. And this good work has been going on for years, without any complaint against England as violating national law, and without any claim for compensation. These are plain facts. We ourselves construe the law of nature and nations as England does.

But the question is not to be settled on the narrow ground of precedent alone. Let us view it in the light of eternal, universal truth. A grand principle is involved in the case, or rather lies at its very foundation, and to this I ask particular attention. This principle is, that a man, as a man, has rights, has claims on his race, which are in no degree touched or impaired on account of the manner in which he may be regarded or treated by a particular clan, tribe, or nation of his fellow-creatures. A man, by his very nature, as an intelligent, moral creature of God, has claims to aid and kind regard from all other men. There is a grand law of humanity more comprehensive than all others, and under which every man should find shelter. He has not only a right, but is bound, to use freely and improve the powers which God has given him; and other men, instead of obstructing, are bound to assist their development and exertion. These claims a man does not derive from the family or tribe in which he began his being. They are not the growth of a particular soil; they are not ripened under a peculiar sky; they are not written on a particular complexion; they belong to human nature. The ground on which one man asserts them all men stand on, nor can they be denied to one without being denied to all. We have here a common interest. We must all stand or fall together. We all have claims on our race, claims of kindness and justice, claims grounded on our relation to our common Father, and on the inheritance of a common nature.

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Because a number of men invade the rights of a fellow-creature, and pronounce him destitute of rights, his claims are not a whit touched by this. He is as much a man as before. Not a single gift of God on which his rights rest is taken away. His relations to the rest of his race are in no measure affected. He is as truly their brother as if his tribe had not pronounced him a brute. If, indeed, any change takes place, his claims are enhanced, on the ground that the suffering and injured are entitled to peculiar regard. If any rights should be singularly sacred in our sight, they are those which are denied and trodden in the dust.

It seems to be thought by some that a man derives all his rights from the nation to which he belongs. They are gifts of the state, and the state may take them away, if it will. A man, it is thought, has claims on other men, not as a man, but as an Englishman, an American, or a subject of some other state. He must produce his parchment of citizenship, before he binds other men to protect him, to respect his free agency, to leave him the use of his powers according to his own will. Local, municipal law is thus made the fountain and measure of rights. The stranger must tell us where he was born, what privileges he enjoyed at home, or no tie links us to one another.

In conformity to these views, it is thought, that, when one community declares a man to be a slave, other communities must respect this decree; that the duties of a foreign nation to an individual are to be determined by a brand set on him on his own shores; that his relations to the whole race may be affected by the local act of a community, no matter how small or how unjust.

This is a terrible doctrine. It strikes a blow at all

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the rights of human nature. It enables the political body to which we belong, no matter how wicked or weak, to make each of us an outcast from his race. It makes a man nothing in himself. As a man, he has no significance. He is sacred only as far as some state has taken him under its care. Stripped of his nationality, he is at the mercy of all who may incline to lay hold on him. He may be seized, imprisoned, sent to work in galleys or mines, unless some foreign state spreads its shield over him as one of its citizens.

This doctrine is as false as it is terrible. Man is not the mere creature of the state. Man is older than nations, and he is to survive nations. There is a law of humanity more primitive and divine than the law of the land. He has higher claims than those of a citizen. He has rights which date before all charters and communities; not conventional, not repealable, but as eternal as the powers and laws of his being.

This annihilation of the individual by merging him in the state lies at the foundation of despotism. The nation is too often the grave of the man. This is the more monstrous, because the very end of the state, of the organization of the nation, is, to secure the individual in all his rights, and especially to secure the rights of the weak. Here is the fundamental idea of political association. In an unorganized society, with no legislation, no tribunal, no empire, rights have no security. Force predominates over right. This is the grand evil of what is called the state of nature. To repress this, to give right the ascendancy over force, this is the grand idea and end of government, of country, of political constitutions. And yet we are taught that it depends on the law of a man's country, whether he shall have rights,

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and whether other states shall regard him as a man. When cast on a foreign shore, his country, and not his humanity, is to be inquired into, and the treatment he receives is to be proportioned to what he meets at home.

Men worship power, worship great organizations, and overlook the individual; and few things have depraved the moral sentiment of men more, or brought greater woes on the race. The state, or the ruler in whom the state is embodied, continues to be worshipped, notwithstanding the commission of crimes which would inspire horror in the private man. How insignificant are the robberies, murders, piracies, which the law makes capital, in comparison with an unjust or unnecessary war, dooming thousands, perhaps millions, of the innocent to the most torturing forms of death, or with the law of an autocrat or of a public body, depriving millions of all the rights of men! But these, because the acts of the state, escape the execrations of the world.

In consequence of this worship of governments it is thought that their relations to one another are alone important. A government is too great to look at a stranger, except as he is incorporated with some state. It can have nothing to do but with political organizations like itself. But the humble stranger has a claim on it as sacred as another state. Standing alone, he yet has rights, and to violate them is as criminal as to violate stipulations with a foreign power. In one view it is baser. It is as true of governments as of individuals, that it is base and unmanly to trample on the weak. He who invades the strong shows a courage which does something to redeem his violence; but to tread on the neck of a helpless, friendless fellow-creature is to add meanness to wrong.

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If the doctrine be true, that the character impressed on a man at home follows him abroad, and that he is to be regarded, not as a man, but as the local laws which he has left regard him, why shall not this apply to the peculiar advantages as well as disadvantages which a man enjoys in his own land? Why shall not he whom the laws invest with a right to universal homage at home receive the same tribute abroad? Why shall not he whose rank exempts him from the ordinary restraints of law on his own shores claim the same lawlessness elsewhere? Abroad these distinctions avail him nothing. The local law which makes him a kind of deity deserts him the moment he takes a step beyond his country's borders; and why shall the disadvantages, the terrible wrongs, which that law inflicts, follow the poor sufferer to the end of the earth?

I repeat it, for the truth deserves reiteration, that all nations are bound to respect the rights of every human being. This is God's law, as old as the world. No local law can touch it. No ordinance of a particular state, degrading a set of men to chattels, can absolve all nations from the obligation of regarding the injured beings as men, or bind them to send back the injured to their chains. The character of a slave, attached to a man by a local government, is not and cannot be incorporated into his nature. It does not cling to him, go where he will. The scar of slavery on his back does not reach his soul. The arbitrary relation between him and his master cannot suspend the primitive, indestructible relation by which God binds him to his kind.

The idea, that a particular state may fix enduringly this stigma on a human being, and can bind the most just and generous men to respect it, should be rejected

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with scorn and indignation. It reminds us of those horrible fictions in which some demon is described as stamping an indelible mark of hell on his helpless victims. It was the horrible peculiarity of the world in the reign of Tiberius, that it had become one vast prison. The unhappy man on whom the blighting suspicion of the tyrant had fallen could find no shelter or escape through the whole civilized regions of the globe. Everywhere his sentence followed him like fate. And can the law of a despot, or of a chamber of despots, extend now the same fearful doom to the ends of the earth? Can a little State at the South spread its web of cruel, wrongful legislation over both continents? Do all communities become spellbound by a law in a single country creating slavery? Must they become the slave's jailers? Must they be less merciful than the storm which drives off the bondman from the detested shore of servitude and casts him on the soil of freedom? Must even that soil become tainted by an ordinance passed perhaps in another hemisphere? Has oppression this terrible omnipresence? Must the whole earth register the slave-holder's decree? Then the earth is blighted indeed. Then, as some ancient sects taught, it is truly the empire of the Principle of Evil, of the Power of Darkness. Then God is dethroned here; for where injustice and oppression are omnipotent God has no empire.

I have thus stated the great principle on which the English authorities acted in the case of the Creole, and on which all nations are bound to act. Slavery is the creature of a local law, having power not a handbreadth beyond the jurisdiction of the country which ordains it. Other nations know nothing of it, are bound to pay it

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no heed. I might add that other nations are bound to tolerate it within the bounds of a particular state only on the grounds on which they suffer a particular state to establish bloody superstitions, to use the rack in jurisprudence, or to practise other enormities. They might much more justifiably put down slavery where it exists than enforce a foreign slave-code within their own bounds. Such is the impregnable principle which we of the Free States should recognize and earnestly sustain.*

This principle our government has not explicitly denied in its letter to our minister in London. The letter is chiefly employed in dilating on various particular circumstances which, it is said, entitled the Creole to assistance from the British authorities in the prosecution of the voyage with her original freight and passengers. The strength of the document lies altogether in the skilful manner in which these circumstances are put together. I shall therefore proceed to consider them with some minuteness. They are briefly these. The vessel was engaged in a voyage "perfectly lawful." She was taken to a British port, "not voluntarily, by those who had the lawful authority over her," but forcibly and violently, "against the master's will," without any agency or solicitation on the part of the great majority of the slaves, and, indeed, solely by the few "mutineers" who had gained possession of her by violence and bloodshed. The slaves were "still on board" the American vessel. They had not become "incorporated with the English population"; and from these facts it is argued that they had not changed their original character, that the vessel containing them ought to have been regarded as "still on her voyage," and should have been aided to resume

* See Note A.

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it, according to that law of comity and hospitality by which nations are bound to aid one another's vessels in distress.

It is encouraging to see in this reasoning of the letter a latent acknowledgment, that, had the vessel been carried with the slaves into the British port by the free will of the captain, the slaves would have been entitled to liberty. The force and crime involved in the transaction form the strength of the case as stated by ourselves. The whole tone of the communication undesignedly recognizes important rights in a foreign state in regard to slaves carried voluntarily to their shores; and by this concession it virtually abandons the whole ground.

But let us look at the circumstances which, it is said, bound the British authorities to assist the captain in sending back the slaves to their chains; and one general remark immediately occurs. These circumstances do not touch, in the slightest degree, the great principle on which the authorities were bound by British and natural law to act. This principle, as we have stated, is, that a nation is bound by the law of nature to respect the rights of every human being, that every man within its jurisdiction is entitled to its protection as long as he obeys its laws, that the private individual may appeal to the broad law of humanity and claim hospitality as truly as a state.

Now how did the peculiar circumstances of the Creole bear on this fundamental view of the case? Did the manner in which the slaves of the Creole were carried to Nassau in any measure affect their character as men? Did they cease to be men, because the ship was seized by violence, the captain imprisoned, and the vessel turned from its original destination? Did the shifting of the

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vessel's course by a few points of the compass, or did the government of the helm by a "mutineer," transmute a hundred or more men into chattels? To the eye of the British officer, the slaves looked precisely as they would have done, had they been brought to the island by any other means. He could see nothing but human beings; and no circumstances, leaving this character on them, could have authorized him to deny them human rights. It mattered nothing to him how they came to the island; for this did not touch at all the ground of their claim to protection.

A case, indeed, is imagined in the document, in which it is said that the manner of transportation of slaves to a foreign port must determine the character in which they shall be viewed. "Suppose an American vessel with slaves lawfully on board were to be captured by a British cruiser, as belonging to some belligerent, while the United States were at peace; suppose such prize carried into England, and the neutrality of the vessel fully made out in the proceedings in Admiralty, and a restoration consequently decreed; in such case must not the slaves be restored exactly in the condition in which they were when the capture was made? Would any one contend that the fact of their having been carried into England by force set them free?" I reply, undoubtedly they would be free the moment they should enter English jurisdiction. A writ of *habeas corpus* could and would and must be granted them, if demanded by themselves or their friends, and no court would dare to remit them to their chains; and this is not only English law, but in the spirit of universal law. In this case, however, compensation would undoubtedly be made by the captors for the slaves, not on the ground of any claim in the slave-

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holder, but because of the original wrong by the captors, and of their consequent obligation to replace the vessel, as much as possible, in the condition in which she was found at the moment of being seized on the open ocean, where she was captured on groundless suspicion, where she had a right to prosecute her voyage without obstruction, and whence she ought not to have been brought by the capturing state within its jurisdiction and made subject to its laws.

Let us now consider particularly the circumstances on which the United States maintain that the British authorities were bound to replace the slaves under the master of the Creole, and violated their duty in setting them free.

It is insisted, first, that "the Creole was passing from one port to another in a voyage *perfectly lawful.*" We cannot but lament, that, to sustain this point of the *lawfulness* of the voyage, it is affirmed that "slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States in those States in which slavery exists." Were this true, it is one of those truths which respect for our country should prevent our intruding on the notice of strangers. A child should throw a mantle over the nakedness of his parent. But the language seems to me stronger than the truth. The Constitution was intended not to interfere with the laws of property in the States where slaves had been held. But the recognition of a moral right in the slave-holder is most carefully avoided in that instrument. Slaves are three times referred to, but always as *persons*, not as *property*. The Free States are, indeed, bound to deliver up fugitive slaves; but these are to be surrendered, not as slaves, but as "persons held to service." The clause applies as much to fugi-

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tive apprentices from the North as to fugitive slaves from the South. The history of this clause is singular. In the first draught of the Constitution it stood thus: "No person, legally held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of regulations subsisting therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up," &c. Mr. Madison tells us that "the term 'legally' was struck out; and the words, 'under the laws thereof,' inserted after the word 'State,' in compliance with the wish of some who thought the term *legal* equivocal, and favoring the idea that slavery was *legal in a moral view.*" * It ought also to be added, that, in the debate in the Convention on that clause of the Constitution which conferred power on Congress to abolish the importation of slaves in 1808, "Mr. Madison thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men." † Most memorable testimony to the truth from this greatest constitutional authority! With the knowledge of these facts, our government had no apology for holding up the great national charter as recognizing property in man. The phraseology and history of the Constitution afford us some shelter, however insufficient, from the moral condemnation of the world; and we should not gratuitously cast it away.

Whilst, however, we censure this clause in the Executive document, we rejoice that on one point it is explicit. It affirms that "slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States *in those States in which slavery exists.*" Here we have the limit precisely defined within which the Constitution

* Madison Papers, p. 1589. † Ibid. p. 1429, 30.

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spreads its shield over slavery. These limits are, "the States in which slavery exists." Beyond these it recognizes no property in man, and, of course, beyond these it cannot take this property under its protection. The moment the slave leaves the States within which slavery exists, the Constitution knows nothing of him as property. Of consequence, the national government has no right to touch the case of the Creole. As soon as that vessel passed beyond the jurisdiction of the State where she received her passengers, the slaves ceased to be property, in the eye of the Constitution. The national authorities were no longer bound to interfere with and to claim them as such. The nation's force was no longer pledged to subject them to their masters. Its relation to them had wholly ceased. On this point we are bound to adopt the strictest construction of the instrument. The Free States should not suffer themselves to be carried a hair's breadth beyond the line within which they are pledged to the dishonorable office of protecting slavery.

But, leaving this clause, I return to the first consideration adduced to substantiate the claim of the Creole to the assistance of the British authorities. The voyage, we are told, was "perfectly lawful." Be it so. But this circumstance, according to the principles of the Free States, involves no obligation of another community to enforce slavery, or to withhold from the slave the rights of a man. Suppose that the Creole had sailed to Massachusetts with her slaves. The voyage would have been "lawful"; but on entering the port of Boston her slaves would have been pronounced free. The "right of property" in them conferred by a Slave State would have ceased. The lawfulness of the voyage,

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then, gives the slave-holder no claim on another government into the ports of which his slave may be carried.

Again, what is meant by the "perfect lawfulness" of the voyage? Does it mean that the Creole shipped the slaves under the law of nature or the law of Great Britain? Certainly not; but solely under the law of America; so that the old question recurs, Whether a local, municipal law, authorizing an American vessel to convey slaves, binds all nations, to whose territory these unhappy persons may be carried, to regard them as property, to treat them as the Parias of the human race. This is the simple question, and one not hard of solution.

"The voyage was perfectly lawful," we are told. So would be the voyage of a Turkish ship freighted with Christian slaves from Constantinople. Suppose such a vessel driven by storms or carried by force into a Christian port. Would any nation in Europe, or would America, feel itself bound to assist the Turkish slaver, to replace the chains on Christian captives whom the elements or their own courage had set free, to sacrifice to the comity and hospitality and usages of nations the law of humanity and Christian brotherhood?

"The voyage," we are told, "was perfectly lawful." Suppose now that a slave-holding country should pass a law ordaining and describing a chain as a badge of bondage, and authorizing the owner to carry about his slave fastened to himself by this sign of property. Suppose the master to go with slave and chain to a foreign country. His journey would be "lawful"; but would the foreign government be bound to respect this ordinance of the distant state? Would the authorized chain establish property in the slave over the whole earth?

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We know it would not; and why should the authorized vessel impose a more real obligation?

It seems to be supposed by some that there is a peculiar sacredness in a vessel, which exempts it from all control in the ports of other nations. A vessel is sometimes said to be "an extension of the territory" to which it belongs. The nation, we are told, is present in the vessel, and its honor and rights are involved in the treatment which its flag receives abroad. These ideas are in the main true in regard to ships on the high seas. The sea is the exclusive property of no nation. It is subject to none. It is the common and equal property of all. No state has jurisdiction over it. No state can write its laws on that restless surface. A ship at sea carries with her and represents the rights of her country, rights equal to those which any other enjoys. The slightest application of the laws of another nation to her is to be resisted. She is subjected to no law but that of her own country, and to the law of nations, which presses equally on all states. She may thus be called, with no violence to language, an extension of the territory to which she belongs. But suppose her to quit the open sea and enter a port. What a change is produced in her condition! At sea she sustained the same relations to all nations, those of an equal. Now she sustains a new and peculiar relation to the nation which she has entered. She passes at once under its jurisdiction. She is subject to its laws. She is entered by its officers. If a criminal flies to her for shelter, he may be pursued and apprehended. If her own men violate the laws of the land, they may be seized and punished. The nation is not present in her. She has left the open highway of the ocean, where all nations

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are equals, and entered a port where one nation alone is clothed with authority. What matters it that a vessel in the harbour of Nassau is owned in America? This does not change her locality. She has contracted new duties and obligations by being placed under a new jurisdiction. Her relations differ essentially from those which she sustained at home or on the open sea. These remarks apply, of course, to merchant vessels alone. A ship of war is "an extension of the territory" to which she belongs, not only when she is on the ocean, but in a foreign port. In this respect she resembles an army marching by consent through a neutral country. Neither ship of war nor army falls under the jurisdiction of foreign states. Merchant vessels resemble individuals. Both become subject to the laws of the land which they enter.

We are now prepared to consider the next circumstance, on which much stress is laid to substantiate the claim of our government. "The vessel was taken to a British port, not voluntarily, by those who had the lawful authority over her, but forcibly and violently, against the master's will, by mutineers and murderers," &c.

To this various replies are contained in the preceding remarks. The first is, that the local laws of one country are not transported to another, and do not become of force there, because a vessel of the former is carried by violence into the ports of the latter. Another is, that a vessel entering the harbour of a foreign state, through mutiny or violence, is not on this account exempted from its jurisdiction or laws. She may not set its authorities at defiance because brought within its waters against her own will. There may, indeed, be local laws intended to exclude foreigners, which it would

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be manifestly unjust and inhuman to enforce on such as may be driven to the excluding state against their own consent. But as to the laws of a country founded on the universal principles of justice and humanity, these are binding on foreign vessels under whatever circumstances they may be brought within its jurisdiction. There is still another view of this subject, which I have already urged, but which is so important as to deserve repetition. The right of the slaves of the Creole to liberation was not at all touched by the mode in which they were brought to Nassau. No matter how they got there, whether by sea, land, or air, whether by help of saint or sinner. A man's right to freedom is derived from none of these accidents, but inheres in him as a man, and nothing which does not touch his humanity can impair it. The slaves of the Creole were not a whit the less men because "mutiny" had changed their course on the ocean. They stood up in the port of Nassau with all the attributes of men, and the government could not without wrong have denied their character and corresponding claims.

We are now prepared for the consideration of another circumstance in the case of the Creole on which stress is laid. We are told by our government that they were "still in the ship" when they were declared free, and on this account their American character, that is, the character of slavery, adhered to them. This is a view of the case more fitted perhaps than any other to impress the inconsiderate. The slaves had not changed their position, had not touched the shore. The vessel was American. They trod on American planks; they slept within American walls. They of course belonged to America, and were to be viewed only in their Amer-

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ican character. To this reasoning the principles already laid down furnish an easy answer. It is true that the slaves were in an American ship; but there is another truth still more pregnant; they were also in another country, where American law has no power. The vessel had not carried America to the port of Nassau. The slaves had changed countries. What though they were there in an American ship? They were therefore not the less within English territory and English jurisdiction. The two or three inches of plank which separated them from the waves had no miraculous power to prevent them from being where they were. The water which embosomed the vessel was English. The air they breathed was English. The laws under which they had passed were English. One would think, from the reasoning to which I am replying, that the space occupied by a vessel in a foreign port is separated for a time from the country to which it formerly belonged; that it takes the character of the vessel, and falls under the laws of the land to which she appertains; that the authorities which have controlled it for ages must not enter it, whilst the foreign planks are floating in it, to repress crime or enforce justice. But this is all a fiction. The slaves, whilst in the ship, were in a foreign country as truly as if they had plunged into the waves or set foot on shore.

We will now consider another circumstance to which importance is attached in the document of our Executive. We are told that "the slaves could not be regarded as having become mixed up or incorporated with the British population, or as having changed character at all, either in regard to country or personal condition." To this it is replied, that no one pretends that the slaves

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had become Englishmen, or had formed a special relation to Great Britain, on account of which she was compelled to liberate them. It was not as a part of the British population that they were declared free. Had the authorities at Nassau taken this ground, they might have been open to the complaints of our government. The slaves were pronounced free, not because of any national character which they sustained, but because they were men, and because Great Britain held itself bound to respect the law of nature with regard to men. It was not necessary for them to be incorporated with the British population in order to acquire the common rights of human beings. One great error in the document is, that a government is supposed to owe nothing to a human being who lands on its shores, any farther than his nation may require. It is thought to have nothing to do but to inquire into his nationality and to fulfil the obligations which this imposes. He has no rights to set up, unless his own government stand by him. Thus the fundamental principles of the law of nature are set at naught. Thus all rights are resolved into benefactions of the state, and man is nothing, unless incorporated, mixed up, with the population of a particular country. This doctrine is too monstrous to be openly avowed, but it lies at the foundation of most of the reasonings of the document. The man, I repeat it, is older and more sacred than the citizen. The slave of the Creole had no other name to take. His own country had declared him not to be a citizen. He had been scornfully refused a place among the American people. He was only a Man; and was that a low title on which to stand up among men? Nature knows no higher on earth. English law knows no higher. Shall we find

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fault with a country, because an outcast man landing on its shore is declared free without the formality of becoming incorporated with its population?

The slaves, we are told in the argument which we are considering, as they had no claim to be considered as mixed up with the British population, had not, therefore, changed their character either in regard to "country or condition." The old sophistry reigns here. It is taken for granted that a man has no character but that of country and condition. In other words, he must be regarded by foreign states as belonging to a particular nation, and treated according to this view, and no other. Now the truth is, that there is a primitive, indelible "character" fastened on a man, far more important than that of "country or condition"; and, looking at this, I joyfully accord with our Cabinet in saying that the slaves of the Creole did not "change their character" by touching British soil. There they stood with the character which God impressed on them, and which man can never efface. The British authorities gave them no new character, but simply recognized that which they had worn from the day of their birth, the only one which cannot pass away.

I have now considered all the circumstances stated in the document as grounds of complaint, with one exception, and this I have deferred on account of its uncertainty, and in the hope of obtaining more satisfactory information. The circumstance is this, "that the slaves were liberated by the interference of the colonial authorities"; that these "not only gave no aid, but did actually interfere to set free the slaves, and to enable them to disperse themselves beyond the reach of the master of the vessel or their owners." This statement is taken

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from the protest of the captain and crew made at New Orleans, which, indeed, uses much stronger language, and charges on the British authorities much more exceptionable interference. This, as I have said, is to be suspected of exaggeration or unjust coloring, not on the ground of any peculiar falseness in the men who signed it, but because of the tendency of passion and interest to misconstrue the offensive conduct of others. But admitting the correctness of the protest, we cannot attach importance to the complaint of the document. This insists that the English authorities "interfered to set free the slaves." I reply that the authorities did not and could not set the colored men free, and for the plain reason, that they were in no sense slaves in the British port. The authorities found them in the first instance both legally and actually free. How, then, could they be liberated? They stood before the magistrates free at the first moment. They had passed beyond the legislation of the state which had imposed their chains. They had come under a jurisdiction which knew nothing of property in man, nothing of the relation of master and slave. As soon as they entered the British waters the legal power of the captain over them, whatever it might have been, ceased. They were virtually "beyond his reach," even whilst on board. Of course, no act of the authorities was needed for their liberation.

But this is not all. The colored men were not only legally free on entering the British port, they were so actually and as a matter of fact. The British authorities had not the merit of exerting the least physical power to secure to them their right to liberty. The slaves had liberated themselves. They had imprisoned the captain. They had taken the command of the vessel. The Brit-

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ish authorities interfered to liberate, not the colored people, but the captain; not to uphold, but arrest "the mutineers." Their action was friendly to the officers and crew. In all this action, however, they did nothing, of course, to reduce the slaves a second time to bondage. Had they, in restoring the vessel to the captain, replaced, directly or indirectly, the liberated slaves under the yoke, they would have done so at their peril. How, then, could they free those whom they knew only as free? They simply declared them free, declared a matter of fact which could not be gainsaid. If they persuaded them to leave the ship, they plainly acted in this as counsellors and friends, and exerted no official power.

It is said, indeed, in the protest, that the magistrates "commanded" the slaves to go on shore. If this be true, and if the command were accompanied with any force, they indeed committed a wrong; but one, I fear, for which our government will be slow to seek redress. They wronged the liberated slaves. These were free, and owed no obedience to such a command. They had a right to stay where they were, a right to return to America; and in being compelled to go on shore they received an injury for which our government, if so disposed, may make complaint. But the slaves alone were the injured party. The right of the owner was not violated, for he had no right. His claim was a nullity in the British port. He was not known there. The law on which he stood in his own country was there a dead letter. Who can found on it a complaint against the British government?

It is said that the "comity of nations" forbade this interference. But this comity is a vague, unsettled law,

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and ought not to come into competition with the obligations of a state to injured men thrown on its protection, and whose lives and liberties are at stake.* We must wait, however, for farther light from Nassau, to comprehend the whole case. It is not impossible that the authorities at that port exerted an undue influence, and took on themselves an undue responsibility. Among the liberated slaves there were undoubtedly not a few so ignorant and helpless as to be poorly fitted to seek their fortune in the West Indies, among strangers little disposed to sympathize with their sufferings or aid their inexperience. These ought to have been assured of their liberty; but they should have been left to follow, without any kind of resistance, their shrinking from an unknown shore, and their desire to return to the land of their birth, whenever these feelings were expressed.

I know not that I have overlooked any of the considerations which are urged in the Executive document in support of our complaints against Great Britain in the case of the Creole. I have labored to understand and meet their full force. I am sorry to have been obliged to enter into these so minutely, and to repeat what I deem true principles so often. But the necessity was laid on me. The document does not lay down explicitly any great principle with which our claim must stand or fall. Its strength lies in the skilful suggestion of various circumstances which strike the common reader, and which must successively be examined, to show their insufficiency to the end for which they are adduced. It is possible, however, to give something of a general form to the opinions expressed in it, and to detect under these

* See Note B.

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a general principle. This I shall proceed to do, as necessary to the full comprehension of this paper. The opinions scattered through the document may be thus expressed: — "Slaves, pronounced to be property by American law, and shipped as such, ought to be so regarded by a foreign government on whose shores they may be thrown. This government is bound to regard the national stamp set on them. It has no right to inquire into the condition of these persons. It cannot give to them the character or privileges of the country to which they are carried. Suppose a government to have declared opium a thing in which no property can lawfully exist or be asserted. Would it, therefore, have a right to take the character of property from opium, when driven in a foreign ship into its ports, and to cast it into the sea? Certainly not. Neither, because it declares that men cannot be property, can it take this character from slaves, when they are driven into its ports from a country which makes them property by its laws. They still belong to the distant claimant; his right must not be questioned or disturbed; and he must be aided in holding them in bondage, if his power over them is endangered by distress or mutiny." Such are the opinions of the document, in a condensed form, and they involve one great principle, namely, this: that property is an arbitrary thing, created by governments; that a government may make any thing property at its will; and that what its subjects or citizens hold as property, under this sanction, must be regarded as such, without inquiry, by the civilized world. According to the document, a nation may attach the character of property to whatever it pleases; may attach it alike to men and women, beef and pork, cotton and rice; and other nations, into whose

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ports its vessels may pass, are bound to respect its laws in these particulars, and in case of distress to assist in enforcing them. Let our country, through its established government, declare our fathers or mothers, sons or daughters, to be property; and they become such, and the right of the master must not be questioned at home or abroad.

Now this doctrine, stated in plain language, needs no labored refutation; it is disproved by the immediate testimony of conscience and common sense. Property is not an arbitrary thing, dependent wholly on man's will. It has its foundation and great laws in nature, and these cannot be violated without crime. It is plainly the intention of Providence that certain things should be owned, should be held as property. They fulfil their end only by such appropriation. The material world was plainly made to be subjected to human labor, and its products to be moulded by skill to human use. He who wins them by honest toil has a right to them, and is wronged when others seize and consume them. The document supposes a government to declare that opium is an article in which property cannot exist or be asserted, and on this ground to wrest it from the owner and throw it into the sea; and this it considers a parallel case to the declaration that property in man cannot exist. But who does not see that the parallel is absurd? The poppy, which contains the opium, is by its nature fitted and designed to be held as property. The man who rears it by his capital, industry, and skill thus establishes a right to it, and is injured if it be torn from him, except in the special case where some higher right supersedes that of property. The poppy is not wronged by being owned and consumed. It has no intelligence, no con-

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science for its own direction, no destiny to fulfil by the wise use and culture of its powers. It has therefore no rights. By being appropriated to an individual it does good, it suffers no wrong.

Here are the grounds of property. They are found in the nature of the articles so used; and where these grounds are wholly wanting, as in the case of human beings, it cannot exist or be asserted. A man was made to be an owner, not to be owned; to acquire, not to become property. He has faculties for the government of himself. He has a great destiny. He sustains tender and sacred relations, especially those of parent and husband, and with the duties and blessings of these no one must interfere. As such a being, he has rights. These belong to his very nature. They belong to every one who partakes it; all here are equal. He therefore may be wronged, and is most grievously wronged, when forcibly seized by a fellow-creature, who has no other nature and rights than his own, and seized by such a one to live for his pleasure, to be bowed to his absolute will, to be placed under his lash, to be sold, driven from home, and torn from parent, wife, and child, for another's gain. Does any parallel exist between such a being and opium? Can we help seeing a distinction between the nature of a plant and a man which forbids their being confounded under the same character of property? Is not the distinction recognized by us in the administration of our laws? When a man from the South brings hither his watch and trunk, is his right to them deemed a whit the less sacred because the laws of his State cease to protect them? Do we not recognize them as his, as intuitively and cheerfully as if they belonged to a citizen of our own State? Are they not his, here and everywhere? Do

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we not feel that he would be wronged were they torn from him? But when he brings a slave, we do not recognize his property in our fellow-creature. We pronounce the slave free. Whose reason and conscience do not intuitively pronounce this distinction between a man and a watch to be just?

It may be urged, however, that this is a distinction for moralists, not for governments; that, if a government establishes property, however unjustly, in human beings, this is its own concern, and the concern of no other; and that articles on board its vessels must be recognized by other nations as what it declares them to be, without any question as to the morality or fitness of its measures. One nation, we are told, is not to interfere with another. I need not repeat, in reply, what I have so often said, that a government has solemn duties towards every human being entering its ports, duties which no local law about property in another country can in any degree impair. I would only say, that a government is not bound in all possible cases to respect the stamp put by another government on articles transported in the vessels of the latter. The comity of nations supposes that in all such transactions respect is paid to common sense and common justice. Suppose a government to declare cotton to be horses, to write "Horse" on all the bales within its limits, and to set these down as horses in its custom-house papers; and suppose a cargo of these to enter a port where the importation of cotton is forbidden. Will the comity of nations forbid the foreign nation to question the character which has been affixed by law to the bales in the country to which they belong? Can a law change the nature of things, in the intercourse of nations? Must officers be stone-blind through "comity"? Would

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it avail anything to say, that, by an old domestic institution in the exporting country, cotton was pronounced horse, and that such institution must not be interfered with by foreigners? Now, in the estimation of England and of sound morality, it is as hard to turn man into property as horses into cotton, and this estimation England has embodied in its laws. Can we expect such a country to reverence the stamp of property on men, because attached to them by a foreign land?

The Executive document not only maintains the obligation of the English authorities to respect what the South had stamped on the slave, but maintains earnestly that "the English authorities had no right to *inquire* into the cargo of the vessel, or the condition of persons on board." Now it is unnecessary to dispute about this right; for the British authorities did not exercise it, did not need it. The truth of the case, and the whole truth, they could not help seeing, even had they wished to remain blind. Master, crew, passengers, colored people, declared with one voice that the latter were shipped as slaves. Their character was thus forced on the government, which of course had no liberty of action in the case. By the laws of England, slavery could not be recognized within its jurisdiction. No human being could be recognized as property. The authorities had but one question to ask: Are these poor creatures men? and to solve this question no right of search was needed. It solved itself. A single glance settled the point. Of course we have no ground to complain of a busy intermeddling with cargo and persons, to determine their character, by British authorities.

I have thus finished my examination of the document,

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and shall conclude with some general remarks. And first, I cannot but express my sorrow at the tone of inhumanity which pervades it. I have said at the beginning that I should make no personal strictures; and I have no thought of charging on our Cabinet any singular want of human feeling. The document bears witness, not to individual hardness of heart, but to the callousness, the cruel insensibility, which has seized the community at large. Our contact with slavery has seared in a measure almost all hearts. Were there a healthy tone of feeling among us, certain passages in this document would call forth a burst of displeasure. For example, what an outrage is offered to humanity in instituting a comparison between man and opium, in treating these as having equal rights and equal sanctity, in degrading an immortal child of God to the level of a drug, in placing both equally at the mercy of selfish legislators! To an unsophisticated man there is not only inhumanity, but irreligion, in thus treating a being made in the image of God and infinitely dear to the Universal Father.

In the same tone, the slaves, who regained their freedom by a struggle which cost the life of a white man, and by which one of their own number perished, are set down as "mutineers and murderers." Be it granted that their violence is condemned by the Christian law. Be it granted that the assertion of our rights must not be stained with cruelty; that it is better for us to die slaves than to inflict death on our oppressor. But is there a man, having a manly spirit, who can withhold all sympathy and admiration from men who, having grown up under the blighting influence of slavery, yet had the courage to put life to hazard for liberty? Are freemen slow to comprehend and honor the impulse which stirs

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men to break an unjust and degrading chain? Would the laws of any free state pronounce the taking of life in such a case "murder"? Because a man, under coercion, whilst on his way to a new yoke, and in the act of being carried by force from wife and children and home, sheds blood to escape his oppressor, is he to be confounded with the vilest criminals? Does a republic, whose heroic age was the Revolution of 1776, and whose illustrious men earned their glory in a sanguinary conflict for rights, find no mitigation of this bloodshed in the greater wrongs to which the slave is subjected? This letter would have lost nothing of its force, it would at least have shown better taste, had it consulted humanity enough to be silent about "opium" and "murder."

I cannot refrain from another view of the document. This declaration of national principles cannot be too much lamented and disapproved for the dishonor it has brought on our country. It openly arrays us, as a people, against the cause of human freedom. It throws us in the way of the progress of liberal principles through the earth. The grand distinction of our Revolution was, that it not only secured the independence of a single nation, but asserted the rights of mankind. It gave to the spirit of freedom an impulse, which, notwithstanding the dishonor cast on the cause by the excesses of France, is still acting deeply and broadly on the civilized world. Since that period a new consciousness of what is due to a human being has been working its way. It has penetrated into despotic states. Even in countries where the individual has no constitutional means of controlling government personal liberty has a sacredness and protection never known before. Among the tri-

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umphs of this spirit of freedom and humanity, one of the most signal is the desire to put an end to slavery. The cry for Emancipation swells and spreads from land to land. And whence comes the opposing cry? From St. Petersburg? From Constantinople? From the gloomy, jealous cabinets of despotism? No; but from republican America! from that country whose Declaration of Independence was an era in human history! The nations of the earth are beginning to proclaim, that slaves shall not breathe their air, that whoever touches their soil shall be free. Republican America protests against this reverence for right and humanity, and summons the nations to enforce her laws against the slave. O my country! hailed once as the asylum of the oppressed, once consecrated to liberty, once a name pronounced with tears of joy and hope! now a by-word among the nations, the scorn of the very subjects of despotism! How art thou fallen, morning-star of freedom! And has it come to this? Must thy children blush to pronounce thy name? Must we cower in the presence of the Christian world? Must we be degraded to the lowest place among Christian nations? Is the sword which wrought out our liberties to be unsheathed now to enforce the claims of slavery on foreign states? Can we bear this burning shame? Are the Free States prepared to incur this infamy and crime?

"Slaves cannot breathe in England." I learned this line when I was a boy, and in imagination I took flight to the soil which could never be tainted by slaves. Through the spirit which spoke in that line England has decreed that slaves cannot breathe in her islands. Ought we not to rejoice in this new conquest of humanity? Ought not the tidings of it to have been received with

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beaming eyes and beating hearts? Instead of this, we demand that Humanity shall retrace her steps, and Liberty resign her trophies. We call on a great nation to abandon its solemnly pronounced conviction of duty, its solemnly pledged respect for human rights, and to do what it believes to be unjust, inhuman, and base. Is there nothing of insult in such a demand? This case is no common one. It is not a question of policy, not an ordinary diplomatic concern. A whole people, from no thought of policy, but planting itself on the ground of justice and of Christianity, sweeps slavery from its soil, and declares that no slave shall tread there. This profound religious conviction, in which all Christian nations are joining her, we come in conflict with, openly and without shame. Is this an enviable position for a country which would respect itself or be respected by the world? It is idle, and worse than idle, to say, as is sometimes said, that England has no motive but policy in her movements about slavery. He who says so talks ignorantly or recklessly. I have studied abolitionism in England enough to assure those who have neglected it that it was the act, not of the politician, but of the people. In this respect it stands alone in history. It was a disinterested movement of a Christian nation in behalf of oppressed strangers, beginning with Christians, carried through by Christians. The government resisted it for years. The government was compelled to yield to the voice of the people. No act of the English nation was ever so national, so truly the people's act, as this. And can we hope to conquer the conscience as well as the now solemnly adopted policy of a great nation? Were England to concede this point, she would prove herself false to known, acknowledged truth and duty

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Her freshest, proudest laurel would wither. The toils and prayers of her Wilberforces, Clarksons, and a host of holy men, which now invoke God's blessings on her, would be turned to her reproach and shame, and call down the vengeance of Heaven.

In bearing this testimony to the spirit of the English people in the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery, nothing is farther from my mind than a disposition to defend the public policy or institutions of that country. In this case, as in most others, the people are better than their rulers. England is one of the last countries of which I am ready to become a partisan. There must be something radically wrong in the policy, institutions, and spirit of a nation which all other nations regard with jealousy and dislike. Great Britain, with all her progress in the arts, has not learned the art of inspiring confidence and love. She sends forth her bounty over the earth, but, politically considered, has made the world her foe. Her Chinese war, and her wild extension of dominion over vast regions which she cannot rule well or retain, give reason to fear that she is falling a prey to the disease under which great nations have so often perished.

To a man who looks with sympathy and brotherly regard on the mass of the people, who is chiefly interested in the "lower classes," England must present much which is repulsive. Though a monarchy in name, she is an aristocracy in fact; and an aristocratical caste, however adorned by private virtue, can hardly help sinking an infinite chasm between itself and the multitude of men. A privileged order, possessing the chief power of the state, cannot but rule in the spirit of an order, cannot respect the mass of the people, cannot feel that for *them*

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government chiefly exists and ought to be administered, and that for *them* the nobleman holds his rank as a trust. The condition of the lower orders at the present moment is a mournful commentary on English institutions and civilization. The multitude are depressed in that country to a degree of ignorance, want, and misery which must touch every heart not made of stone. In the civilized world there are few sadder spectacles than the contrast, now presented in Great Britain, of unbounded wealth and luxury with the starvation of thousands and ten thousands, crowded into cellars and dens without ventilation or light, compared with which the wigwam of the Indian is a palace. Misery, famine, brutal degradation, in the neighbourhood and presence of stately mansions which ring with gayety and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion, shock us as no other wretchedness does; and this is not an accidental, but an almost necessary effect of the spirit of aristocracy and the spirit of trade acting intensely together. It is a striking fact, that the private charity of England, though almost incredible, makes little impression on this mass of misery; thus teaching the rich and titled to be "just before being generous," and not to look to private munificence as a remedy for the evils of selfish institutions.

Notwithstanding my admiration of the course of England in reference to slavery, I see as plainly as any the wrongs and miseries under which her lower classes groan. I do not on this account, however, subscribe to a doctrine very common in this country, that the poor Chartists of England are more to be pitied than our slaves. Ah, no! Misery is not slavery; and, were it greater than it is, it would afford the slave-holder no warrant for trampling on the rights and the souls of his fellow-creatures.

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The Chartist, depressed as he is, is not a slave. The blood would rush to his cheek, and the spirit of a man swell his emaciated form, at the suggestion of relieving his misery by reducing him to bondage; and this sensibility shows the immeasurable distance between him and the slave. He has rights, and knows them. He pleads his own cause, and just and good men plead it for him. According to the best testimony, intelligence is spreading among the Chartists; so is temperance; so is self-restraint. They feel themselves to be men. Their wives and children do not belong to another. They meet together for free discussion, and their speeches are not wanting in strong sense and strong expression. Not a few among them have seized on the idea of the elevation of their class by a new intellectual and moral culture, and here is a living seed, the promise of immeasurable good. Shall such men, who aspire after a better lot, and among whom strong and generous spirits are springing up, be confounded with slaves, whose lot admits no change, who must not speak of wrongs or think of redress, whom it is a crime to teach to read, to whom even the Bible is a sealed book, who have no future, no hope on this side death?

I have spoken freely of England; yet I do not forget our debt or the debt of the world to her. She was the mother of our freedom. She has been the bulwark of Protestantism. What nation has been more fruitful in great men, in men of genius? What nation can compare with her in munificence? What nation but must now acknowledge her unrivalled greatness? That little island sways a wider empire than the Roman, and has a power of blessing mankind never before conferred on a people. Would to God she could learn, what nation

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never yet learned, so to use power as to inspire confidence, not fear, so as to awaken the world's gratitude, not its jealousy and revenge!

But whatever be the claims of England or of any other state, I must cling to my own country with strong preference, and cling to it even now, in this dark day, this day of her humiliation, when she stands before the world branded, beyond the truth, with dishonesty, and, too truly, with the crime of resisting the progress of freedom on the earth. After all, she has her glory. After all, in these Free States a man is still a Man. He knows his rights, he respects himself, and acknowledges the equal claim of his brother. We have order without the display of force. We have government without soldiers, spies, or the constant presence of coercion. The rights of thought, of speech, of the press, of conscience, of worship are enjoyed to the full without violence or dangerous excess. We are even distinguished by kindliness and good temper amidst this unbounded freedom. The individual is not lost in the mass, but has a consciousness of self-subsistence, and stands erect. That character which we call Manliness is stamped on the multitude here as nowhere else. No aristocracy interferes with the natural relations of men to one another. No hierarchy weighs down the intellect, and makes the church a prison to the soul, from which it ought to break every chain. I make no boast of my country's progress, marvellous as it has been. I feel deeply her defects. But, in the language of Cowper, I can say to her, —

> "Yet, being free, I love thee; for the sake
> Of that one feature can be well content,
> Disgraced as thou hast been, poor as thou art,
> To seek no sublunary rest beside."

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Our country is free; this is its glory. How deeply to be lamented is it that this glory is obscured by the presence of slavery in any part of our territory! The distant foreigner, to whom America is a point, and who communicates the taint of a part to the whole, hears with derision our boast of liberty, and points with a sneer to our ministers in London not ashamed to plead the rights of slavery before the civilized world. He ought to learn that America, which shrinks in his mind into a narrow unity, is a league of sovereignties stretching from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of Mexico, and destined, unless disunited, to spread from ocean to ocean; that a great majority of its citizens hold no slaves; that a vast proportion of its wealth, commerce, manufactures, and arts belongs to the wide region not blighted by this evil; that we of the Free States cannot touch slavery, where it exists, with one of our fingers; that it exists without and against our will; and that our necessity is not our choice and crime.* Still, the cloud hangs over us as a people, the only dark and menacing cloud. Can it not be dispersed? Will not the South, so alive to honor, so ardent and fearless, and containing so many elements of greatness, resolve on the destruction of what does not profit and cannot but degrade it? Must slavery still continue to exist, a firebrand at home and our shame abroad? Can we of the Free States brook that it should be thrust perpetually by our diplomacy on the notice of a reproving world? that it should become our distinction among the nations? that it should place us behind all? Can we endure that it should control our public councils, that it should threaten war, should

* See Note C.

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threaten to assert its claims in the thunder of our artillery? Can we endure that our peace should be broken, our country exposed to invasion, our cities stormed, our fields ravaged, our prosperity withered, our progress arrested, our sons slain, our homes turned into deserts, not for rights, not for liberty, not for a cause which humanity smiles on and God will bless, but to rivet chains on fellow-creatures, to extend the law of slavery throughout the earth? These are great questions for the Free States. I must defer the answer of them to another time. The duties of the Free States in relation to slavery deserve the most serious regard. Let us implore Him who was the God of our fathers, and who has shielded us in so many perils, to open our minds and hearts to what is true and just and good, to continue our union at home and our peace abroad, and to make our country a living witness to the blessings of freedom, of Reverence for Right on our own shores and in our intercourse with all nations.

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NOTES.

Note A. *page* 248.

To the preceding remarks it is in vain to oppose "the comity of nations." England, in her public acts having pronounced slavery unjust, pronounces also that "comity" cannot prevail against justice. And is not this right and true? Can a nation be bound by comity to recognize within its borders, and to carry into effect by its judicial or executive machinery, the laws of another country which it holds to be violations of the law of nature or of God? Would not our own courts indignantly refuse to enforce a contract or relation between foreigners here, which, however valid in their own land where it was made, is contrary to our own institutions, or to the acknowledged precepts of morality and religion?

Note B. *page* 263.

"It is said that this alleged interference by the British authorities was contrary to the comity of nations, and that therefore the British government is bound to indemnify the owners of the slaves. But indemnity for what? for their asserted property in these men? But that government does not recognize property in men. Suppose the slaves were dispersed by reason of its interference; yet the master and owners received no damage thereby, for they had no title to the slaves. Their property had ceased when these men came under the benign influence of English law."

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Note C. *page* 277.

I have spoken of the great majority in our country who have no participation whatever in slavery. Indeed, it is little suspected at home, any more than abroad, how small is the number of slave-holders here. I learn from a judicious correspondent at the South that the slave-holders in that region cannot be rated at more than 300,000. Some make them less. Supposing each of them to be the head of a family, and each family to consist of five members ; then there will be 1,500,000 having a direct interest in slaves as property. This is about *one eleventh* of the population of the United States. The 300,000 actual slave-holders are about *a fifty-seventh part* of our whole population. These govern the South entirely, by acting in concert, and by the confinement of the best education to their ranks ; and, still more, to a considerable extent they have governed the whole country. Their cry rises above all other sounds in the land. Few as they are, their voices well-nigh drown the quiet reasonings and remonstrances of the North in the House of Representatives.

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THE

DUTY OF THE FREE STATES,

PART II.

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THE DUTY OF THE FREE STATES.

THE first part of this Tract was devoted to an examination of the affair of the Creole. Its object, however, as the reader may easily discern, was not so much to determine the merits of a particular case as to set forth general principles of justice and humanity which have been too much overlooked in the intercourse of individuals and nations. I shall keep the same object in view in this second part of my remarks, which will have no reference to the Creole, but be devoted to the consideration of the Duties of the Free States. My great aim, in what I have written and now write on matters of public interest is, to reunite politics and morality; to bring into harmony the law of the land and the law of God. Among the chief causes of the miseries of nations is the divorce which has taken place between politics and morality; nor can we hope for a better day, till this breach be healed. Men intrusted with government have always been disposed to regard themselves as absolved from the laws of justice and humanity. Falsehoods and frauds are allowed them for their country or their party. To maintain themselves against their opponents, they may even involve nations in war; and the murders and robberies which follow this crime are not visited on their heads by human justice. In all times government

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has been the grand robber, the grand murderer, and has yet escaped the deep reprobation which breaks forth against private guilt. Such profligacy pervades the sphere of political action, that the confidence of the people is wellnigh withdrawn from public men; and a virtuous statesman is involved in the suspicions which his unprincipled associates have drawn upon his vocation. Public life is thought to release men not only from the obligations of justice, but from the restraints of good manners; and accordingly the debates of Congress are too often polluted by vulgar abuse, threats, and brawls. So low is the standard of political life that a man is smiled at for his simplicity who talks of introducing religion into the conduct of public affairs. Religion, it is thought, belongs to Sabbaths and churches, and would be as much out of place in cabinets or halls of legislation as a delicate lady on a field of battle. A stranger might be tempted to think that the Sergeant-at-arms was stationed at the doors of legislative chambers to forbid entrance to the everlasting law of God, and that nothing but man's impotence prevents the exclusion of Him whose holy presence fills the universe.

Nothing is so needed as to revive in citizens and rulers the conviction of the supremacy of the moral, Christian law. Could this be done, the earth would cease to be what in a measure it now is, the image of hell, and would begin to grow green again with the plants of paradise. Religion, the only true guide of life, the guardian and inspirer of all the virtues, should especially reign over the deliberations of governments, by which the weal and woe of nations, the solemn questions of peace and war, of life and death, are determined. On this account every man who has studied human duty, human perfec-

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tion, human happiness, has a right and is bound to speak on matters of public concern, though his judgment may be contemned by hackneyed politicians. It seems, indeed, to be thought by some that politics are mysteries, which only the initiated must deal with. But in this country they belong to the people. Public questions are and ought to be subjected to the moral judgment of the community. They ought to be referred to the religion which we profess. Christianity was meant to be brought into actual life. The high and the low, private and public men, are alike to bow before it. To remove any sphere of human action from its cognizance is virtually to deny its divinity, and to absolve all men from its control. Under these impressions I shall speak of the Duties of the Free States. Duties rank higher than interests, and deserve the first regard. It is my particular object to consider the obligations of the Free States in regard to slavery; but I shall not stop at these. Other obligations need to be pressed. It is not, indeed, easy to confine one's self within rigid bounds, when the subject of Duty is discussed; and accordingly I shall add remarks on a few topics not intimately connected with slavery, though, in truth, this subject will be found to insinuate itself into all.

I am to speak of the Duty of the Free States; but it is important to observe that I mean by these, not merely communities represented in legislatures, but much more, the individuals, the people, who compose them. I shall speak, not of what we are bound to do as sovereignties, but as men, as Christians. I shall speak not merely of the action of government, but of the influence which every man is bound to exert in the sphere in which Providence has placed him; of the obligations of the

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individual to bring public opinion and public affairs, as far as he may, to the standard of truth and rectitude.

I insist on this, because the feeling of individual responsibility is very much lost, in consequence of the excessive deference of the private man to the government under which he lives. On the subject of slavery in particular, the responsibility both at the North and South is shifted very much from the individual to the state. The private conscience is merged in the public. What the government determines, the multitude of men are apt to think right. We do not exercise our moral judgment, because it has been forestalled by the constitution and by the laws. We are members of a community, and this relation triumphs over all others.

Now the truth is, that no decision of the state absolves us from the moral law, from the authority of conscience. It is no excuse for our wrong-doing, that the artificial organization, called society, has done wrong. It is of the highest moment that the prevalent notions of a man's relation to the state should be rectified. The idea of this relation is so exaggerated and perverted as to impair the force of every other. A man's country is more thought of than his nature. His connexion with a particular community is more respected than his connexion with God. His alliance with his race is reduced to a nullity by his alliance with the state. He must be ready to give up his race, to sacrifice all its rights and interests, that the little spot where he was born may triumph or prosper. The history of nations is very much the history of the immolation of the individual to the country. His nationality stands out before all his other attributes. The nation, represented by one or a few individuals, has arrogated to itself the dignity of

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being the fountain of all his rights. It has made his religion for him. Its will, called law, has taken place of all other laws. It has seized on the individual as its tool, and doomed him to live and die for its most selfish purposes. The sacredness of the individual is even yet so little understood that the freest country on earth is talking of war, because a local law, enslaving the individual, is not recognized by the whole earth. But the nation is not every thing. The nation is not the fountain of right. Our first duties are not to our country. Our first allegiance is not due to its laws. We belong first to God, and next to our race. We were, indeed, made for partial, domestic, and national ties and affections, and these are essential means of our education and happiness in this first stage of our being; but all these are to be kept in subjection to the laws of universal justice and humanity. They are intended to train us up to these. In these consists our likeness to the Divinity. From these considerations it will be seen that the following remarks are not addressed to bodies politic so much as to individuals.

The Duty of the Free States in regard to slavery may be classed under two heads. First, these States are bound to construe with the utmost strictness all the articles of the Constitution which in any way touch on slavery, so that they may do nothing in aid of this institution but what is undeniably demanded by that instrument; and secondly, they are bound to seek earnestly such amendments of the Constitution as will remove this subject wholly from the cognizance of the general government; such as will be just alike to the North and South; such as will release the North from all obligation whatever to support or sanction slavery, and as will

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insure the South from all attempts by the Free States to stir up the slaves.

First; the Free States are bound to confine all action in regard to slavery to the narrowest limits which will satisfy the Constitution. Under this head, our attention is naturally drawn first to the chief, and I may say, the only express provision of the instrument relating to this subject. I refer to the clause requiring that a slave escaping into the Free States shall be delivered up, on the claim of his master. This provision may seem clear; but the execution of it in such a manner as to accomplish its end, and yet to prevent the encroachments of slavery on the Free States, is not easy. The provision was designed to give authority to the master to claim the fugitive slave. But, in doing this, a far higher good than the recovery of a thousand slaves flying from the South is put in peril, and that is, the freedom of the colored population of the North; and we are bound to insist that this freedom shall be placed beyond the reach of peril. This danger is not imaginary. Kidnapping in the Free States is one of the evils which have grown out of our connexion with slavery, and it has been carried on with circumstances of great barbarity. Thus slavery has been recruited from the North.

The law of Congress framed to carry into effect the constitutional provision to which we have referred almost seems to have been designed to give shelter to this crime. No care has been taken to shield the colored man at the North. The slave-holder or slave-hunter may carry him before a justice of the peace as a fugitive, and may himself be a witness in the case, and this tribunal may send the accused to perpetual bondage.

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We all know how and by whom a commission of justice of the peace is often obtained. We know that a claim of more than twenty dollars is not left to the decision of a justice's court. We know the advantage which may be enjoyed before such a magistrate by the rich slave-holder over a poor, perhaps friendless laborer. And yet to this tribunal it is given to pass a sentence on a human being as terrible as death. An officer not trusted with the adjudication of property exceeding twenty dollars is allowed to make a man a slave for life.

To repair this great injustice, to prevent the transportation of our citizens to slavery, some of the State legislatures have held themselves bound to supply the deficiencies of the law of Congress, and for this end have referred the suspected slave to a higher tribunal, and given him the benefit of trial by jury. To our great sorrow, this State legislation has been pronounced unconstitutional by a recent decree of the Supreme Court of the United States; so that the colored man is driven back to the court to which he had been unjustly doomed before. On this decree it becomes me not to pass sentence; but one thing is clear, that the Free States are now bound to the most earnest efforts to protect that portion of their citizens exposed to the peril of being carried into bondage.

The grand principle to be laid down is, that it is infinitely more important to preserve a free citizen from being made a slave than to send back a fugitive slave to his chain. This idea is to rule over and determine all the legislation on this subject. Let the fugitive be delivered up, but by such processes as will prevent a freeman from being delivered up also. For this end full provision must be made. On this point the Constitution,

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and a still higher law, that of nature and God, speak the same language; and we must insist that these high authorities shall be revered.

The Constitution opens with these memorable words: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure *the blessings of liberty* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." It is understood and conceded that this preamble does not confer on the national government any powers but such as are specified in the subsequent articles of the instrument; but it teaches, and was designed to teach, the spirit in which these powers are to be interpreted and brought into action. "To secure the blessings of liberty" is enumerated among the purposes of the national compact; and whoever knows the history of the Constitution knows that this was the grand purpose for which the powers of the Constitution were conferred. That the liberty of each man, of the obscurest man, should be inviolate; this was the master-thought in the authors of this immortal charter. According to these views we have a right to demand of Congress, as their highest constitutional duty, to carry into the enactment of every law a reverence for the freedom of each and all. A law palpably exposing the freeman to be made a slave, and even rendering his subjection to this cruel doom nearly sure, is one of the most unconstitutional acts, if the spirit of the Constitution be regarded, which the national legislature can commit. The Constitution is violated, not only by the assumption of powers not conceded, but equally by using conceded powers to the frustration of

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the end for which they were conferred. In the law regulating the delivery of supposed fugitives the great end of the national charter is sacrificed to an accidental provision. This Constitution was not established to send back slaves to chains. The article requiring this act of the Free States was forced on them by the circumstances of the times, and submitted to as a hard necessity. It did not enter into the essence of the instrument; whilst the security of freedom was its great, living, all-pervading idea. We see the tendency of slavery to warp the Constitution to its purposes in the law for restoring the flying bondman. Under this not a few, having not only the same natural but legal rights with ourselves, have been subjected to the lash of the overseer.

But a higher law than the Constitution protests against the act of Congress on this point. According to the law of nature no greater crime against a human being can be committed than to make him a slave. This is to strike a blow at the very heart and centre of all his rights as a man; to put him beneath his race. On the ground of the immutable law of nature our government has pronounced the act of making a man a slave on the coast of Africa to be piracy, a capital crime. And shall the same government enact or sustain a law which exposes the freeman here to be reduced to slavery, which gives facilities to the unprincipled for accomplishing this infinite wrong? And what is the end for which the freeman is so exposed? It is that a man flying from an unjust yoke may be forced back to bondage, an end against which natural and divine justice protests; so that, to confirm and perpetuate one violation of the moral law, another still greater is left open and made easy to the kidnapper.

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There seems no need of enlarging on this point. Every man who enjoys liberty can understand what it is to be made a slave, to be held and treated as property, to be subjected to arbitrary will, to arbitrary punishment, to the loss of wife and child, at another's pleasure. Every man knows what he would feel at having a son or a daughter torn from him and sent to slavery. And liberty is not a whit dearer to us than it is to a human brother whose only misfortune it is to wear a darker skin. We are bound to extend to him the same protection of law as to our own child.

To condemn a man to perpetual slavery is as solemn a sentence as to condemn him to death. Before being thus doomed he has a right to all the means of defence which are granted to a man who is tried for his life. All the rules, forms, solemnities by which innocence is secured from being confounded with guilt he has a right to demand. In the present case the principle is eminently applicable, that many guilty should escape rather than that one innocent man should suffer; because the guilt of running away from an "owner" is of too faint a color to be seen by some of the best eyes, whilst that of enslaving the free is of the darkest hue.

The Constitution provides that no man shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." A man delivered up as a slave is deprived of all property, all liberty, and placed in a condition where life and limb are held at another's pleasure. Does he enjoy the benefits of "a due process of law," when a common justice of the peace, selected by the master, and receiving the master as a witness, passes sentence on him without jury and without appeal?

It is of great importance that a new and satisfactory

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law on this subject should be passed by Congress. It is a serious evil to perpetuate legislation against which the moral sense of the community protests. In this country public opinion is the strength of the laws, is the grand force with which the public authorities must surround themselves. The present law for the recovery of fugitive slaves is reprobated, not by the passions, but by the deliberate moral judgments of large portions of the Free States ; and such being the case, it cannot be executed. There are a thousand ways of evading it without force. In some parts of the country, I fear, it might be resisted by force, should its execution be urged ; and although a law demanded by justice should never be yielded to the fear of tumult ; though we ought to encounter violence rather than make a sacrifice of duty ; yet, on the other hand, it is most unwise to uphold a palpably unrighteous law, which by its unrighteousness endangers the public peace. In such a case the chief responsibility for the danger rests on the obstinacy of the legislator. The appointed guardian of social order proves its foe.

A trial by jury ought to be granted to the suspected fugitive, as being the most effectual provision for innocence known to our laws. It is said, that, under such a process, the slave will not be restored to his master. Undoubtedly the jury is an imperfect tribunal, and may often fail of a wise and just administration of the laws. But, as we have seen, the first question to be asked is, How shall the freeman be preserved from being sentenced to slavery ? This is an infinitely greater evil than the escape of the fugitive ; and to avert this, a trial by jury should be granted, unless some other process as safe and effectual can be devised.

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In these remarks I would not intimate that the slave-holders as a body desire a loose law, which will place the innocent at their mercy, in order to be kidnappers. The South is as incapable of this baseness as the North. But in both regions there are too many men profligate enough to use such a law for the perpetration of the greatest crime. We know that the existing law has been so used that the facilities and temptations which it ministers to the grossest violation of right have whetted cupidity and instigated to cruelty. Then it must be changed.

The slave-holder must not say that a change will annul his claim on the flying slave. He ought to consider, that, in insisting on processes for enforcing his claim which cannot but result in enslaving the free, he virtually enrols himself among kidnappers. Still more, he should understand that his only chance of asserting his claim rests on the establishment of such a law as will secure the rights of the colored man of the Free States. There is a jealousy on this point among us, which, as it is righteous, must be respected. It is a spreading jealousy, and will obstruct more and more the operation of the existing law. It must not be spoken of as a fever which has reached its height. It is a sign of returning moral health, and its progress will be aided by perseverance in immoral means of reclaiming the flying slave.

Having shown how the Free States are bound to construe the clause of the Constitution relating to fugitive slaves, or, rather, "persons held to service in other States," I proceed, in the second place, to show the strict construction which should be given to those parts of the Constitution under which the general government

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has been led to take slavery into its protection, *in its intercourse with foreign nations.* This agency is believed to be wholly without warrant; and it threatens so to extend itself, and to disturb so much our relations with foreign states, that we are bound, not only by considerations of morality, but of our essential interests, to reduce it within the precise limits of the Constitution.

By this instrument the powers of declaring war, appointing ambassadors, raising armies, and making treaties are conferred on the national government. The protection of our rights against foreign powers was undoubtedly a principal end of the Union. Every part of the country expects and requires it "to provide for the common defence." But it is plain that this duty of the national government, to watch over our rights abroad, cannot go beyond those rights. It cannot seek redress but for wrongs inflicted by foreign powers. To insist on groundless, unreasonable claims is an unwarrantable abuse of power; and to put in peril our national peace by assertion of these is to violate at once the national charter, and the higher law of universal justice and good-will.

The grand principle to be adopted by the North is this, that, because certain States of this Union see fit to pronounce certain human beings within their territory to be property, foreign nations are not bound to regard and treat these persons as property, when brought within their jurisdiction. Of consequence, the national government has no claim on foreign governments in regard to slaves carried beyond the limits of the South and found in other countries. The master has no authority over them in a foreign land. They appear there as men. They have rights there as real, as sacred, as the country

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has from which they came, and these must on no account be sported with.

The rights of the individual lie at the very foundation of civil society; and society, truly constituted, confirms, instead of taking them away. The simple idea of a nation is, that it is the union of a multitude to establish and enforce laws for the protection of every right. A nation is not to depart from this, its true idea, its primitive end, and deny to human beings entering its borders the common rights of humanity, because these men have been seized in another part of the world and reduced to the condition of chattels or brutes. One injustice does not induce the necessity of another. Because a man is wronged in one place, it does not follow that he must be wronged everywhere. A particular state cannot by its form of legislation bind the whole earth to become partakers with it in a crime. It would seem as if the fact of a man's having been injured on one spot were rather a reason for his enjoying peculiar protection elsewhere.

The local, municipal law which ordains slavery in a state does not make it just, does not make man rightful property, even in the particular country where it is established. This law, however, is to be respected in a certain sense by foreign nations. These must not enter the slave-holding country to enforce emancipation. But, in thus restraining themselves, they acknowledge no moral right in the master, no moral validity in the law declaring man property. They act simply on the principle, that one nation is not to intermeddle with the legislation of another, be it wise or foolish, just or unjust. Foreign nations are not to touch a law creating slavery in a particular country, because they touch none of the laws there. If that country choose to ordain polygamy,

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as in the Eastern world, or stealing, as in Sparta, or prostitution, as in some established religions of antiquity, no other nations can interfere to repeal these ordinances But, because unmolested in the place of their birth, are these institutions to be carried beyond it, to be regarded as sacred by other governments, and not only to be allowed, but to be enforced in foreign regions? Shall a Mahometan country hold itself wronged and declare war, because one of its subjects, carrying with him a hundred wives, cannot set up a harem in a Christian country, or cannot receive the aid and succour of the authorities of a foreign port in recovering fifty of his women who had found their way to the shore? Are the tribunals of a country to lend themselves to the execution of foreign laws which are opposed to its own, and which, not only its policy, but its religion and moral sense condemn?

The sum of these remarks is, that slavery is not to be spoken of as recognized in any sense whatever by nations which disclaim it; that to them it does not exist as a right anywhere; that in their own jurisdiction it cannot exist as a fact; and from these views it follows that no nation, allowing or ordaining slavery within its limits, has a right to demand any recognition of it in any shape or degree beyond its own borders. To attempt to protect it or to require protection for it in the ports of another country is to set up not merely a groundless, but an iniquitous claim. To charge another country with wrong-doing for not aiding us to retain this property is to do wrong ourselves, and to offer an insult to a more righteous community.

The Constitution, then, which commits to the national authorities the maintenance of our rights abroad, is

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transcended, its powers are unwarrantably stretched, when the government goes abroad to claim respect in any form or degree to the slave-laws of a part of this country, or when it introduces slavery at all as a matter of controversy into our discussions with foreign powers. To these slavery does not exist. In their own sphere they do not become accountable to us by utter disregard of the slave-laws of the South, or by refusing to see any thing but men in the slaves of that region, when carried by any means whatever within their bounds. Slavery is a word which should never be uttered between us and foreign states. It is as local a matter as the licensing of gambling houses at New Orleans, and can with no more fitness be made a matter of diplomacy. It is we who are guilty of encroachment, when we deny the right of other nations to follow their own laws, rather than ours, within their own limits, and to regard as men all human beings who enter their ports.

When we look into the Constitution, we see not one express obligation imposed in regard to slavery. "Persons held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof," and who escape from it, are to be restored. This language, as we have seen in the first part of this Tract, was adopted to exclude the recognition of the lawfulness of slavery "in a moral point of view." The Constitution, in requiring the surrender of slaves in one case only, leaves them in all other cases to come under the operation of the laws of the Free States, when found within the limits of the same. Does not the Constitution, then, plainly expect that slaves from the South, if carried into foreign ports, will fall under the operation of the laws established there?

There is still another view. Slavery is limited in this

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country to one region. In the rest of the country it does not exist; and, still more, it is regarded as a violation of the law of nature and of God. Now the general government, when it calls on foreign nations to respect the claims of the slave-holder, speaks in the name, not merely of the Slave States, but of the Free; in the name of the whole people. And ought the whole people to be thus committed to the cause of slavery, unless an undoubted, unequivocal obligation is imposed on them by the Constitution to assume its defence? unless a clear case can be made out against the Free States? The Constitution is to be explained in part by the known views of its authors. We have seen how slow they were to recognize a moral right in slavery. Did they intend that we should assert its claims to the ends of the earth?

It is true the national government has interfered to claim slaves thrown on a foreign shore, and this consideration is of weight. But in so grave an affair it does not decide the constitutional question. That the administration of the national government has been unduly swayed by the slave-holding portion of the country we of the North believe. That under this influence an unwarrantable extension of constitutional powers has taken place is very conceivable. False interpretations of such an instrument, which favor the interests of one part of the people without apparently touching the rest of the community, easily steal into the public policy. Time alone exposes them, and time ought not to be alleged as a reason for their continuance.

In interpreting the Constitution it is not only necessary to consult the history of the period of its formation, but to apply to it the principles of universal justice. Its

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authors honored these, and did not intend to establish a government in hostility to them. They acted in the spirit of reverence for human rights. This is eminently the spirit of the Constitution, and by this it should be construed. Doubtful articles should receive an interpretation which will bring them into harmony with the immutable laws of duty. Any other construction virtually falls to the ground. It is of no force, for it cannot shake the authority of God. On these principles we maintain that the Constitution does not and cannot bind the government to demand from the whole human race respect to the municipal law of Southern slavery.

This topic is not a merely speculative one, but of great practical importance. Our honor as a people is involved in the construction of the Constitution now pleaded for. This is not the day for setting up pretensions in favor of slavery, for demanding from the whole civilized world succour and countenance in enforcing our property in man. We disgrace ourselves in sending abroad ministers on such a message. We should regard our character too much to thrust the deformity and stench of slavery into the eyes and nostrils of the world. We should regard too much the reputation of honorable men, who represent us in foreign countries, to employ them in this low work. An American, alive to his country's honor, cannot easily bear this humiliation abroad. It is enough, that, in our private intercourse with foreigners, we are set down as citizens of a slave-holding country. But we need not and ought not to hold up our shame in the blaze of courts, in the high places of the world. We ought not industriously to invite men everywhere to inspect our wounds and ulcers. Let us keep our dishonor at home. The Free States especially

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should shrink from this exposure. They should insist that slavery shall be a State interest, not a national concern; that this brand shall not be fixed on our diplomacy, on our foreign policy; that the name of American shall not become synonymous everywhere with oppression.

But something more than dishonor is to be feared, if our government shall persevere in its efforts for maintaining the claims of slave-holders in foreign countries. Such claims, if asserted in earnest, must issue in war, for they cannot be acceded to. England has taken her ground on this matter; so ought the Free States. On this point we ought to speak plainly, unconditionally, without softening language. We ought to say to the South, to Congress, to the world: "We *will not* fight for slavery. We can die for Truth, for Justice, for Rights. We will not die, or inflict death, in support of wrongs." In truth, this spirit, this determination, exists now so extensively in the Free States that it is utterly impossible for a war to be carried on in behalf of slavery; and such being the fact, all diplomacy in its behalf becomes a mockery. It is a disgraceful show for no possible benefit. Even could war be declared for this end, the deep moral feeling of a large part of the community would rob it of all energy, and would insure defeat and shame. Bad as we think men, they cannot fight against their consciences. The physical nature finds its strength in the moral. The rudest soldiers are sustained by the idea of acting under some lawful authority; and on this account have an advantage over pirates, who either cower, or abandon themselves to a desperation which, by robbing them of a guiding intelligence, makes them an easier prey. In proportion as a people become en-

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lightened, and especially in proportion as they recognize the principles of Christianity, it is harder to drive them into a war. The moral sense, which in an ignorant age or community is easily blinded, cannot in their case be imposed on without much skilful sophistry. They take the justice of a war less and less on trust. They must see that they have right on their side, or they are no match for a foe. This country has the best materials for an army in a righteous cause, and the worst in a wicked one. No martial law could drive us to battle for the slave-holder's claim to the aid or countenance of foreign powers. We could not fight in such a quarrel. Our "hands would hang down" as truly as if loaded with material chains. To fight for a cause at which we blush! for a cause which conscience protests against! for a cause on which we dare not ask the blessing of God! The thing is impossible. Our moral sympathies would desert to our foe. We should honor him for not suffering a slave to tread his soil. God keep us from being plunged into a war of any kind! But if the evil is to be borne, let us have, at least, the consolation that our blood is shed for undoubted rights; that we have truth, justice, honor on our side; that religion, freedom, and humanity are not leagued with our foe.

> "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,
> And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
> Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

I proceed, in the third place, to another topic, which will complete my remarks on the Duties of the Free States in relation to slavery under the present provisions of the Constitution. These States are bound to insist on *the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the*

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District of Columbia. Their power in this regard is unquestionable. To Congress is committed exclusively the government of the District, and it is committed without any restrictions. In this sphere of its action the general government has no limitations, but those which are found in the principles of the Constitution and of universal justice. The power of abolishing slavery in the District is a rightful one, and must be lodged somewhere, and can be exercised by Congress alone. And this authority ought not to sleep.

Slavery in the District of Columbia is not Southern slavery. It has no local character. It is the slavery of the United States! It belongs equally to the free and to the slave-holding portion of the country. It is *our* institution as truly as if it were planted in the midst of us; for this District is the common ground of the nation. Its institutions exist solely by authority of the nation. They are as truly expressions of the national will as any acts of Congress whatever. We all uphold the slave-code under which men are bought and sold and whipped at their masters' pleasure. Every slave-auction in the District is held under our legislation. We are even told that the prison of the District is used for the safe-keeping of the slaves who are brought there for sale. In the former part of these remarks I said that the Free States had no participation in this evil. I forgot the District of Columbia. There we sustain it as truly as we support the navy or army. It ought, then, to be abolished at once. And in urging this action we express no hostility towards Southern institutions. We do not think of the South. We see within a spot under our jurisdiction a great wrong sustained by law. For this law we are responsible. For all its fruits we must give account. We

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owe, then, to God, to conscience, to rectitude, our best efforts for its abolition. We have no thought of limiting Southern institutions. It is our own unjust, unhallowed institution which we resolve no longer to maintain. Can the Free States consent to continue their partnership in this wrong? They have not even the poor consolation of profiting by the crime. The handful of slaves in the District may be of some worth to a few masters, but are utterly insignificant in their relation to the country. They might be bought by the government and set free at less expense than is incurred in passing many an act of Congress.

Emancipation in the present case is opposed by the South, not on account of any harm to be endured by the District or the country, but simply because this measure would be a public, formal utterance of the moral conviction of the Free States on the subject of slavery. Our case is a hard one indeed. We are required to support what we abhor, because by withdrawing our support we shall express our abhorrence of it. We must go on sinning, lest we become witnesses against sin. Could we root slavery out of the District without declaring it to be evil, emancipation would be comparatively easy; but we are required to sustain it, because we think it evil, and must not show our thoughts. We must cling to a wrong, because our associates at the South will not consent to the reproof implied in our desertion of it. And can it be that we are so wanting in moral principle and force as to yield to these passionate partners? Is not our path clear? Can any thing authorize us to sanction slavery by solemn acts of legislation? Are any violations of right so iniquitous as those which are perpetrated by law, by that function of sov-

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ereignty which has the maintenance of right for its foundation and end? Can it be that the Free States send their most illustrious men to Congress to set their seal to slavery? that the national government, intended to be the centre of what is most august and imposing in our land, should be turned into a legislature of a slave-district, and should put forth its vast powers in sustaining a barbarous slave-code? If this must be, then does it not seem fit, that the national eagle should add the whip of the overseer to the arrows and olive-branch which he now grasps in his talons?

But this is not all. The District of Columbia is not only tainted with slavery, but it is a great, I believe the greatest, slave-market in our country. To this human beings are driven as cattle; driven sometimes, if not often, in chains. It is even reported that the slave-coffle is sometimes headed by the flag of the United States. To this spot, the metropolis of our nation, are brought multitudes of our fellow-creatures, torn from their homes by force and for others' gain, and heart-stricken by the thought of birth-place and friends to be seen no more. Here women are widowed and children made orphans, whilst the husband and the parent still live. A more cruel minister than death has been at work in their forsaken huts. These wronged fellow-beings are then set up for sale, and women, as well as men, are subjected to an examination like that which draught-horses undergo at an auction. That the seat of the national government should be made a mart for this shameful traffic is not to be endured. On this point some deference is due to the Free States and the character of the country. The spot on which we all meet as equals, and which is equally under the jurisdiction of

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all, ought to be kept clean from a trade which the majority think inhuman and a disgrace to the land. On this point there can be no doubt as to the constitutional power of Congress. That body may certainly remove a nuisance from a spot which is subject to its unrestricted authority. A common township may abate nuisances. In many of the States the municipal authorities may prohibit, if they see fit, the sale of ardent spirits within their limits. Congress may certainly say, that the "ten-miles square" ceded to the United States shall not be a market for slaves. Washington holds a peculiar relation to the country. Foreigners repair to it as the spot in which to observe our institutions. That slavery, our chief stain, should be exposed most ostentatiously at the seat of government is a violation of national decency, a sign of moral obtuseness, of insensibility to the moral judgment of mankind, which ought immediately to cease.

I have now spoken of the Duties of the Free States under the Constitution as it now exists. I proceed to a still higher duty incumbent on them, which is, to seek earnestly and resolutely for such amendments of the Constitution as shall entirely release them from the obligation of yielding support in any way or degree to slavery, and shall so determine the relation between the Free and Slave States as to put an end to all collision on this subject.

This I have said is a Duty, and as such it should be constantly regarded. The Free States should act in it with the calmness and inflexibleness of Principle, avoiding on the one hand passionateness, vehemence, invective, and on the other a spirit of expediency. It is a

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question, not of interest, but of Rights, and consequently above expediency. Happily, interest and duty go together in this matter; and were it not so, our first homage should be paid to the Right. The Free States should say, calmly, but firmly, to the South: "We cannot participate in slavery. It is yours, wholly and exclusively. On you alone the responsibility rests. You must maintain and defend it by your own arms. As respects slavery we are distinct communities, as truly as in respect to institutions for the support of the poor or for the education of our children. Your slavery is no national concern. The nation must know nothing of it, must do nothing in reference to it. We will not touch your slaves, to free or restore them. Our powers in the State or National Governments shall not be used to destroy or to uphold your peculiar institutions. We only ask such modifications of the national charter as shall set us free from all obligation to uphold what we condemn. In regard to slavery, the line between the Slave and the Free States is a great gulf. You must not pass it to enforce your supposed rights as slave-holders, nor will we cross it to annul or violate the laws on which this evil system rests."

The reasons for thus modifying the Constitution are numerous. The first has been again and again intimated. The moral sentiment of the North demands it. Since the adoption of the Constitution a new state of mind in regard to slavery has spread through the civilized world. It is not of American growth only, but subsists and acts more powerfully abroad than at home. Slavery, regarded formerly as a question of great interest, is now a question of conscience. Vast numbers in the Free States cannot without self-reproach give it

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sanction or aid. From many family altars the prayer rises to God for our brethren in bonds. The anti-slavery principle finds utterance in our churches, by our firesides, and in our public meetings. Now the Constitution ought to be brought into harmony with the moral convictions of the people. A government resisting these deprives itself of its chief support. If we were to call on the South for a modification of the Constitution, under the influence of any private motives, any interests, any passions, we ought not to be heard. But the slave-holders, as men of principle and of honor, should shrink from asking us to do what we deliberately and conscientiously condemn. Allow it, that our moral sense is too scrupulous. We must still reverence and obey it. We have no higher law than our conviction of duty. We ought especially not to be asked to resist it in a case like the present, when our conscience is in unison with the conscience of the civilized world. Christendom responds to our reprobation of slavery; and can we be expected to surrender our principles to a handful of men personally interested in the evil? We say to the South: "We are willing to be joined with you as a nation for weal or for woe. We reach to you the hand of fellowship. We ask but one thing; do not require us to surrender what is dearer than life or nation, our sense of duty, our loyalty to conscience and God." Will an honorable people demand this sacrifice from us? Great deference is due to the moral sense of a community. This should take rank above political considerations. To ask a people to trifle with and slight it is to invite them to self-degradation. No profit can repay their loss, no accession of power can hide their shame.

Another reason for modifying the Constitution, so

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that slavery shall be wholly excluded from the class of national objects, is found in the fact, that this interest, if allowed to sustain itself by the national arm, will intertwine itself more and more with public measures, and will color our whole policy, so that the Free States will be more and more compelled to link themselves with its support. Could the agency of the government in regard to this subject be rigidly defined, the evil would be more tolerable. But it is natural that the Slave-holding States should seek to make the national power as far as possible a buttress of their "peculiar institution." It is as slave-holders, rather than as Americans, that they stand in Congress; slavery must be secured, whatever befall other interests of the country. The people of the North little understand what the national government has done for the "peculiar institution" of the South. It has been, and is, the friend of the slave-holder, and the enemy of the slave. The national government authorizes not only the apprehension and imprisonment in the District of Columbia of a colored man suspected of being a runaway, but the sale of him as a slave, if within a certain time he cannot prove his freedom. The national government has endeavoured to obtain by negotiation the restoration of fugitive slaves, who had sought and found freedom in Canada, and has offered in return to restore fugitives from the West Indies. It has disgraced itself, in the view of all Europe, by claiming, as property, slaves who have been shipwrecked on the British islands, and who by touching British soil had become free. It has instructed its representative at Madrid to announce to the Spanish Court "that the emancipation of the slave population of Cuba would be very severely felt in the adjacent shores of the

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United States." It has purchased a vast unsettled territory which it has given up to be overrun with slavery. Are we willing that the national power, in which all the States have a common interest and share, and for the use of which we are all responsible, should be so employed?

How far slavery does and will sway the national government may be judged from the fact, that it is a bond of union to all who participate in it; that the South is prepared by it for a coöperation unknown at the North; and that, of consequence, it gives to the South, in no small degree, the control of the country. The jealousies of the slave-holder never sleep. They mix with and determine our public policy in matters which we might think least open to this pernicious influence. Of late, one of the most distinguished men in the country,* the citizen of a Free State, was nominated as Minister to the English Court. He had one qualification, perhaps, above any man who could have been selected for the office; that is, a thorough acquaintance with our controversy with Great Britain as to the northern boundary. His large intellectual culture, his literary eminence, his admirable powers, and his experience in public affairs, fitted him to represent the United States in the metropolis of Europe, where a man of narrow education and ordinary powers would dishonor his country. But the nomination of this gentleman was resisted vehemently in the Senate, on the ground that he had expressed his moral opposition to slavery; and that he would not, therefore, plead the cause of slavery at the Court of St. James. For a time his appointment was despaired of, and it was confirmed at last only by a

* Edward Everett.

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firmness of remonstrance which the South could not safely oppose. The action of the slave-holders on this subject, though not carried through, does not the less manifest their spirit and policy. They have virtually expressed their purpose to exclude from all places of trust and honor every man from the North who expresses his moral feelings against slavery. And as these feelings are spreading among us and gaining strength, the slave-holder has virtually passed a sentence of proscription on the North. If possible, the door of the Cabinet is to be shut in our faces. The executive power must be lodged in other hands. Our most enlightened and virtuous citizens must not represent the country abroad. This rejection of a man on the ground of a moral conviction which pervades the North is equivalent to a general disfranchisement. A new test for office, never dreamed of before, is to exclude us from the service of the country in those high public trusts which are the chief instruments of public influence. And can we consent to become a proscribed race? Shall our adherence to great principles be punished by civil degradation? Can we renounce all kindred with our fathers, and suffer our very love of freedom and justice to be a brand of disqualification for offices which by the Constitution are thrown equally open to all?

The nomination of our Minister to England was all but rejected, and in this we see how slavery has complicated itself with our most important national affairs; how it determines the weightiest acts of the general government; how it taints our foreign as well as domestic policy. The North cannot hope to escape with lending a helping hand now and then to Southern institutions. We must put our shoulders to the wheel. We must be

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governed throughout with reference to slavery. Were this the place, it would be easy to show how the South, by a skilful management of the parties of the North, has bent and may continue to bend the general government to its purposes; how slavery has been made a means of concentrating power into the hands of those who uphold it. This institution is not a narrow interest, seldom intruding itself, too trifling to quarrel about; but a poisonous element, acting subtly on public affairs when it seems to be quiet, and sometimes breaking out into violences dishonorable to our national councils and menacing to the Union. Its influences are not concealed; and the time has come for solemn, earnest effort to sever it from the government which it would usurp.

I proceed to offer another reason for so modifying the Constitution as to exclude slavery from its objects, which is akin to the last, but so important as to deserve distinct consideration. The slave-power in Congress not only mixes with and controls public measures, but it threatens our dearest rights and liberties. It is natural for every power to act and manifest itself according to its peculiar character. We ought not, then, to wonder that slavery should set at nought all rights with which it comes in conflict. And yet that it should be so bold, so audacious, as it has proved itself, awakens some astonishment. We believed that the Constitution had placed some rights above the reach of any party or power; yet on these especially slavery has laid its hand. The Right of Petition is one of the last we might suppose to be denied to a people. It has such a foundation in nature that it is respected where other rights are trodden down. The despot opens his ears to the petitions of his subjects. But in the Congress of a free

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people petitions and memorials from large numbers of citizens, and even from public bodies, have been treated with indignity, and refused a hearing. But this is not all. The slave-power has, if possible, taken a more daring step. A member of the House of Representatives * has been censured by that body for presenting a series of grave resolutions asserting the relation of the government to slavery, and denying the extension of its powers to slaves removed beyond our jurisdiction.

Liberty of speech has been secured to us by an express provision of the Constitution; and if this right is especially inviolable in any person, it is in the representative of the people standing up in Congress to utter his own views and those of his constituents on great questions of public policy. That such a man should be put to silence, should be subjected to censure for expressing his conviction in the calmest style, is a stretch of power, an excess of tyranny, which would have been pronounced impossible a few years since. This is to invade Liberty in her holiest place, her last refuge. It was not the individual who was wronged, but the constituents in whose name he spoke; the State from which he came; the whole nation, who can only be heard through its representatives.

This act stands alone, we conceive, in representative bodies. I have inquired, and cannot learn that the English Parliament, omnipotent as it declares itself, ever offered this outrage to freedom, this insult to the people. Until this moment the liberty of speech in Congress has been held so sacred that the representative in debate has been left to violate without reproof good manners and the decencies of social life; to bring dishonor on

* Joshua R. Giddings.

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himself and his country by coarseness and ribaldry ; to consume hour after hour, perhaps the day, in declamations which have owed their inspiration less to wisdom than to wine. During this very session we have witnessed the spectacle of members of the House of Representatives denouncing and insulting the President of the United States, a coördinate power of the government, and entitled to peculiar respect, as embodying and representing the nation to foreign countries ; and this indecorum has been submitted to, lest the freedom of speech in that chamber should be encroached on. But because a representative of high character has thought fit to express, in the most unexciting style, his deliberate convictions on a solemn question which threatens the country with war, he has been subjected to the indignity of a public rebuke. And why is he selected above all others for punishment ? Because he has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny both the right and the obligation of the government to protect slavery beyond the limit of the United States. For this sound exposition of the national charter he is denied an immunity extended to the brawler and traducer. Can a precedent more fatal to freedom be conceived ? Where is this tyranny to stop ? Is there any doctrine, any construction of the Constitution, any vindication of the rights of his constituents, that may chance to be unpopular, for which a representative may not incur this public rebuke ? Is the tameness of the Free States under this usurpation the way to suppress it ? If even in Congress unpopular truth may not be spoken, what pledge have we that it may be uttered anywhere else ? A blow has been struck at freedom of speech in all its forms ; and in regard to no other right should we be so jealous as in

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regard to this As long as we retain this we retain the means of defending all our other rights, of redressing all wrongs. Take this away and we have no redress but in force.

By the Constitution each house of Congress has power to punish a member for disorderly behaviour. In England, too, members may be punished for "contempt of the house." But in these cases it is not intended to lay the least restraint on the discussion of public measures. In these cases the sacredness of the representative character is not violated. On the contrary, the individual is punished for insulting the representative body, the honor of which is, indeed, his own. It is to preserve the house from disorders which would infringe its privilege of free discussion that this power over its members is chiefly required. The act of punishing a member for speaking his mind on general topics, on the principles of the Constitution, is an unprecedented tyranny, which ought to have raised a burst of indignation from one end of the country to the other. What right may not be invaded next? If the freedom of the press, if the right of worshipping God, shall be thought to come in conflict with slavery, what reason have we to hope that these, or any other of our liberties, will escape violation? Nothing is more common in life than to see men who are accustomed to one outrage on rights emboldened to maintain this by others and more flagrant. This experience of the usurpations of the slave-power should teach us to avoid all contact with it, to exclude it from our national government. On this point, of slavery, the two sections of the country should be separate nations. They should hold no communion.

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These remarks suggest another reason for so modifying the Constitution as to release the Free States from all action on slavery. It is almost too plain a reason to be named, and yet too important to be overlooked. Until such modification be made, the country can know no peace. The Free and Slave-holding States will meet in Congress, not to maintain peace, not to provide for the common liberty, the common welfare, the common defence, but for war. Subjects of public interest will not be looked at simply, nakedly, according to their own merits, but through the medium of jealousy and hatred, and according to their apparent bearing on slavery. The "peculiar institution" of the South is peculiarly sensitive and irritable. It detects signs and menaces of danger in harmless movements, and does not weigh its words in resenting supposed injury. With this root of bitterness in our government, we must expect distracted public councils; we must witness fiery passions in the place of wise deliberations. The different sections of the country will become hostile camps.

It is painful to advert to the style of debate which the subject of slavery almost always excites in Congress, because it can hardly be spoken of without stirring up unpleasant feeling. On this subject the fiery temperament of the South disdains control. The North, it is true, has the comfort of knowing that it is better to be insulted than to insult; and yet it is a position not very favorable to the temper or to self-respect, to be compelled to listen to such language as Northern men hear on the floor of Congress. The consequences are inevitable. Forbearance has limits; and reproach awakens reaction. Already a venerable representative from

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a Free State,* whose moral courage, in union with his great powers, places him at the head of the public men of the country, has presented a front of stern opposition to the violence of the South. We thank him for his magnanimity. It is, perhaps, the greatest public service ever rendered in Congress to the North; for no man serves his country like him who exalts its spirit. Still, we must allow that the eloquence of this illustrious statesman has not tended to heal the wounds of the nation; and, as friends of the Union, we must earnestly desire to banish from our public councils the irritating subject which has given birth to the conflicts in which he has borne so distinguished a part. No remedy short of this will meet the evil, nor can the remedy be applied too suddenly. The breach is widening every day. The unwillingness of the North to participate in slavery grows stronger every day. The love of the Union has suppressed as yet the free utterance of this feeling; but the restraints of prudence are continually giving way. Slavery will not much longer have the floor of the Senate to itself, or rule the House with an iron hand. Freedom will find tongues there. The open advocates of human rights, as yet a small, heroic band, will spring up as a host. Is it not the part of wisdom to put an end to these deadly feuds? Is the Union to become a name? Is its chief good, concord, to be given up in despair? And must not concord be despaired of as long as slavery shall enter into the discussions of Congress? The dissensions growing out of slavery throw a fearful uncertainty over the fortunes of this country. Let us end them at once by dissolving wholly the connexion between slavery and our national concerns.

* John Quincy Adams

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There is one consideration which should reconcile the South to such an arrangement. The Constitution, if not so modified, can render little service to slavery. In this country, no law, no constitution can prevail against the moral convictions of the people. These are stronger than parchments, statutes, or tribunals. There is a feeling in regard to slavery, spreading rapidly, which cannot be withstood. It is not a fanaticism, a fever, but a calm, moral, religious persuasion; and whatever in our institutions opposes this will be a dead letter. No violence is needed to annul a law which the moral feelings of a free community condemn. The simple abstinence of the people from action in favor of an unrighteous law, and the displeasure with which they visit such as are officious in its support, will avail more than armies. The South, then, in admitting such changes of the Constitution as are proposed, will make no great sacrifice. Slavery must at any rate cease to look Northward for aid. Let it, then, consent to retire within its own bounds. Let it not mix itself with our national affairs. Let the word slavery no longer be named within the walls of Congress. Such is the good now to be sought. The North should be stirred up to demand it with one voice. Petitions, memorials, directed to this end, should be poured in upon Congress as a flood. The Free States should employ political action in regard to slavery for one purpose alone, and that is, to prevent all future political action on the subject; to sever it wholly from the government; to save the country from its disturbing influence.

Such seems to me to be the urgent duty of the Free States. But it is not their whole duty. They are not to think of themselves only in the changes which are to

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be made. The South has claims as well as ourselves. Whilst we say we cannot give aid in holding the slaves in bondage, we are bound to pledge ourselves to abstain from all action on the slaves to set them free. We must not use the Union as a means of access to that part of the Southern population. We must regard them as belonging to foreign states, and must interfere with them no more than with the serfs of Russia or the bondmen of Turkey. On this point we should consent to enter into strict terms with the South. The best human feelings have tendencies to excess. The hostility to slavery at the North may pass its due bounds, and adopt modes of action which the South has a right to repel; and from these we should bind ourselves to abstain. For example; we have heard of men who have entered the Southern States to incite and aid the slave to take flight. We have also seen a convention at the North of highly respected men preparing and publishing an address to the slaves, in which they are exhorted to fly from bondage, and to feel no scruple in seizing and using horse or boat which may facilitate their escape. All such interference with the slave is wrong, and should cease. It gives some countenance to the predictions of cautious men as to the issues of the anti-slavery movement. It is a sign that the enemies of slavery are losing their patience, calmness, and self-controlling wisdom; that they cannot wait for the blessing of Providence on holy efforts; that the grandeur of the end is in danger of blinding them as to the character of the means.

We are bound to abstain from all such action on the slaves, not because the master has a rightful property in them, but on the plain ground that a Slave-holding State is a body politic, a civil community, the peace and or-

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der of which must not be invaded by the members of a foreign state. It is plain, that, if the action of a foreign community on the slave begin and be allowed, no limits to it can be prescribed, and insurrection and massacre are its almost necessary effects. I certainly wish the slave to flee, if he can do it without bloodshed and violence, and can find a shelter for his rights without exposing his character to overwhelming temptation. But were the Free States to incite the whole mass of slaves to fly; were one united, thrilling, exasperating cry from the North to ring through the South, and to possess the millions who are in bondage with the passion for escape; would not society be convulsed to its centre? and who of us could avert the terrible crimes which would be perpetrated in the name of liberty? No. Earnestly as I oppose slavery, I deprecate all interference with the slave within the jurisdiction of the Slave-holding States. I will plead his cause with whatever strength God has given me. But I can do no more. God forbid that I should work out his deliverance by force and blood!

These remarks are the more important because there seem to be growing up among us looser ideas than formerly prevailed on the subject of inciting the slaves to vindicate their rights. The common language leads to error. We are told, and told truly, that the slaveholder has no property in the man whom he oppresses; that the slave has a right to immediate freedom; and the inference which some make is, that the slave is authorized to use, without regard to consequences, the means of emancipation. The next inference is, that he is to be urged and aided to break his chain. But these views are too sweeping, and need important modifications.

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The slave has a right to liberty; but a right does not imply that it may be asserted by any and every means. There is a great law of humanity to which all are subject, the bond as well as the free, and which we must never lose sight of in redressing wrongs, or in claiming and insisting on our due. The slave cannot innocently adopt any and every expedient for vindicating his liberty. He is bound to waive his right, if in maintaining it he is to violate the law of humanity, and to spread general ruin. Were I confined unjustly to a house, I should have no right to free myself by setting it on fire, if thereby a family should be destroyed. An impressed seaman cannot innocently withhold his service in a storm, and would be bound to work even in ordinary weather, if this were needed to save the ship from foundering. We owe a debt of humanity even to him who wrongs us, and especially to those who are linked with him, and who must suffer, perhaps perish with him, if we seek to redress our wrong.

The slave is not property. He owes nothing, as a slave, to his master. On the contrary, the debt is on his master's side. But, though owing nothing as a slave, he owes much as a man. He must not, for the sake of his own liberty, involve a household in destruction. He must not combine with fellow-slaves and expose a community of men, women, children, to brutal outrage and massacre. When the chain can be broken only by inhumanity, he has no right to break it. A higher duty than that of asserting personal rights is laid on him. He is bound by Divine authority, by the Christian law, by enlightened conscience, to submit to his hard fate.

The slave's right to liberty, then, is a qualified one,

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qualified, not in the slightest degree by any right of property in his master, but solely by the great law of humanity. He is a man, under all the obligations of a member of the human family, and therefore bound at all times to unite a regard for others with a regard to himself. His master, indeed, denies his humanity, and treats him as a brute; and were he what his master deems him, he might innocently at any moment cut the throats of his master and master's wife and child. But his human nature, though trampled on, endures, and lays on him obligation to refrain from cruelty. From these views we learn that the right of the slave to free himself is not to be urged on him without reserve.

In these remarks I do not mean to say that I should blame the slave for rising at any moment against his master. In so doing he would incur no guilt; for in his ignorance he cannot comprehend why he should forbear. He would vindicate an undoubted right. His rude conscience would acquit him; and far be it from me to condemn! But we, who are more enlightened, who know the consequences of revolt, should beware of rousing that wild mass of degraded men to the assertion of their rights. Such consequences humanity commands us to respect. Were it not for these, I would summon that mass as loudly as any to escape. Could I by my words so awaken and guide the millions of slaves that without violence and bloodshed they could reach safely a land of freedom and order, I would shout in thunder-tones, "Fly! Fly!" But it is not given us thus to act in human affairs. It is not given us to enter and revolutionize a state, to subvert old institutions and plant new, without carrying with us strife, tumult, bloodshed, horrible crimes. The law of humanity, then, restrains

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us from this direct agency on other states. It restrains us from abandoning ourselves to our zeal for the oppressed. It restrains us from kindling the passions of the slave. It commands us to teach him patience and love.

May I here be allowed a moment's digression, which, indeed, has important connexions with the whole subject? The principle now laid down helps us to comprehend the language of the New Testament on the subject of slavery. The slave is again and again commanded by the Apostle to obey, and forbidden to purloin, or to answer rudely; and from such passages it has been argued that Christianity sanctions slavery. But the great question is, On what grounds, for what reasons, do the Scriptures enjoin obedience on the slave? Do they do so on the ground of any right of property in the master? This is the single question. Not an intimation to this effect is found in the Scriptures. They teach the slave to obey, not because he is a chattel, not because he is bound by human laws of property, but because he is bound by the Christian law of humanity and love; because he is bound everywhere to manifest a spirit of mildness and charity, and in this way to express the divine, elevating influences of his new religion.

At the introduction of Christianity slavery was an unutterable abomination, more horrible than what exists now. Good and great men, refined women, were then liable to be reduced to bondage. On the conquest of a country not only were prisoners of war sold as slaves without regard to rank or character, but, as in the case of Judea, the mass of the peaceful population were doomed to the yoke. To suppose that the apostles of

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Christ intended to sanction this infernal system is an insult to those generous men, and a blasphemy against our pure and merciful faith. But slavery was then so inwoven into the institutions of society, the dangers and horrors of a servile war were so great, the consequences of a proclamation of universal liberty would have been so terrible, the perils to the cause of Christianity, had it been so taught, would have been so imminent, and the motives for manifesting Christianity, at its birth, as a spirit of unbounded meekness and love, were so urgent that the apostles inculcated on the slaves an obedience free from every taint of dishonesty, wrath, or revenge. Their great motive, as they stated it, was, that Christianity might not be spoken against, that it might be seen breathing love and uprightness into men whose circumstances were peculiarly fitted to goad them to anger and revenge.

To suppose that the apostles recognized the right of the master, because they taught mildness and patience to the slave, is to show a strange ignorance of the New Testament. Our religion, in its hostility to a spirit of retaliation, violence, and revenge, enforces submission and patience as strongly on the free as on the slave. It says to us: "If a man smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. If he take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." Is this a recognition of our neighbour's right to smite us, to take our coat, and compel us to go a mile for his convenience?

Christianity has extended the law of humanity to a degree never dreamed of in earlier times, and but faintly comprehended now. It requires us all to love and serve

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our enemies, and to submit to unjust government, in language so strong and unqualified as to furnish an objection to its opposers; and in all these requisitions it has but one end, which is, to inspire the sufferer with forbearance and humanity, not to assert a right in the wrong-doer.

When I consider the tenderness which Christianity enjoins towards the injurious, I cannot but shrink from the lightness with which some speak of insurrection at the South. Were I to visit the slave, I should in every way discourage the spirit of violence and revenge. I should say: "Resist not evil; obey your master; forgive your enemies; put off wrath and hatred; put on meekness and love; do not lie or steal; govern your passions; be kind to one another; by your example and counsels lift up the degraded around you; be true to your wives, and loving to your children. And do not deem your lot in every view the worst on earth; the time is coming when it will be found better to have been a slave than a master; better to have borne the yoke than to have laid it on another. God regards you with mercy; He offers you his best blessings; 'He resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.'"

From all these views I am bound to discourage all action on the slaves on the part of those who reside in other States. When the individual slave flees to us, let us rejoice in his safe and innocent flight. But with the millions of slaves in the land of bondage we cannot intermeddle without incurring imminent peril. The evil is too vast, rooted, complicated, terrible, for strangers to deal with, except by that moral influence which we are authorized and bound to oppose firmly and fearlessly to all oppression. We may and ought to mourn over

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the chain which weighs down millions of our brethren, and to rouse the sympathies and convictions of the world in aid of their violated rights. Our moral power we must not cease to oppose to the master's claim; but the Free States must not touch this evil by legislation or physical power, or by any direct agency on the servile population. God has marked out our sphere of duty; and no passionate sense of injustice, no burning desire to redress wrong, must carry us beyond it. Having fully done the work given us to do, we must leave the evil to the control of Him who has infinite means of controlling it, whose almighty justice can shiver the chain of adamant as a wreath of mist is scattered by the whirlwind.

I have thus set forth what seem to me the chief duties of the Free States in regard to slavery. First, they must insist on such constructions of the Constitution as will save our own citizens from the grasp of this institution, as will prevent the extension of the powers of the government for its support beyond our own shores, and as will bring to an end slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; and secondly, we must insist on such modifications of the Constitution as will exempt us from every obligation to sustain and strengthen slavery, whilst at the same time we give every pledge not to use our relation to the slave-holder as a means of acting on the slave. These are solemn duties, not to the slaves only or chiefly, but to ourselves also. They involve our peace at home and abroad. They touch alike our rights and interests. On our performance of these depend the perpetuity of the Union and our rank among nations. Slavery, if it shall continue to be a national concern, and to insinuate itself into our domestic policy,

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will prove more and more a firebrand, a torch of the Furies. The agitation which it has produced is but the beginning of evils. Nothing but the separation of it from our federal system can give us peace.

The immediate purpose of these remarks has been answered. But the topic of the Duties of the Free States in relation to slavery has started various thoughts, and brought to view other duties more or less connected with my primary object; and as I have no desire to communicate again my thoughts on public affairs, I shall be glad to use this opportunity of disburdening my mind. My thoughts will arrange themselves under three heads, which, however imperfectly treated, deserve serious attention.

In the first place, the Free States are especially called to uphold the great Ideas or Principles which distinguish our country, and on which our Constitution rests. This may be said to be our highest political duty. Every country is characterized by certain great Ideas which pervade the people and the government, and by these chiefly its rank is determined. When one idea predominates strongly above all others, it is a key to a nation's history. The great idea of Rome, that which the child drank in with his mother's milk, was Dominion. The great Idea of France is Glory. In despotisms the idea of the King or the Church possesses itself of the minds of the people, and a superstitious loyalty or piety becomes the badge of the inhabitants. The most interesting view of this country is the grandeur of the idea which has determined its history, and which is expressed in all its institutions. Take away this, and we have nothing to distinguish us.

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In the refined arts, in manners, in works of genius, we are as yet surpassed. From our youth and insulated position, our history has no dazzling brilliancy. But one distinction belongs to us. A great idea from the beginning has been working in the minds of this people, and it broke forth with peculiar energy in our Revolution. This is the idea of Human Rights. In our Revolution Liberty was our watchword; but not a lawless liberty, not freedom from all restraint, but a moral freedom. Liberty was always regarded as each man's right, imposing on every other man a moral obligation to abstain from doing it violence. Liberty and law were always united in our minds. By Government we understood the concentration of the power of the whole community to protect the rights of each and all its members. This was the grand idea on which all our institutions were built. We believed that the rights of the people were safest, and alone safe, in their own keeping, and therefore we adopted popular forms. We looked, indeed, to government for the promotion of the public welfare, as well as for the defence of rights. But we felt that the former was included in the latter; that, in securing to every man the largest liberty, the right to exercise and improve all his powers, to elevate himself and his condition, and to govern himself, subject only to the limitation which the equal freedom of others imposes, we were providing most effectually for the common good. It was felt that under this moral freedom men's powers would expand, and would secure to them immeasurably greater good than could be conferred by a government intermeddling perpetually with the subject, and imposing minute restraints.

These views of human rights, which pervade and light

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up our history, may be expressed in one word. They are summed up in respect for the Individual Man. In all other countries the man has been obscured, overpowered by rulers, merged in the state, made a means or tool. Here every man has been recognized as having rights on which no one can trench without crime. The nation has recognized something greater than the nation's prosperity, than outward, material interests; and that is, Individual Right. In our Revolution a dignity was seen in human nature; a generous confidence was placed in men. It was believed that they would attain to greater nobleness by being left to govern themselves; that they would attain to greater piety by being left to worship God according to their own convictions; that they would attain to greater energy of intellect, and to higher truths, by being left to freedom of thought and utterance, than by the wisest forms of arbitrary rule. It was believed that a universal expansion of the higher faculties was to be secured by increasing men's responsibilities, by giving them higher interests to watch over, by throwing them very much on themselves. Such is the grand idea which lies at the root of our institutions; such the fundamental doctrines of the political creed into which we have all been baptized.

It is to the Free States that the guardianship of this true faith peculiarly belongs. Their institutions are most in harmony with it; and they need to be reminded of this duty, because, under the happiest circumstances, the idea of Human Rights is easily obscured; because there is always a tendency to exalt worldly, material interests above it. The recent history of the country shows the worship of wealth taking the place of reverence for liberty and universal justice. The Free States are called

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to watch against this peril, to regard government, not as a machine for creating wealth, for subserving individual cupidity, for furnishing facilities of boundless speculation, but as a moral institution, designed to secure Universal Right, to protect every man in the liberties and immunities through which he is to work out his highest good.

It must not, however, be imagined that the great idea of our country is to be wrought out or realized by government alone. This is, indeed, an important instrument, but it does not cover the whole field of human rights. The most precious of these it can hardly touch. Government is, after all, a coarse machine, very narrow in its operations, doing little for human advancement in comparison with other influences. A man has other rights than those of property and person, which the government takes under its protection. He has a right to be regarded and treated as a man, as a being who has excellent powers and a high destiny. He has a right to sympathy and deference, a right to be helped in the improvement of his nature, a right to share in the intelligence of the community, a right to the means, not only of bodily, but of spiritual well-being. These rights a government can do little to protect or aid. Yet on these human progress chiefly rests. To bring these into clear light, to incorporate a reverential feeling for these, not only into government, but into manners and social life; this is the grand work to which our country is called.

In this country the passion for wealth is a mighty force, acting in hostility to the great idea which rules in our institutions. Property continually tends to become a more vivid idea than right. In the struggle for private

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accumulation the worth of every human being is overlooked, the importance of every man's progress is forgotten. We must contend for this great idea. They who hold it must spread it around them. The truth must be sounded in the ears of men, that the grand end of society is, to place within reach of all its members the means of improvement, of elevation, of the true happiness of man. There is a higher duty than to build almshouses for the poor, and that is, to save men from being degraded to the blighting influence of an almshouse. Man has a right to something more than bread to keep him from starving. He has a right to the aids and encouragements and culture by which he may fulfil the destiny of a man; and until society is brought to recognize and reverence this, it will continue to groan under its present miseries.

Let me repeat, that government alone cannot realize the great idea of this country; that is, cannot secure to every man all his rights. Legislation has its limits. It is a power to be wielded against a few evils only. It acts by physical force, and all the higher improvements of human beings come from truth and love. Government does little more than place society in a condition which favors the action of higher powers than its own. A great idea may be stamped on the government, and be contradicted in common life. It is very possible under popular forms that a spirit of exclusiveness and of contempt for the multitude, that impassable social barriers, and the degradation of large masses, may continue as truly as under aristocratic forms. The spirit of society, not an outward institution, is the mighty power by which the hard lot of man is to be meliorated. The great idea, that every human being has a right to the

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means of exercising and improving his highest powers, must pass from a cold speculation into a living conviction, and then society will begin in earnest to accomplish its end. This great idea exists as yet only as a germ, in the most advanced communities, and is working faintly. But it cannot die. We hear, indeed, much desponding language about society. The cant of the day is the cant of indifference or despair. But let it not discourage us. It is, indeed, possible that this country may sink beneath the work imposed on it by Providence, and, instead of bringing the world into its debt, may throw new darkness over human hope. But great ideas, once brought to light, do not die. The multitude of men through the civilized world are catching some glimpses, however indistinct, of a higher lot; are waking up to something higher than animal good. There is springing up an aspiration among them, which, however dreaded as a dangerous restlessness, is the natural working of the human spirit, whenever it emerges from gross ignorance, and seizes on some vague idea of its rights. Thank God! it is natural for man to aspire; and this aspiration ceases to be dangerous just in proportion as the intelligent members of society interpret it aright, and respond to it, and give themselves to the work of raising their brethren. If, through self-indulgence or pride, they decline this work, the aspiration will not cease; but growing up under resistance or contempt, it may become a spirit of hostility, conflict, revenge.

The fate of this country depends on nothing so much as on the growth or decline of the great idea which lies at the foundation of all our institutions: the idea of the sacredness of every man's right, the respect due to every human being. This exists among us. It has

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stamped itself on government. It is now to stamp itself on manners and common life; a far harder work. It will then create a society such as men have not anticipated, but which is not to be despaired of, if Christianity be divine, or if the highest aspirations of the soul be true. It is only in the Free States that the great idea of which I have spoken can be followed out. It is denied openly, flagrantly, where slavery exists. To be true to it is our first political, social duty.

I proceed to another important topic, and that is, the duty of the Free States in relation to the Union. They and the Slave-holding States constitute one people. Is this tie to continue, or to be dissolved? It cannot be disguised that this subject is growing into importance. The South has talked recklessly about disunion. The more quiet North has said little, but thought more; and there are now not a few who speak of the Union as doomed to dissolution, whilst a few seem disposed to hasten the evil day. Some approach the subject, not as politicians, but as religious men, bound first to inquire into the moral fitness of political arrangements; and they have come to the conclusion, that a union with States sustaining slavery is unjust, and ought to be renounced, at whatever cost. That the Union is in danger is not to be admitted. Its strength would be made manifest by the attempt to dissolve it. But any thing which menaces it deserves attention. So great a good should be exposed to no hazard which can be shunned.

The Union is an inestimable good. It is to be prized for its own sake, to be prized, not merely or chiefly for its commercial benefits or any pecuniary advantages, but simply as Union, simply as a pacific relation between

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communities which without this tie would be exposed to ruinous collisions. To secure this boon we should willingly make great sacrifices. So full of crime and misery are hostile relations between neighbouring rival states that a degree of misgovernment should be preferred to the danger of conflict. Disunion would not only embroil us with one another, but with foreign nations; for these States, once divided, would connect themselves with foreign powers, which would profit by our jealousies, and involve our whole policy in inextricable confusion.

There are some among us who are unwilling to be connected with States sustaining so great a wrong as slavery. But if the North can be exempted from obligation to sustain it, we ought not to make its existence at the South a ground of separation. The doctrine, that intimate political connexion is not to be maintained with men practising a great wrong, would lead to the dissolution of all government, and of civil society. Every nation, great or small, contains multitudes who practise wrongs, nor is it possible to exclude such from political power. Injustice, if not the ruling element in human affairs, has yet a fearful influence. In popular governments the ambitious and intriguing often bear sway. Men, who are ready to sacrifice quiet and domestic comforts and all other interests to political place and promotion, will snatch the prize from uncompromising, modest virtue. In our present low civilization a community has no pledge of being governed by its virtue. In free governments parties are the means of power, and a country can fall under few more immoral influences than party spirit. Without a deep moral revolution in society, we must continue to be ruled very imperfectly. In truth,

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among the darkest mysteries of Providence are the crimes and woes flowing from the organization of men into states, from our subjection to human rule. The very vices of men which make government needful unfit them to govern. Government is only to be endured on account of the greater evils of anarchy which it prevents. It is no sufficient reason, then, for breaking from the Slave-holding States, that they practise a great wrong.

Besides, are not the purposes of Providence often accomplished by the association of the good with the comparatively bad? Is the evil man, or the evil community, to be excluded from brotherly feeling, to be treated as an outcast by the more innocent? Would not this argue a want of faith and love, rather than a just abhorrence of wrong? Undoubtedly the good are to free themselves from participation in crime; but they are not therefore to sever human ties, or renounce the means of moral influence.

With whom can we associate, if we will have no fellowship with wrong-doing? Can a new confederacy be formed which will exclude selfishness, jealousy, intrigue? Do not all confederacies provoke among their members keen competitions for power, and induce unjust means of securing it? On the whole, has not our present Union been singularly free from the collisions which naturally spring from such close political connexion? Would a smaller number of States be more likely to agree? Do we not owe to the extent of the Union the singular fact, that no State has inspired jealousy by disproportionate influence or power?

The South, indeed, is wedded to an unjust institution. But the South is not therefore another name for injus-

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tice. Slave-holding is not the only relation of its inhabitants. They are bound together by the various and most interesting ties of life. They are parents and children, husbands and wives, friends, neighbours, members of the state, members of the Christian body; and in all these relations there may be found models of purity and virtue. How many among ourselves, who must at any rate form part of a political body, and fill the highest places in the State, fall short of multitudes at the South in moral and religious principle! *

Form what confederacy we may, it will often pledge us to the wrong side. Its powers will often be perverted. The majority will be seduced again and again into crime; and incorruptible men, politically weak, will be compelled to content themselves with what will seem wasted remonstrance. No paradise opens itself, if we leave our Union with the corrupt South. A corrupt North will be leagued together to act out the evil, as well as the good, which is at work in its members. A mournful amount of moral evil is to be found through this part of the country. The spirit of commerce, which is the spirit of the North, has lately revealed the tendencies to guilt which it involves. We are taught, that, however covered up with the name of honor, however restrained by considerations of reputation and policy, trade may undermine integrity to an extent which shakes the confidence of the unthinking in all human virtue.

The fiery passions which have broken out at the South since the agitation of the slavery question have alienated many among us from that part of the country. But these prove no singular perverseness or corruption.

* See Note B.

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What else could have been expected? Was it to be imagined that a proud, fiery people could hear patiently one of their oldest and most rooted institutions set down among the greatest wrongs and oppressions? that men holding the highest rank would consent to bear the reproach of trampling right and humanity in the dust? Do men at the North, good or bad, abandon without a struggle advantages confirmed to them by long prescription? Do they easily relinquish gainful vocations on which the moral sentiment of the community begins to frown? Is it easy to bring down the exalted from the chief seats in society? to overcome the pride of caste? to disarm the prejudices of a sect? Is human nature among ourselves easily dispossessed of early prepossessions, and open to rebuke? That the South should react with violence against anti-slavery doctrines was the most natural thing in the world; and the very persons whose consciences were the most reconciled to the evil, who least suspected wrong in the institution, were likely to feel themselves most aggrieved. The exasperated jealousies of the South in regard to the North are such as spring up universally towards communities of different habits, principles, and feelings, which have got the start of their neighbours, and take the liberty to reprove them. Allow the South to be passionate. Passion is not the worst vice on the earth, nor are a fiery people the greatest offenders. Such evils are not the most enduring. Conflagrations in communities, as in the forest, die out sooner or later.

Perhaps we have not felt enough how tender are the points which the anti-slavery movement has touched at the South. The slave is property; and to how many men everywhere is property dearer than life! Nor is

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this all. The slave is not only the object of cupidity, but of a stronger passion, the passion for power. The slave-holder is not only an owner, but a master. He rules, he wields an absolute sceptre; and when have men yielded empire without conflict? Would the North make such a sacrifice more cheerfully than the South?

To judge justly of the violence of the South, another consideration must not be overlooked. It must be acknowledged that abundant fuel has been ministered to the passions of the slave-holder by the vehemence with which his domestic institutions were assailed at the North. No deference was paid to his sensitiveness, his dignity. The newly awakened sympathy with the slave not only denied the rights, but set at nought all the feelings of the master. That a gentle or more courteous approach would have softened him is not said; but that the whole truth might have been spoken in tones less offensive cannot be questioned; so that we who have opposed slavery are responsible in part for the violence which has offended us.

No! the spirit of the South furnishes no argument for dissolving the Union. That States less prosperous than ourselves should be jealous of movements directed from this quarter against their institutions is not strange. We must imagine ourselves in the position of the South, to judge of the severity of the trial. We must not forget, that, to the multitude there, slavery seems, if not right in itself, yet an irremediable evil. They look at it in the light of habit, and of opinions which prevailed in times of darkness and despotism. With such prepossessions, how could they but repel the zeal of Northern reformers?

It seems to be thought by some that the diversities of character between the South and North unfit them for

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political union. That diversities exist is true; but they are such as by mutual action and modification may ultimately form a greater people. It is by the fusion of various attributes that rich and noble characters are formed. The different sections of our country need to be modified by one another's influence. The South is ardent; the North calmer and more foreseeing. The South has quicker sympathies; the North does more good. The South commits the individual more to his own arm of defence; at the North the idea of law has greater sanctity. The South has a freer and more graceful bearing, and a higher aptitude for genial social intercourse; the North has its compensation in superior domestic virtues and enjoyments. The courage of the South is more impetuous; of the North more stubborn. The South has more of the self-glorifying spirit of the French; the North, like England, is at once too proud and too diffident to boast. We of the North are a more awkward, shy, stiff, and steady race, with a liberal intermixture of enthusiasm, enterprise, reflection, and quiet heroism; whilst the South is franker, bolder, more fervent, more brilliant, and of course more attractive to strangers, and more fitted for social influence.

Such comparisons must, indeed, be made with large allowances. The exceptions to the common character are numerous at the North and the South, and the shades of distinction are growing fainter. But climate, that mysterious agent on the spirit, will never suffer these diversities wholly to disappear; nor is it best that they should be lost. A nation with these different elements will have a richer history, and is more likely to adopt a wise and liberal policy that will do justice to our whole nature. The diversities between the two sections of the

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community are inducements, rather than objections to union; for narrow and homogeneous communities are apt to injure and degrade themselves by stubborn prejudices, and by a short-sighted, selfish concern for their special interests; and it is well for them to form connexions which will help or force them to look far and wide, to make compromises and sacrifices, and to seek a larger good.

We have a strong argument for continued union in the almost insuperable difficulties which would follow its dissolution. To the young and inexperienced the formation of new confederacies and new governments passes for an easy task. It seems to be thought that a political union may be got up as easily as a marriage. But love is the magician which levels all the mountains of difficulty in the latter case; and no love, too often nothing but selfishness, acts in the former.

Let the Union be dissolved, and new federal governments must be framed; and we have little reason to anticipate better than we now enjoy. Not that our present Constitution is, what it is sometimes called, the perfection of political skill. It is the first experiment of a purely representative system; and first experiments are almost necessarily imperfect. Future ages may smile at our blameless model of government. A more skilful machinery, more effectual checks, wiser distributions and modifications of power, are probably to be taught the world by our experience. But our experience has as yet been too short to bring us this wisdom, whilst the circumstances of the present moment are any thing but propitious to an improvement on the work of our fathers.

The work of framing a government, even in favorable circumstances, is one of the most arduous committed to

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man. The construction of the simplest form of polity, or of institutions for a single community in rude stages of society, demands rare wisdom ; and accordingly the renown of legislators transcends all other fame in history. But to construct a government for a confederacy of states, of nations, in a highly complex and artificial state of society, is a Herculean task. The Federal Constitution was a higher achievement than the assertion of our independence in the field of battle. If we can point to any portion of our history as indicating a special Divine Providence, it was the consent of so many communities to a frame of government combining such provisions for human rights and happiness as we now enjoy.

Break up this Union, reduce these States, now doubled in number, to a fragmentary form, and who can hope to live long enough to see a harmonious reconstruction of them into new confederacies ? We know how the present Constitution was obstructed by the jealousies and passions of States and individuals. But if these were so formidable at the end of a struggle against a common foe which had knit all hearts, what is not to be dreaded from the distrusts which must follow the conflicts and exasperations of the last fifty years, and the agony of separation ? It is no reproach on the people to say, that nearly fifty years of peace and trade and ambition and prosperity have not nourished as ardent a patriotism as the revolutionary struggle ; for this is a necessary result of the principles of human nature. We should come to our work more selfishly than our fathers approached theirs. Our interests, too, are now more complicated, various, interfering, so that a compromise would be harder. We have lost much of the

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simplicity of a former time, and our public men are greater proficients in intrigue. Were there natural divisions of the country which would determine at once the new arrangements of power, the difficulty would be less; but the new confederacies would be sufficiently arbitrary to open a wide field to selfish plotters. Who that knows the obstacles which passion, selfishness, and corruption throw in the way of a settled government will desire to encounter the chances and perils of constructing a new system under all these disadvantages?

There is another circumstance which renders it undesirable now to break up the present order of things. The minds of men everywhere are at this moment more than usually unsettled. There is much questioning of the past and the established, and a disposition to push principles to extremes, without regard to the modifications which other principles and a large experience demand. There is a blind confidence in the power of man's will and wisdom over society, an overweening faith in legislation, a disposition to look to outward arrangements for that melioration of human affairs which can come only from the culture and progress of the soul, a hope of making by machinery what is and must be a slow, silent growth. Such a time is not the best for constructing governments and new confederacies.

We are, especially, passing though a stage of political speculation or opinion, which is, indeed, necessary under such institutions, and which may be expected to give place to higher wisdom, but which is not the most propitious for the formation of political institutions. I refer to false notions as to democracy, and as to its distinctive benefits; notions which ought not to surprise us, because a people are slow to learn the true charac-

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ter and spirit of their institutions, and generally acquire this, as all other knowledge, by some painful experience. It is a common notion here, as elsewhere, that it is a grand privilege to govern, to exercise political power; and that popular institutions have this special benefit, that they confer the honor and pleasure of sovereignty on the greatest number possible. The people are pleased at the thought of being rulers; and hence all obstructions to their immediate, palpable ruling are regarded with jealousy. It is a grand thing, they fancy, to have their share of kingship. Now this is wrong, a pernicious error. It is no privilege to govern, but a fearful responsibility, and seldom assumed without guilt. The great good to be sought and hoped from popular institutions is, to be freed from unnecessary rule, to be governed with no reference to the glory or gratification of the sovereign power. The grand good of popular institutions is Liberty, or the protection of every man's rights to the full, with the least possible restraint. Sovereignty, wherever lodged, is not a thing to be proud of, or to be stretched a hand's-breadth beyond need. If I am to be hedged in on every side, to be fretted by the perpetual presence of arbitrary will, to be denied the exercise of my powers, it matters nothing to me whether the chain is laid on me by one or many, by king or people. A despot is not more tolerable for his many heads.

Democracy, considered in itself, is the noblest form of government, and the only one to satisfy a man who respects himself and his fellow-creatures. But if its actual operation be regarded, we are compelled to say that it works very imperfectly. It is true of people, as it is of king and nobles, that they have no great capacity of

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government. They ought not to exult at the thought of being rulers, but to content themselves with swaying the sceptre within as narrow limits as the public safety may require. They should tremble at this function of government, should exercise it with self-distrust, and be humbled by the defects of their administration.

I am not impatient of law. One law I reverence; that divine, eternal law written on the rational soul, and revealed with a celestial brightness in the word and life of Jesus Christ. But human rulers, be they many or few, are apt to pay little heed to this law. They do not easily surrender to it their interests and ambition. It is dethroned in cabinets, and put to silence in halls of legislation. In the sphere of politics, even men generally good dispense unscrupulously with a pure morality, and of consequence we all have an interest in the limitation of political power.

Such views teach us that one of the first lessons to be taught to a people in a democracy is self-distrust. They should learn that to rule is the most difficult work on earth; that in all ages and countries men have sunk under the temptations and difficulties of the task; that no power is so corrupting as public power, and that none should be used with greater fear.

By democracy, we understand that a people governs itself; and the primary, fundamental act required of a people is, that it shall lay such restraints on its own powers as will give the best security against their abuse. This is the highest purpose of a popular constitution. A constitution is not merely a machinery for ascertaining and expressing a people's will, but much more a provision for keeping that will within righteous bounds. It is the act of a people imposing limits on itself, setting

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guard on its own passions, and throwing obstructions in the way of legislation, so as to compel itself to pause, to deliberate, to hear all remonstrances, to weigh all rights and interests, before it acts. A constitution not framed on these principles must fail of its end. Now at the present moment these sound maxims have lost much of their authority. The people, flattered into blindness, have forgotten their passionateness, and proneness to abuse power. The wholesome restraints laid by the present Constitution on popular impulse are losing their force, and we have reason to fear that new constitutions formed at the present moment would want, more than our present national charter, the checks and balances on which safety depends.

A wise man knows himself to be weak, and lays down rules of life which meet his peculiar temptation. So should a people do. A people is in danger from fickleness and passion. The great evil to be feared in a popular government is instability, or the sacrifice of great principles to momentary impulses. A constitution which does not apply checks and restraints to these perils cannot stand. Our present Constitution has many wise provisions of this character. The division of the legislature into two branches, and the forms which retard legislation, are of great value. But what constitutes the peculiar advantage of the distinction of legislative chambers is, that the Senate has so different a character from the House of Representatives; that it represents States, not individuals; that it is chosen by legislatures, not by primary assemblies; and that the term of a senator's service is three times the length of that of the popular branch. The Senate is one of the chief conservative powers in the government. It has two grand functions;

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one to watch the rights of the several States, and the other, not less important, to resist the fluctuations of the popular branch. The Senate is a power raised for a time by the people above their own passions, that it may secure stability to the administration of affairs. Now this function of the Senate has been seriously impaired by the doctrine of "Instructions," a doctrine destroying moral independence, and making the senator a passive recipient of momentary impulses which it may be his highest duty to withstand. This doctrine is in every view hurtful. A man in public life should as far as possible be placed under influences which give him dignity of mind, self-respect, and a deep feeling of responsibility. He should go to the nation's council with a mind open to all the light which is concentrated there, to study and promote the broad interests of the nation. He is not to work as a mere tool, to be an echo of the varying voices at a distance, but to do what seems to him right, and to answer to his constituents for his conduct at the appointed hour for yielding up his trust. Yet were new institutions to be framed at this moment, would not the people forget the restraint which they should impose on themselves, and the respect due to their delegates? and, from attaching a foolish self-importance to the act of governing, would they not give to their momentary feelings more and more the conduct of public affairs?

The Constitution contains another provision of wise self-distrust on the part of the people, in the power of the veto intrusted to the President. The President is the only representative of the people's unity. He is the head of the nation. He has nothing to do with Districts or States, but to look with an equal eye on the whole

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country. To him is intrusted a limited negative on the two chambers, a negative not simply designed to guard his own power from encroachment, but to correct partial legislation, and to be a barrier against invasions of the Constitution by extensive combinations of interest or ambition. Every department should be a check on legislation; but this salutary power there is a disposition to wrest from the Executive, and it would hardly find a place in a new confederacy.

The grand restraining, conservative power of the state remains to be mentioned; it is the Judiciary. This is worth more to the people than any other department. The impartial administration of a good code of laws is the grand result, the paramount good, to which all political arrangements should be subordinate. The reign of justice, which is the reign of rights and liberty, is the great boon we should ask from the state. The judicial is the highest function. The Chief Justice should rank before King or President. The pomp of a palace may be dispensed with; but every imposing solemnity consistent with the simplicity of our manners should be combined in the hall where the laws which secure every man's rights are administered. To accomplish the great end of government, nothing is so important as to secure the impartiality and moral independence of judges; and for this end they should be appointed for life, subject to removal only for violation of duty. This is essential. A judge should not hang on the smiles of king or people. In him the people should erect a power above their own temporary will. There ought to be in the state something to represent the majesty of that stable, everlasting law to which all alike should bow; some power above the sordid interests, and aloof from

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the struggles and intrigues of ordinary public life. The dependence of the judge on the breath of party or the fleeting passions of the people is a deformity in the state, for which no other excellence in popular institutions can make compensation. The grandest spectacle in this country is the judiciary power, raised by the people to independence of parties and temporary majorities, taking as its first guide the national charter, the fundamental law, which no parties can touch, which stands like a rock amidst the fluctuations of opinion, and determining by this the validity of the laws enacted by transient legislatures. Here is the conservative element of the country. Yet it is seriously proposed to destroy the independence of the judiciary power, to make the judge a pensioner on party, by making the office elective for a limited time; and it is not impossible that this pernicious feature might be impressed on new institutions which might spring up at the present time.

This language will not win me the name of Democrat. But I am not anxious to bear any name into which Government enters as the great idea. I want as little government as consists with safety to the rights of all. I wish the people to govern no farther than they must. I wish them to place all checks on the legislature which consist with its efficiency. I honor the passion for power and rule as little in the people as in a king. It is a vicious principle, exist where it may. If by democracy be meant the exercise of sovereignty by the people under all those provisions and self-imposed restraints which tend most to secure equal laws and the rights of each and all, then I shall be proud to bear its name. But the unfettered multitude is not dearer to me than the unfettered king. And yet at the present

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moment there is a tendency to remove the restraints on which the wise and righteous exertion of the people's power depends.

The sum of what I have wished to say is, that the union of these States should, if possible, be kept inviolate, on the ground of the immense difficulty of constructing new confederacies and new governments. The present state of men's minds is not favorable to this most arduous task. Other considerations might be urged against disunion. But in all this I do not mean that union is to be held fast at whatever cost. Vast sacrifices should be made to it, but not the sacrifice of duty. For one, I do not wish it to continue, if, after earnest, faithful effort, the truth should be made clear, that the Free States are not to be absolved from giving support to slavery. Better that we should part, than be the police of the slave-holder, than fight his battles, than wage war to uphold an oppressive institution.

So I say, let the Union be dissevered rather than receive Texas into the confederacy. This measure, besides entailing on us evils of all sorts, would have for its chief end to bring the whole country under the slave-power, to make the general government the agent of slavery; and this we are bound to resist at all hazards. The Free States should declare that the very act of admitting Texas will be construed as a dissolution of the Union.

This act would be unconstitutional. The authors of the Constitution never dreamed of conferring a power on Congress to attach a foreign nation to the country, and so to destroy entirely the original balance of power. It is true, that the people acquiesced in the admission of Louisiana to the Union by treaty; but the necessity

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of the case reconciled them to that dangerous precedent. It was understood, that, by fair means or foul, by negotiation or war, the Western States *would* and *must* possess themselves of the Mississippi and New Orleans. This was regarded as a matter of life or death; and therefore the people allowed this great inroad to take place in the fundamental conditions of the union, without the appeal which ought to have been made to the several State sovereignties. But no such necessity now exists, and a like action of Congress ought to be repelled as gross usurpation.

We are always in danger of excessive jealousy in judging of the motives of other parts of the country, and this remark may apply to the present case. The South, if true to its own interests, would see in Texas a rival rather than an ally; but at the North it is suspected that political motives outweigh the economical. It is suspected that the desire of annexing Texas has been whetted by the disclosures of the last census as to the increase of population and wealth at the North. The South, it is said, means to balance the Free States by adding a new empire to the confederacy. But on this point our slave-holding brethren need not be anxious. Without Texas, the South will have very much its own way, and will continue to exert a disproportionate influence over public affairs. It has within itself elements of political power more efficient than ours. The South has abler politicians, and almost necessarily, because its most opulent class make politics the business of life. The North may send wiser statesmen to Congress, but not men to marshal and govern parties, not political leaders. The South surpasses us, not in true eloquence, which is little known anywhere, but in prompt, bold

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speech, a superiority due not only to greater ardor of feeling, but to a state of society encouraging the habit, and stimulating by constant action the faculty of free and strong utterance on political subjects; and such eloquence is no mean power in popular bodies. The South has a bolder and more unscrupulous character, for which the caution and prudence of the North are not a match. Once more, it has union, common feeling, a peculiar bond in slavery, to which the divided North can make no adequate opposition. At the North politics occupy a second place in men's minds. Even in what we call seasons of public excitement the people think more of private business than of public affairs. We think more of property than of political power; and this, indeed, is the natural result of free institutions. Under these political power is not suffered to accumulate in a few hands, but is distributed in minute portions; and even when thus limited, it is not permitted to endure, but passes in quick rotation from man to man. Of consequence, it is an inferior good to property. Every wise man among us looks on property as a more sure and lasting possession to himself and his family, as conferring more ability to do good, to gratify generous and refined tastes, than the possession of political power. In the South an unnatural state of things turns men's thoughts to political ascendancy; but in the Free States men think little of it. Property is the good for which they toil perseveringly from morning to night. Even the political partisan among us has an eye to property, and seeks office as the best, perhaps only way of subsistence. In this state of things, the South has little to fear from the North. For one thing we may contend, that is, for a tariff, for protection to our moneyed in-

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terests; but if we may be left to work and thrive, we shall not quarrel for power.

The little sensibility at the North to the present movements on the subject of Texas is the best commentary on the spirit of the Free States. That the South should be suffered to think for a moment of adding a great country to the United States for the sake of strengthening slavery demonstrates an absence of wise political jealousy at the North to which no parallel can be found in human history.

The union of Texas to us must be an unmixed evil. We do not need it on a single account. We are already too large. The machine of government hardly creeps on under the weight of so many diverse interests and such complex functions as burden it now. Our own natural increase is already too rapid. New States are springing up too fast; for in these there must exist, from the nature of the case, an excess of adventurous, daring spirits, whose influence over the government cannot but be perilous for a time; and it is madness to add to us a new nation to increase the wild impulses, the half civilized forces, which now mingle with our national legislation.

To unite with Texas would be to identify ourselves with a mighty wrong; for such was the seizure of that province by a horde of adventurers. It would be to insure the predominance of the slave-power, to make slavery a chief national interest, and to pledge us to the continually increasing prostitution of the national power to its support. It would be to begin a career of encroachment on Mexico which would corrupt and dishonor us, would complicate and disturb the movements of government, would create a wasteful patronage, and

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enlarge our military establishments. It would be to plunge us into war, not only with Mexico, but with foreign powers, which will not quietly leave us to add the Gulf of Mexico to our vast stretch of territory along the Atlantic coast.

To unite Texas to ourselves would be to destroy our present unity as a people, to sow new seeds of jealousy. It would be to spread beyond bounds the space over which the national arm must be extended; to present new points of attack and new reasons for assault, and at the same time to impair the energy to resist them. Can the Free States consent to pour out their treasure and blood like water in order to defend against Mexico and her European protectors the slave-trodden fields of distant Texas? Would the South be prompt to exhaust itself for the annexation to this country of the vast British possessions of the North? Is it ready to pledge itself to carry the "star-spangled banner" to the pole, in exchange for our readiness to carry slavery to Darien? There must be some fixed limits to our country. We at the North do not ask for Canada. We would not, I hope, accept it as a gift; for we could not rule it well. And is the country to spread itself in one direction alone? Are we willing to place ourselves under the rule of adventurers whom a restless spirit or a dread of justice drives to Texas? What possible boon can we gain? The Free States are not only wanting in common wisdom, but in those instincts by which other communities shrink from connexions that diminish their importance and neutralize their power. We shall deserve to be put under guardianship, if we receive Texas to our embrace. Such suicidal policy would place us among those whom "God infatuates before he destroys."

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I have now spoken of the National Union, and of the danger to which it is exposed. The duty of the Free States is, to keep their attachment to it unimpaired by local partialities, jealousies, and dislikes, by supposed inequalities of benefits or burdens, or by the want of self-restraint manifested in the other part of the country. They cannot, however, but see and feel one immense deduction from its blessings. They are bound by it to give a degree of sanction and support to slavery, and are threatened with the annexation of another country to our own for the purpose of strengthening this institution. Their duty is, to insist on release from all obligations, and on security against all connexions, which do or may require them to uphold a system which they condemn. No blessings of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong-doing. To this conviction the Free States are tending; and in this view their present subserviency to the interests of slavery is more endurable.

I proceed, in the last place, to offer a few remarks on the Duties of the Free States as to a subject of infinite importance, the subject of War. To add to the distresses of the country, a war-cry is raised; and a person unaccustomed to the recklessness with which the passions of the moment break out among us in conversation and the newspapers would imagine that we were on the brink of a conflict with the most powerful nation on earth. That we are indeed to fight cannot easily be believed. That two nations of a common origin, having so many common interests, united by so many bonds,

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speaking one language, breathing the same free spirit, holding the same faith, to whom war can bring no good, and on whom it must inflict terrible evils; that such nations should expose themselves and the civilized world to the chances, crimes, and miseries of war, for the settlement of questions which may be adjusted honorably and speedily by arbitration; this implies such an absence of common sense, as well as of moral and religious principle, that, bad as the world is, one can hardly believe, without actual vision, that such a result can take place. Yet the history of the world, made up of war, teaches us that we may be too secure; and no excitement of warlike feeling should pass without a word of warning.

In speaking of our duties on this subject I can use but one language, that of Christianity. I do believe that Christianity was meant to be a law for society, meant to act on nations; and, however I may be smiled at for my ignorance of men and things, I can propose no standard of action to individuals or communities but the law of Christ, the law of Eternal Rectitude, the law, not only of this nation, but of all worlds.

The great duty of God's children is, to love one another. This duty on earth takes the name and form of the law of humanity. We are to recognize all men as brethren, no matter where born, or under what sky, or institution, or religion, they may live. Every man belongs to the race, and owes a duty to mankind. Every nation belongs to the family of nations, and is to desire the good of all. Nations are to love one another. It is true that they usually adopt towards one another principles of undisguised selfishness, and glory in successful violence or fraud. But the great law of humanity is unrepealed. Men cannot vote this out of the universe by

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acclamation. The Christian precepts, "Do to others as you would they should do to you," "Love your neighbour as yourself," "Love your enemies," apply to nations as well as individuals. A nation renouncing them is a heathen, not a Christian nation. Men cannot by combining themselves into narrower or larger societies sever the sacred, blessed bond which joins them to their kind. An evil nation, like an evil man, may, indeed, be withstood, but not in hatred and revenge. The law of humanity must reign over the assertion of all human rights. The vindictive, unforgiving spirit which prevails in the earth must yield to the mild, impartial spirit of Jesus Christ.

I know that these principles will receive little hearty assent. Multitudes who profess to believe in Christ have no faith in the efficacy of his spirit, or in the accomplishment of that regenerating work which he came to accomplish. There is a worse skepticism than what passes under the name of infidelity, a skepticism as to the reality and the power of moral and Christian truth; and accordingly a man who calls on a nation to love the great family of which it is a part, to desire the weal and the progress of the race, to blend its own interests with the interests of all, to wish well to its foes, must pass for a visionary, perhaps in war would be called a traitor. The first teacher of Universal Love was nailed to the cross for withstanding the national spirit, hopes, and prejudices of Judea. His followers, in these better days, escape with silent derision or neglect.

It is a painful thought, that our relations to foreign countries are determined chiefly by men who are signally wanting in reverence for the law of Christ, the law of humanity. Should we repair to the seat of government,

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and listen to the debates of Congress, we should learn that the ascendant influence belongs to men who have no comprehension of the mild and generous spirit of our religion; who exult in what they are pleased to call a quick sense of honor, which means a promptness to resent, and a spirit of vengeance. And shall Christians imbrue their hands in the blood of their brethren at the bidding of such men?

At this moment our chief exposure to war arises from sensibility to what is called the honor of the nation. A nation cannot, indeed, be too jealous of its honor. But, unhappily, few communities know what this means. There is but one true honor for men or nations. This consists in impartial justice and generosity; in acting up fearlessly to a high standard of Right. The multitude of men place it chiefly in courage; and in this, as in all popular delusions, there is a glimpse of truth. Courage is an essential element of true honor. A nation or an individual without it is nothing worth. Almost any thing is better than a craven spirit. Better be slaughtered than be cowardly and tame. What is the teaching of Christianity but that we must be ready at any moment to lay down life for truth, humanity, and virtue? All the virtues are naturally brave. The just and disinterested man dreads nothing that man can do to him. But courage standing alone, animal courage, the courage of the robber, pirate, or duellist, this has no honor. This only proves that bad passions are strong enough to conquer the passion of fear. Yet this low courage is that of which nations chiefly boast, and in which they make their honor to consist.

Were the spirit of justice and humanity to pervade this country, we could not be easily driven into war.

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England and Mexico, the countries with which we are in danger of being embroiled, have an interest in peace. The questions on which we are at issue touch no vital point, no essential interest or right, which we may not put to hazard; and consequently they are such as may and ought to be left to arbitration.

There has of late been a cry of war with Mexico; and yet, if the facts are correctly stated in the papers, a more unjust war cannot be conceived. It seems that a band of Texans entered the territory of Mexico during a state of war between the two countries. They entered it armed. They were met and conquered by a Mexican force; and certain American citizens, found in the number, were seized and treated as prisoners of war. This is pronounced an injury which the nation is bound to resent. We are told that the band in which the Americans were found was engaged in a trading, not a military expedition. Such a statement is, of course, very suspicious; but allow it to be true. Must not the entrance of an armed band from one belligerent country into the other be regarded as a hostile invasion? Must not a citizen of a neutral state, if found in this armed company, be considered as a party to the invasion? Has he not, with eyes open, engaged in an expedition which cannot but be regarded as an act of war? That our nation should demand the restoration of such a person as a right, which must not be denied without the hazard of a war, would seem to show that we have studied international law in a new edition, revised and corrected for our special benefit. It is the weakness of Mexico which encourages these freedoms on our part. Yet their weakness is a claim on our compassion. We ought to look on that distracted country as an older brother on a

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wayward child, and should blush to make our strength a ground for aggression.

There is another ground, we are told, for war with Mexico. She has treated our citizens cruelly, as well as made them prisoners of war. She has condemned them to ignominious labor in the streets. This is not unlikely. Mexico sets up no pretension to signal humanity, nor has it been fostered by her history. Perhaps, however, she is only following, with some exaggerations, the example of Texas; for after the great victory of San Jacinto we were told that the Texans set their prisoners to work. At the worst, here is no cause for war. If an American choose to take part in the hostile movements of another nation, he must share the fate of its citizens. If Mexico indeed practises cruelties towards her prisoners, of whatever country, we are bound by the law of humanity to remonstrate against them; but we must not fight to reform her. The truth, however, is, that we can place no great reliance on what we hear of Mexican cruelty. The press of Texas and the South, in its anxiety to involve us in war with that country, does not speak under oath. In truth, no part of our country seems to think of Mexico as having the rights of a sovereign state. We hear the politician in high places exhorting us to take part in raising "the single Star of Texas" above the city of Montezuma, and to gorge ourselves with the plunder of her churches; and we see armed bands from the South hurrying in time of peace towards that devoted land, to realize these dreams of unprincipled cupidity. That Mexico is more sinned against than sinning, that she is as just as her foes, one can hardly help believing.

We proceed to consider our difficulties with Great

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Britain, which are numerous enough to alarm us, but which are all of a character to admit arbitration. The first is the Northeast boundary question. This, indeed, may be said to be settled in the minds of the people. As a people, we have no doubt that the letter of the treaty marks out the line on which we insist. The great majority also believe that England insists on another, not from respect for the stipulations of the treaty, but because she needs it to secure a communication between her various provinces. The land, then, is legally ours, and ought not to be surrendered to any force. But in this, as in other cases, we are bound by the law of humanity to look beyond the letter of stipulations, to inquire, not for legal, but for moral right, and to act up to the principles of an enlarged justice and benevolence. The territory claimed by England is of great importance to her; of none, comparatively, to us; and we know, that, when the treaty was framed, no thought existed on either side of carrying the line so far to the North as to obstruct the free and safe communication between her provinces. The country was then unexplored. The precise effect of the stipulation could not be foreseen. It was intended to secure a boundary advantageous to both parties Under these circumstances the law of equity and humanity demands that Great Britain be put in possession of the territory needed to connect her provinces together. Had nations risen at all to the idea of generosity in their mutual dealings, this country might be advised to present to England the land she needs. But prudence will stop at the suggestion, that we ought to offer it to her on terms which impartial men may pronounce just. And in doing this we should not merely consult equity and honor, but our best interest. It

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is the interest of a nation to establish, on all sides, boundaries which will be satisfactory alike to itself and its neighbours. This is almost essential to enduring peace. Wars have been waged without number for the purpose of uniting the scattered provinces of a country, of giving it compactness, unity, and the means of communication. A nation prizing peace should remove the irritations growing out of unnatural boundaries; and this we can do in the present case without a sacrifice.

According to these views one of the most unwise measures ever adopted in this country was the rejection of the award of the King of the Netherlands. A better award could not have been given. It ceded for us what a wise policy teaches us to surrender, gave us a natural boundary, and gave us compensation for the territory to be surrendered. If now some friendly power would by its mediation effectually recommend to the two countries this award as the true interest of both, it would render signal service to justice and humanity.

Still, it is true that the territory that we claim is ours. The bargain made by England was a hard one; but an honest man does not on this account shrink from his contract; nor can England lay hands on what she unwisely surrendered, without breach of faith, without committing herself to an unrighteous war.

A way of compromise in a case like this is not difficult to honest and friendly nations. For example, let impartial and intelligent commissioners, agreed to by both countries, repair to the disputed territory with the treaty in their hands, and with the surveys made by the two governments; and let them go with full authority to determine the line which the treaty prescribes, to draw another line, if such shall seem to them required by

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principles of equity, or by the true interests of both countries, and to make ample compensation to the nation which shall relinquish part of its territory. It is believed, that, generally speaking, men of distinguished honor, integrity, and ability would execute a trust of this nature more wisely, impartially, and speedily than a third government, and that the employment of such would facilitate the extension of arbitration to a greater variety of cases than can easily be comprehended under the present system. I have suggested one mode of compromise. Others and better may be devised, if the parties will approach the difficulty in a spirit of peace.

The case of the Caroline next presents itself. In this case our territory was undoubtedly violated by England. But the question arises, whether nothing justified or mitigated the violation. According to the law of nations, when a government is unable to restrain its subjects from continued acts of hostility towards a neighbouring state, this state is authorized to take the defence of its rights into its own hands, and may enter the territory of the former power with such a force as may be required to secure itself against aggression. The question is, Did such a state of things exist on the Canadian frontier? That we Americans, if placed in the condition of the English, would have done as they did admits little doubt. This, indeed, is no justification of the act; for both nations in this condition would act more from impulse than reason. But it shows us that the question is a complicated one; such a question as even well-disposed nations cannot easily settle by negotiation, and which may and ought to be committed to an impartial umpire.

I will advert to one more difficulty between this coun-

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try and England, which is intimately connected with the subject of this Tract. I refer to the question, whether England may visit our vessels to ascertain their nationality, in cases where the American flag is suspected of being used by foreigners for the prosecution of the slave-trade. On this subject we have two duties to perform. One is, to protect our commerce against claims on the part of other nations, which may silently be extended, and may expose it to interference and hinderance injurious alike to our honor and prosperity. The other, not less clear and urgent, is, to afford effectual assistance to the great struggle of European nations for the suppression of the slave-trade, and especially to prevent our flag from being made a cover for the nefarious traffic. These are two duties which we can and must reconcile. We must not say that the slave-trade is to be left to itself, and that we have no obligation to take part in its abolition. We cannot without shame and guilt stand neutral in this war. The slave-trade is an enormous crime, a terrible outrage on humanity, an accumulation of unparalleled wrongs and woes, and the civilized world is waking up to bring it to an end. Every nation is bound by the law of humanity to give its sympathies, prayers, and coöperation to this work. Even had our commerce no connexion with this matter, we should be bound to lend a helping hand to the cause of the human race. But the fact is, that the flag of our country, prostituted by infamous foreigners, is a principal shelter to the slave-trade. Vile men wrap themselves up in our garments, and in this guise go forth to the work of robbery and murder. Shall we suffer this? Shall the nations of the earth, when about to seize these outlaws, be forbidden to touch them, because they wear the

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American garb? It is said, indeed, that foreign powers, if allowed to visit our vessels for such a purpose, will lay hands on our own citizens, and invade our commercial rights. But vague suspicions of this kind do not annul a plain obligation. Uncertain consequences do not set aside what we know; and one thing we know, that the slave-trade ought not to be left to live and grow under the American flag. We are bound some way or other to stay this evil. We ought to say to Europe: "We detest this trade as much as you. We will join heart and hand in its destruction. We will assent to the mutual visitation which you plead for, if arrangements can be made to secure it against abuse. We will make sacrifices for this end. We will shrink from no reasonable concession. Your efforts shall not be frustrated by the prostitution of our flag." If in good faith we follow up these words, it can hardly be doubted that a safe and honorable arrangement may be made with foreign powers.

Some of our politicians protest vehemently against the visitation of vessels bearing our flag for the purpose of determining their right to assume it. They admit that there are cases, such as suspicion of piracy, in which such visitation is authorized by the law of nations. But this right, they say, cannot be extended at pleasure, by the union of several nations in treaties or conventions which can only be executed by visiting the vessels of other powers. This is undoubtedly true. Nations, by union for private advantage, have no right to subject the ships of other powers to inconvenience, or to the possibility of molestation, in order to compass their purpose. But when several nations join together to extirpate a widely extended and flagrant crime against the human

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race, to put down a public and most cruel wrong, they have a right to demand that their labors shall not be frustrated by the fraudulent assumption of the flags of foreign powers. Subjecting their own ships to visitation as a means of preventing this abuse of their flags, they are authorized to expect a like subjection from other states, on condition that they proffer every possible security against the abuse of the power. A state, in declining such visitation, virtually withdraws itself from the commonwealth of nations. Christian states may be said, without any figure, to form a commonwealth. They are bound together by a common faith, the first law of which is universal good-will. They recognize mutual obligations. They are united by interchange of material and intellectual products. Through their common religion and literature, and their frequent intercourse, they have attained to many moral sympathies; and when by these any portion of them are united in the execution of justice against open, fearful crime, they have a right to the good wishes of all other states; and especially a right to be unobstructed by them in their efforts. In the present case we have ourselves fixed the brand of piracy on the very crime which certain powers of Europe have joined to suppress. Ought we not to consent that vessels bearing our flag, but falling under just suspicion of assuming it for the perpetration of this piracy, should be visited, according to stipulated forms, that their nationality may be judged? Have we any right, by denying this claim, to give to acknowledged, flagrant crime an aid and facility under which it cannot but prevail? There seems no reason for apprehension that in assenting to visitation we shall expose ourselves to great wrongs. From the nature of the case, strict and sim-

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ple rules of judgment may be laid down, and the responsibility of the visiting officers may be made so serious as to give a moral certainty of caution. Undoubtedly injuries may chance to be inflicted, as is the case in the exercise of the clearest rights; but the chance is so small, whilst the effects of refusing visitation are so fatal and so sure, that our country, should it resist the claim, will take the attitude of hostility to the human race, and will deserve to be cut off from the fellowship of the Christian world.

It is customary, I know, to meet these remarks by saying that the crusade of England against this traffic is a mere show of philanthropy; that she is serving only her own ends; and that there is consequently no obligation to coöperate with her. This language might be expected from the South, where almost universal ignorance prevails in regard to the anti-slavery efforts of England; but it does little honor to the North, where the means of knowledge are possessed. That England blending private views with the suppression of the slave-trade is a thing to be expected; for states, like individuals, seldom act from unmixed motives. But when we see a nation for fifty years keeping in sight a great object of humanity; when we see this enterprise, beginning with the peaceful Quaker, adopted by Christians of other names, and thus spreading through and moving the whole population; when we see the reluctant government compelled by the swelling sensibility of the people to lend itself to the cause, and to forward it by liberal expenditure and vast efforts on sea and land; can we help feeling that the moral sentiment of the nation is the basis and spring of this great and glorious effort? On this subject I may speak from knowledge. In Eng-

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land, many years ago, I met the patriarchs of the anti-slavery cause. I was present at a meeting of the abolition committee, a body which has won an imperishable name in history. I saw men and women, eminent for virtue and genius, who had abstained from the products of slave-labor to compel the government to suppress the traffic in men. If ever Christian benevolence wrought a triumph, it was in that struggle; and the efforts of the nation from that day to this have been hallowed by the same generous feeling. Alas! the triumphs of humanity are not so numerous that we can afford to part with this. History records but one example of a nation fighting the battle of the oppressed, with the sympathy, earnestness, and sacrifices of a generous individual; and we will not give up our faith in this. And now is our country prepared to throw itself in the way of these holy efforts? Shall our flag be stained with the infamy of defending the slave-trade against the humanity of other countries? Better that it should disappear from the ocean than be so profaned.

It must not be said that the slave-trade cannot be annihilated. The prospect grows brighter. One of its chief marts, Cuba, is now closed. The ports of Brazil, we trust, will next be shut against it; and these measures on land, aided by well concerted operations at sea, will do much to free the world from this traffic. It must not find its last shelter under the American flag. We must not talk of difficulties. Let the nation's heart be opened to the cry of humanity, to the voice of religion, and difficulties will vanish. In every good work for the freedom and melioration of the world we ought to bear our part. We ought to be found in the front rank of the war against that hideous traffic which we

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first branded as piracy. God save us from suffering our flag to be spread as a screen between the felon, the pirate, the kidnapper, the murderer, and the ministers of justice, of humanity, sent forth to cut short his crimes!

We have thus considered the most important of our difficulties with Mexico and England which have been thought to threaten war. With a spirit of justice and peace, it seems impossible that we should be involved in hostilities. The Duties of the Free States, and of all the States, are plain. We should cherish a spirit of humanity towards all countries. We should resist the false notions of honor, the false pride, the vindictive feelings, which are easily excited by supposed injuries from foreign powers, and are apt to spread like a pestilence from breast to breast, till they burst forth at length in a fierce, uncontrollable passion for war.

I have now finished my task. I have considered the Duties of the Free States in relation to slavery, and to other subjects of great and immediate concern. In this discussion I have constantly spoken of Duties as more important than Interests; but these in the end will be found to agree. The energy by which men prosper is fortified by nothing so much as by the lofty spirit which scorns to prosper through abandonment of duty.

I have been called by the subjects here discussed to speak much of the evils of the times and the dangers of the country; and in treating of these a writer is almost necessarily betrayed into what may seem a tone of despondence. His anxiety to save his country from crime or calamity leads him to use unconsciously a language of alarm which may excite the apprehension of inev-

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table misery. But I would not infuse such fears. I do not sympathize with the desponding tone of the day. It may be that there are fearful woes in store for this people; but there are many promises of good to give spring to hope and effort; and it is not wise to open our eyes and ears to ill omens alone. It is to be lamented that men who boast of courage in other trials should shrink so weakly from public difficulties and dangers, and should spend in unmanly reproaches or complaints the strength which they ought to give to their country's safety. But this ought not to surprise us in the present case; for our lot until of late has been singularly prosperous, and great prosperity enfeebles men's spirits, and prepares them to despond when it shall have passed away. The country, we are told, is "ruined." What! the country ruined, when the mass of the population have hardly retrenched a luxury? We are indeed paying, and we ought to pay, the penalty of reckless extravagance, of wild and criminal speculation, of general abandonment to the passion for sudden and enormous gains. But how are we ruined? Is the kind, nourishing earth about to become a cruel step-mother? Or is the teeming soil of this magnificent country sinking beneath our feet? Is the ocean dried up? Are our cities and villages, our schools and churches, in ruins? Are the stout muscles which have conquered sea and land palsied? Are the earnings of past years dissipated, and the skill which gathered them forgotten? I open my eyes on this ruined country, and I see around me fields fresh with verdure, and behold on all sides the intelligent countenance, the sinewy limb, the kindly look, the free and manly bearing, which indicate any thing but a fallen people. Undoubtedly we have much cause

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to humble ourselves for the vices which our recent prosperity warmed into being, or rather brought out from the depths of men's souls. But in the reprobation which these vices awaken have we no proof that the fountain of moral life in the nation's heart is not exhausted? In the progress of temperance, of education, and of religious sensibility in our land have we no proof that there is among us an impulse towards improvement which no temporary crime or calamity can overpower?

I shall be pointed undoubtedly to our political corruptions, to the inefficiency and party passions which dishonor our present Congress, and to the infamy brought on the country by breach of faith and gross dishonesty in other legislatures. In sight of this an American must indeed "blush, and hang his head." Still it is true, and the truth should be told, that, in consequence of the long divorce between morality and politics, public men do not represent the character of the people; nor can we argue from profligacy in public affairs to a general want of private virtue. Besides, we all know that it is through errors, sins, and sufferings that the individual makes progress; and so does a people. A nation cannot learn to govern itself in a day. New institutions conferring great power on a people open a door to many and great abuses, from which nothing but the slow and painful discipline of experience can bring deliverance. After all, there is a growing intelligence in this community; there is much domestic virtue; there is a deep working of Christianity; there is going on a struggle of higher truths with narrow traditions, and of a wider benevolence with social evils; there is a spirit of freedom, a recognition of the equal rights of men; there are profound impulses received from our history, from the

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virtues of our fathers, and especially from our revolutionary conflict; and there is an indomitable energy, which, after rearing an empire in the wilderness, is fresh for new achievements. Such a people are not ruined because Congress leaves the treasury bankrupt for weeks and months, and exposes itself to scorn by vulgar manners and ruffian abuse. In that very body how many men may be found of honor, integrity, and wisdom, who watch over their country with sorrow, but not despair, and who meet an answer to their patriotism in the breasts of thousands of their countrymen!

There is one Duty of the Free States of which I have not spoken; it is the duty of Faith in the intellectual and moral energies of the country, in its high destiny, and in the good Providence which has guided it through so many trials and perils to its present greatness. We indeed suffer much, and deserve to suffer more. Many dark pages are to be written in our history. But generous seed is still sown in this nation's mind. Noble impulses are working here. We are called to be witnesses to the world of a freer, more equal, more humane, more enlightened social existence than has yet been known. May God raise us to a more thorough comprehension of our work! May he give us faith in the good which we are summoned to achieve! May he strengthen us to build up a prosperity not tainted by slavery, selfishness, or any wrong; but pure, innocent, righteous, and overflowing, through a just and generous intercourse, on all the nations of the earth!

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NOTES.

Note A.

In the first part of these remarks I said that the freedom of speech and of the press was fully enjoyed in this country. I overlooked the persecutions to which the Abolitionists have been exposed for expressing their opinions. That I should have forgotten this is the more strange because my sympathy with these much injured persons has been one motive to me for writing on slavery. The Free States, as far as they have violated the rights of the Abolitionists, have ceased to be fully free. They have acted as the tools of slavery, and have warred against freedom in its noblest form. No matter what other liberties are conceded, if liberty of speech and the press be denied us. We are robbed of our most precious right, of that without which all other rights are unprotected and insecure.

Note B. *page* 336.

Since the publication of the first edition of this Tract I have been sorry to learn that this paragraph has been considered by some as showing an insensibility to the depraving influences of slavery. My purpose was, to be just to the South; and I did not dream that in doing this I was throwing a veil over the deformity of its institutions. I feel deeply, what I have again and again said, that slavery does and must exert an exceedingly depraving influ-

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ence. So wrongful an exercise of power cannot but injure the character. All who sustain the relation are the worse for it. But it is a plain fact, taught by all history and experience, that under depraving institutions much virtue may exist; and were not this the case, the condition of our race would be hopeless indeed, for everywhere such institutions are found. The character is not determined by a single relation or circumstance in our lot. Most of us believe that Roman Catholicism exerts many influences hostile to true Christianity, and yet how many sincere Christians have grown up under that system! In the midst of feudal barbarism, in the palaces of despotism, noble characters have been formed. Slavery, I believe, does incalculable harm to the slave-holders. It spreads licentiousness of manners to a fearful extent; and in the case of the good it obscures their perception of those most important teachings of Christianity which unfold the intimate relation of man to man, and which enjoin universal love. Still, it cannot be denied, that, under all these disadvantages, God finds true worshippers within the bounds of slavery, that many deeds of Christian love are performed there, and that there are not wanting examples of eminent virtue. This is what I meant to say. I am bound, however, to add, that, the more I become acquainted with the Slave-holding States, the more I am impressed with the depraving influence of slavery; and I shall grieve, if my desire to be just to the South, and my joy at witnessing virtue there, should be construed as a negative testimony in favor of this corrupting institution.

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT LENOX,

ON THE

FIRST OF AUGUST, 1842,

BEING THE

ANNIVERSARY OF EMANCIPATION

IN THE

BRITISH WEST-INDIES.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I HAVE been encouraged to publish the following Address by the strong expressions of sympathy with which it was received. I do not, indeed, suppose that those who listened to it with interest, and who have requested its publication, accorded with me in every opinion which it contains. Such entire agreement is not to be expected among intelligent men, who judge for themselves. But I am sure that the spirit and substance of the Address met a hearty response. Several paragraphs, which I wanted strength to deliver, are now published, and for these of course I am alone responsible.

I dedicate this Address to the Men and Women of Berkshire. I have found so much to delight me in the magnificent scenery of this region, in its peaceful and prosperous villages, and in the rare intelligence and virtues of the friends whose hospitality I have here enjoyed, that I desire to connect this little work with this spot. I cannot soon forget the beautiful nature and the generous spirits with which I have been privileged to commune in the Valley of the Housatonic.

LENOX, Mass., Aug. 9, 1842.

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ADDRESS.

THIS day is the anniversary of one of the great events of modern times, the Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West-India Islands. This emancipation began August 1st, 1834, but it was not completed until August 1st, 1838. The event, indeed, has excited little attention in our country, partly because we are too much absorbed in private interests and local excitements to be alive to the triumphs of humanity at a distance, partly because a moral contagion has spread from the South through the North and deadened our sympathies with the oppressed. But West-India emancipation, though received here so coldly, is yet an era in the annals of philanthropy. The greatest events do not always draw most attention at the moment. When the Mayflower, in the dead of winter, landed a few pilgrims on the ice-bound, snow-buried rocks of Plymouth, the occurrence made no noise. Nobody took note of it, and yet how much has that landing done to change the face of the civilized world! Our fathers came to establish a pure church; they little thought of revolutionizing nations. The emancipation in the West Indies, whether viewed in itself, or in its immediate results, or in the spirit from which it grew, or in the light of hope which it sheds on the future, deserves to be commemorated. In some

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respects it stands alone in human history. I therefore invite to it your serious attention.

Perhaps I ought to begin with some apology for my appearance in this place; for I stand here unasked, uninvited. I can plead no earnest solicitation from few or many for the service I now render. I come to you simply from an impulse in my own breast; and, in truth, had I been solicited, I probably should not have consented to speak. Had I found here a general desire to celebrate this day, I should have felt that another speaker might be enlisted in the cause, and I should have held my peace. But finding that no other voice would be raised, I was impelled to lift up my own, though too feeble for any great exertion. I trust you will accept with candor what I have been obliged to prepare in haste, and what may have little merit but that of pure intention.

I have said that I speak only from the impulse of my own mind. I am the organ of no association, the representative of no feelings but my own. But I wish it to be understood that I speak from no sudden impulse, from no passionate zeal of a new convert, but from deliberate and long-cherished conviction. In truth, my attention was directed to slavery fifty years ago, that is, before most of you were born; and the first impulse came from a venerable man, formerly of great reputation in this part of our country and in all our churches, the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, who removed more than a century ago from Great Barrington to my native town, and there bore open and strong testimony against the slave-trade, a principal branch of the traffic of the place. I am reminded by the spot where I now stand of another incident which may show how long I have taken an interest

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in this subject. More than twenty years ago I had an earnest conversation with that noble-minded man and fervent philanthropist, Henry Sedgwick, so well and honorably known to most who hear me, on which occasion we deplored the insensibility of the North to the evils of slavery, and inquired by what means it might be removed. The circumstance which particularly gave my mind a direction to this subject was a winter's residence in a West-Indian island more than eleven years ago. I lived there on a plantation. The piazza in which I sat and walked almost from morning to night overlooked the negro village belonging to the estate. A few steps placed me in the midst of their huts. Here was a volume on slavery opened always before my eyes, and how could I help learning some of its lessons? The gang on this estate (for such is the name given to a company of slaves) was the best on the island, and among the best in the West Indies. The proprietor had labored to collect the best materials for it. His gang had been his pride and boast. The fine proportions, the graceful and sometimes dignified bearing of these people, could hardly be overlooked. Unhappily, misfortune had reduced the owner to bankruptcy. The estate had been mortgaged to a stranger, who could not personally superintend it; and I found it under the care of a passionate and licentious manager, in whom the poor slaves found a sad contrast to the kindness of former days. They sometimes came to the house where I resided, with their mournful or indignant complaints; but were told that no redress could be found from the hands of their late master. In this case of a plantation passing into strange hands I saw that the mildest form of slavery might at any time be changed into the worst. On

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returning to this country I delivered a discourse on Slavery, giving the main views which I have since communicated; and this was done before the cry of Abolitionism was heard among us. I seem, then, to have a peculiar warrant for now addressing you. I am giving you, not the ebullitions of new, vehement feelings, but the results of long and patient reflection; not the thoughts of others, but my own independent judgments. I stand alone; I speak in the name of no party. I have no connexion, but that of friendship and respect, with the opposers of slavery in this country or abroad. Do not mix me up with other men, good or bad; but listen to me as a separate witness, standing on my own ground, and desirous to express with all plainness what seems to be the truth.

On this day, a few years ago, eight hundred thousand human beings were set free from slavery; and to comprehend the greatness of the deliverance, a few words must first be said of the evil from which they were rescued. You must know slavery, to know emancipation. But in a single discourse how can I set before you the wrongs and abominations of this detestable institution? I must pass over many of its features, and will select one which is at present vividly impressed on my mind. Different minds are impressed with different evils. Were I asked, what strikes me as the greatest evil inflicted by this system, I should say, it is the outrage offered by slavery to human nature. Slavery does all that lies in human power to unmake men, to rob them of their humanity, to degrade men into brutes; and this it does by declaring them to be Property. Here is the master evil. Declare a man a chattel, something which you may own and may turn to your use, as a horse or a

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tool; strip him of all right over himself, of all right to use his own powers, except what you concede to him as a favor and deem consistent with your own profit; and you cease to look on him as a Man. You may call him such; but he is not to you a brother, a fellow-being, a partaker of your nature, and your equal in the sight of God. You view him, you treat him, you speak to him, as infinitely beneath you, as belonging to another race. You have a tone and a look towards him which you never use towards a Man. Your relation to him demands that you treat him as an inferior creature. You cannot, if you would, treat him as a Man. That he may answer your end, that he may consent to be a slave, his spirit must be broken, his courage crushed; he must fear you. A feeling of his deep inferiority must be burnt into his soul. The idea of his rights must be quenched in him by the blood of his lashed and lacerated body. Here is the damning evil of slavery. It destroys the spirit, the consciousness of a man. I care little, in comparison, for his hard outward lot, his poverty, his unfurnished house, his coarse fare; the terrible thing in slavery is the spirit of a slave, the extinction of the spirit of a man. He feels himself owned, a chattel, a thing bought and sold, and held to sweat for another's pleasure, at another's will, under another's lash, just as an ox or horse. Treated thus as a brute, can he take a place among men? A slave! Is there a name so degraded on earth, a name which so separates a man from his kind? And to this condition millions of our race are condemned in this land of liberty.

In what is the slave treated as a Man? The great right of a Man is, to use, improve, expand his powers, for his own and others' good. The slave's powers be-

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long to another, and are hemmed in, kept down, not cherished, or suffered to unfold. If there be an infernal system, one especially hostile to humanity, it is that which deliberately wars against the expansion of men's faculties; and this enters into the essence of slavery. The slave cannot be kept a slave, if helped or allowed to improve his intellect and higher nature. He must not be taught to read. The benevolent Christian, who tries, by giving him the use of letters, to open to him the word of God and other good books, is punished as a criminal. The slave is hedged round so that philanthropy cannot approach him to awaken in him the intelligence and feelings of a man. Thus his humanity is trodden under foot.

Again, a Man has the right to form and enjoy the relations of domestic life. The tie between the brute and his young endures but a few months. Man was made to have a home, to have a wife and children, to cleave to them for life, to sustain the domestic relations in constancy and purity, and through these holy ties to refine and exalt his nature. Such is the distinction of a man. But slavery violates the sanctity of home. It makes the young woman property, and gives her no protection from licentiousness. It either disallows marriage, or makes it a vain show. It sunders husband and wife, sells them into distant regions, and then compels them to break the sacred tie, and contract new alliances, in order to stock the plantation with human slaves. Scripture and nature say, "What God hath joined, let not man put asunder"; but slavery scorns God's voice in his Word and in the human heart. Even the Christian church dares not remonstrate against the wrong, but sanctions it, and encourages the poor ignorant slave to

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form a new, adulterous connexion, that he may minister to his master's gain. The slave-holder enters the hut of his bondsman to do the work which belongs only to death, and to do it with nothing of the consolatory, healing influences which Christianity sheds round death. He goes to tear the wife from the husband, the child from the mother, to exile them from one another, and to convey them to unknown masters. Is this to see a man in a slave? Is not this to place him beneath humanity?

Again, it is the right, privilege, and distinction of a Man, not only to be connected with a family, but with his race. He is made for free communion with his fellow-creatures. One of the sorest evils of life is, to be cut off from the mass of men, from the social body; to be treated by the multitude of our fellow-creatures as outcasts, as Parias, as a fallen race, unworthy to be approached, unworthy of the deference due to men; and this infinite wrong is done to the slave. A slave! that name severs all his ties except with beings as degraded as himself. He has no country, no pride or love of nation, no sympathy with the weal or woe of the land which gave him birth, no joy in its triumphs, no generous sorrow for its humiliation, no feeling of that strong unity with those around him which common laws, a common government, and a common history create. He is not allowed to go forth, as other men are, and to connect himself with strangers, to form new alliances by means of trade, business, conversation. Society is everywhere barred against him. An iron wall forbids his access to his race. The miscellaneous intercourse of man with man, which strengthens the feeling of our common humanity, and perhaps does more than all

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things to enlarge the intellect, is denied him. The world is nothing to him; he does not hear of it. The plantation is his world. To him the universe is narrowed down almost wholly to the hut where he sleeps, and the fields where he sweats for another's gain. Beyond these he must not step without leave; and even if allowed to wander, who has a respectful look or word for the slave? In that name he carries with him an atmosphere of repulsion. It drives men from him as if he were a leper. However gifted by God, however thirsting for some higher use of his powers, he must hope for no friend beyond the ignorant, half-brutalized caste with which bondage has united him. To him there is no race, as there is no country. In truth, so fallen is he beneath sympathy that multitudes will smile at hearing him compassionated for being bereft of these ties. Still, he suffers great wrong. Just in proportion as you sever a man from his country and race he ceases to be a man. The rudest savage, who has a tribe with which he sympathizes, and for which he is ready to die, is far exalted above the slave. How much more exalted is the poorest freeman in a civilized land, who feels his relation to a wide community; who lives under equal laws to which the greatest bow; whose social ties change and enlarge with the vicissitudes of life; whose mind and heart are open to the quickening, stirring influences of this various world! Poor slave! humanity's outcast and orphan! to whom no door is open, but that of the naked hut of thy degraded caste! Art thou indeed a man? Dost thou belong to the human brotherhood? What is thy whole life but continued insult? Thou meetest no look which does not express thy hopeless exclusion from human sympathies. Thou

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mayest, indeed, be pitied in sickness and pain; and so is the animal. The deference due to a man, and which keeps alive a man's spirit, is unknown to thee. The intercourse which makes the humblest individual in other spheres partaker more or less in the improvements of his race, thou must never hope for. May I not say, then, that nothing extinguishes humanity like slavery?

In reply to these and other representations of the wrongs and evils of this institution, we are told that slaves are well fed, well clothed, at least better than the peasantry and operatives in many other countries; and this is gravely adduced as a vindication of slavery. A man capable of offering it ought, if any one ought, to be reduced to bondage. A man who thinks food and raiment a compensation for liberty, who would counsel men to sell themselves, to become property, to give up all rights and power over themselves, for a daily mess of pottage, however savory, is a slave in heart. He has lost the spirit of a man; and would be less wronged than other men, if a slave's collar were welded round his neck.

The domestic slave is well fed, we are told, and so are the domestic animals. A nobleman's horse in England is better lodged and more pampered than the operatives in Manchester. The grain which the horse consumes might support a starving family. How sleek and shining his coat! How gay and rich his caparison! But why is he thus curried, and pampered, and bedecked? To be bitted and curbed; and then to be mounted by his master, who arms himself with whip and spur to put the animal to his speed; and if any accident mar his strength or swiftness, he is sold from his luxuriant stall to be flayed, overworked, and hastened out of life,

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by the merciless drayman. Suppose the nobleman should say to the half-starved, ragged operative of Manchester, "I will give up my horse, and feed and clothe you with like sumptuousness, on condition that I may mount you daily with lash and spurs, and sell you when I can make a profitable bargain." Would you have the operative, for the sake of good fare and clothes, take the lot of the brute? or, in other words, become a slave? What reply would the heart of an Old-England or New-England laborer make to such a proposal? And yet, if there be any soundness in the argument drawn from the slave's comforts, he ought to accept it thankfully and greedily.

Such arguments for slavery are insults. The man capable of using them ought to be rebuked as mean in spirit, hard of heart, and wanting all true sympathy with his race. I might reply, if I thought fit, to this account of the slave's blessings, that there is nothing very enviable in his food and wardrobe, that his comforts make no approach to those of the nobleman's horse, and that a laborer of New-England would prefer the fare of many an almshouse at home. But I cannot stoop to such reasoning. Be the comforts of the slave what they may, they are no compensation for the degradation, insolence, indignities, ignorance, servility, scars, and violations of domestic rights to which he is exposed.

I have spoken of what seems to me the grand evil of slavery, — the outrage it offers to human nature. It would be easy to enlarge on other fatal tendencies and effects of this institution. But I forbear, not only for want of time, but because I feel no need of a minute exposition of its wrongs and miseries to make it odious. I cannot endure to go through a labored proof of its

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iniquitous and injurious nature. No man wants such proof. He carries the evidence in his own heart. I need nothing but the most general view of slavery, to move my indignation towards it. I am more and more accustomed to throw out of sight its particular evils, its details of wrong and suffering, and to see in it simply an institution which deprives men of freedom; and when I thus view it, I am taught immediately, by an unerring instinct, that slavery is an intolerable wrong. Nature cries aloud for freedom as our proper good, our birthright and our end, and resents nothing so much as its loss. It is true that we are placed at first in subjection to others' wills, and spend childhood and youth under restraint. But we are governed at first that we may learn to govern ourselves; we begin with leading-strings that we may learn to go alone. The discipline of the parent is designed to train up his children to act for themselves, and from a principle of duty in their own breasts. The child is not subjected to his father to be a slave, but to grow up to the energy, responsibility, relations, and authority of a man. Freedom, courage, moral force, efficiency, independence, the large, generous action of the soul, these are the blessings in store for us, the grand ends to which the restraints of education, of family, of school, and college are directed. Nature knows no such thing as a perpetual yoke. Nature bends no head to the dust, to look for ever downward. Nature makes no man a chattel. Nature has implanted in all souls the thirst, the passion for liberty. Nature stirs the heart of the child, and prompts it to throw out its little limbs in restlessness and joy, and to struggle against restraint. Nature impels the youth to leap, to run, to put forth all his powers, to look with impatience on prescribed bounds, to climb the steep, to

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dive into the ocean, to court danger, to spread himself through the new world which he was born to inherit. Nature's life, nature's impulse, nature's joy is Freedom. A greater violence to nature cannot be conceived than to rob man of liberty.

What is the end and essence of life? It is, to expand all our faculties and affections. It is, to grow, to gain by exercise new energy, new intellect, new love. It is, to hope, to strive, to bring out what is within us, to press towards what is above us. In other words, it is, to be Free. Slavery is thus at war with the true life of human nature. Undoubtedly there is a power in the soul which the loss of freedom cannot always subdue. There have been men doomed to perpetual bondage who have still thought and felt nobly, looked up to God with trust, and learned by experience that even bondage, like all other evils, may be made the occasion of high virtue. But these are exceptions. In the main, our nature is too weak to grow under the weight of chains.

To illustrate the supreme importance of Freedom, I would offer a remark which may sound like a paradox, but will be found to be true. It is this, that even Despotism is endurable only because it bestows a degree of freedom. Despotism, bad as it is, supplants a greater evil, and that is anarchy; and anarchy is worse, chiefly because it is more enslaving. In anarchy all restraint is plucked from the strong, who make a prey of the weak; subduing them by terror, seizing on their property, and treading every right under foot. When the laws are prostrated, arbitrary, passionate, lawless will, the will of the strongest, exasperated by opposition, must prevail; and under this the rights of person as well as property are cast down, and a palsying fear imposes on men's

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spirits a heavier chain than was ever forged by an organized despotism. In the whole history of tyranny in France, liberty was never so crushed as in the Reign of Terror in the Revolution, when mobs and lawless combinations usurped the power of the state. A despot, to be safe, must establish a degree of order, and this implies laws, tribunals, and some administration of justice, however rude; and still more, he has an interest in protecting industry and property to some degree, in order that he may extort the more from his people's earnings under the name of revenue. Thus despotism is an advance towards liberty; and in this its strength very much lies; for the people have a secret consciousness that their rights suffer less under one than under many tyrants, under an organized absolutism than under wild, lawless, passionate force; and on this conviction, as truly as on armies, rests the despot's throne. Thus freedom and rights are ever cherished goods of human nature. Man keeps them in sight even when most crushed; and just in proportion as civilization and intelligence advance he secures them more and more. This is infallibly true notwithstanding opposite appearances. The old forms of despotism may, indeed, continue in a progressive civilization, but their force declines; and public opinion, the will of the community, silently establishes a sway over what seems and is denominated absolute power. We have a striking example of this truth in Prussia, where the king seems unchecked, but where a code of wise and equal laws insures to every man his rights to a degree experienced in few other countries, and where the administration of justice cannot safely be obstructed by the will of the sovereign. Thus freedom, man's dearest birthright, is the good towards which civil

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institutions tend. It is at once the sign and the means, the cause and the effect of human progress. It exists in a measure under tyrannical governments, and gives them their strength. Nowhere is it wholly broken down but under domestic slavery. Under this, man is made Property. Here lies the damning taint, the accursed, blighting power, the infinite evil of bondage.

On this day, four years ago, eight hundred thousand human beings were set free from the terrible evil of which I have given a faint sketch. Eight hundred thousand of our brethren, who had lived in darkness and the shadow of death, were visited with the light of liberty. Instead of the tones of absolute, debasing command, a new voice broke on their ears, calling them to come forth to be free. They were undoubtedly too rude, too ignorant, to comprehend the greatness of the blessing conferred on them this day. Freedom to them undoubtedly seemed much what it is not. Children in intellect, they seized on it as a child on a holyday. But slavery had not wholly stifled in them the instincts, feelings, judgments of men. They felt on this day that the whip of the brutal overseer was broken; and was that no cause for exulting joy? They felt that wife and child could no longer be insulted or scourged in their sight, and they be denied the privilege of lifting up a voice in their behalf. Was that no boon? They felt that henceforth they were to work from their own wills, for their own good, that they might earn perhaps a hut, which they might call their own, and which the foot of a master could not profane, nor a master's interest lay waste. Can you not conceive how they stretched out their limbs, and looked on them with a new joy, saying, "These are our own"? Can you not

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conceive how they leaped with a new animation, exulting to put forth powers which were from that day to be "their own"? Can you not conceive how they looked round them on the fields and hills, and said to themselves, "We can go now where we will"? and how they continued to live in their huts with new content, because they could leave them if they would? Can you not conceive how dim ideas of a better lot dawned on their long-dormant minds; how the future, once a blank, began to brighten before them; how hope began to spread her unused pinions; how the faculties and feelings of men came to a new birth within them? The father and mother took their child to their arms and said, "Nobody can sell you from us now." Was not that enough to give them a new life? The husband and wife began to feel that there was an inviolable sanctity in marriage; and a glimpse, however faint, of a moral, spiritual bond began to take place of the loose sensual tie which had held them together. Still more, and what deserves special note, the colored man raised his eyes on this day to the white man, and saw the infinite chasm between himself and the white race growing narrower; saw and felt that he, too, was a Man; that he, too, had rights; that he belonged to the common Father, not to a frail, selfish creature; that, under God, he was his own master. A rude feeling of dignity, in strange contrast with the abjectness of the slave, gave new courage to that look, gave a firmer tone, a manlier tread. This, had I been there, would have interested me especially. The tumult of joyful feeling bursting forth in the broken language which slavery had taught I should have sympathized with. But the sight of the slave rising into a man, looking on the white race with a steady eye, with the

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secret consciousness of a common nature, and beginning to comprehend his heaven-descended, inalienable rights, would have been the crowning joy.

It was natural to expect that the slaves, on the first of August, receiving the vast, incomprehensible gift of freedom, would have rushed into excess. It would not have surprised me, had I heard of intemperance, tumult, violence. Liberty, that mighty boon, for which nations have shed rivers of their best blood, for which they have toiled and suffered for years, perhaps for ages, was given to these poor, ignorant creatures in a day, and given to them after lives of cruel bondage, immeasurably more cruel than any political oppression. Would it have been wonderful, if they had been intoxicated by the sudden, vast transition? if they had put to shame the authors of their freedom by an immediate abuse of it? Happily, the poor negroes had enjoyed one privilege in their bondage. They had learned something of Christianity; very little indeed, yet enough to teach them that liberty was the gift of God. That mighty power, religion, had begun a work within them. The African nature seems singularly susceptible of this principle. Benevolent missionaries, whom the anti-slavery spirit of England had sent into the colonies, had for some time been working on the degraded minds of the bondmen, and not wholly in vain. The slaves, whilst denied the rank of men by their race, had caught the idea of their relation to the Infinite Father. That great doctrine of the Universal, Impartial Love of God, embracing the most obscure, dishonored, oppressed, had dawned on them. Their new freedom thus became associated with religion, the mightiest principle on earth, and by this it was not merely saved from excess, but made the spring of immediate elevation.

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Little did I imagine that the emancipation of the slaves was to be invested with holiness and moral sublimity. Little did I expect that my heart was to be touched by it as by few events in history. But the emotions with which I first read the narrative of the great gift of liberty in Antigua are still fresh in my mind. Let me read to you the story; none, I think, can hear it unmoved. It is the testimony of trustworthy men, who visited the West Indies to observe the effects of emancipation.

"To convey to the reader some account of the way in which the great crisis passed, we here give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island by those who witnessed them.

"The Wesleyans kept 'watch-night' in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch-meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy; and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamation of thanksgiving, and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed, that, when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees, and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky, — God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed, — then came the

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burst, — they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, 'Glory!' 'Alleluia!' they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings, in broken Negro dialect, of gratitude to God.

"After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries, explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the free people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them.

"The first of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent, by the great mass of negroes, in the churches and chapels. Thither they flocked in clouds, and as doves to their windows. The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity in order to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new situation, and, above all, urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased; the hum of business was still; and noise and tumult were unheard in the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was freed from the master! The planters informed us that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged most hearty good wishes."*

Such is the power of true religion on the rudest minds. Such the deep fountain of feeling in the African soul.

* See "Emancipation in the West Indies," by Thome and Kimball.

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Such the race of men whom we are trampling in the dust. How few of our assemblies, with all our intelligence and refinement, offer to God this overflowing gratitude, this profound, tender, rapturous homage! True, the slaves poured out their joy with a child-like violence; but we see a childhood full of promise. And why do we place this race beneath us? Because nature has burnt on them a darker hue. But does the essence of humanity live in color? Is the black man less a man than the white? Has he not human powers, human rights? Does his color reach to his soul? Is reason in him a whit blacker than in us? Have his conscience and affections been dipped in an inky flood? To the eye of God are his pure thoughts and kind feelings less fair than our own? We are apt to think this prejudice of color founded in nature. But in the most enlightened countries in Europe the man of African descent is received into the society of the great and good as an equal and friend. It is here only that this prejudice reigns; and to this prejudice, strengthened by our subjection to Southern influence, must be ascribed our indifference to the progress of liberty in the West Indies. Ought not the emancipation of nearly a million of human beings, so capable of progress as the African race, to have sent a thrill of joy through a nation of freemen? But this great event was received in our country with indifference. Humanity, justice, Christian sympathy, the love of liberty, found but few voices here. Nearly a million of men, at no great distance from our land, passed from the most degrading bondage into the ranks of freedom with hardly a welcome from these shores.

Perhaps you will say, that we are bound to wait for

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the fruits of emancipation, before we celebrate it as a great event in history. I think not so. We ought to rejoice immediately, without delay, whenever an act of justice is done, especially a grand public act, subverting the oppression of ages. We ought to triumph, when the right prospers, without waiting for consequences. We ought not to doubt about consequences, when men, in obedience to conscience, and in the exercise of their best wisdom, redress a mighty wrong. If God reigns, then the subversion of a vast crime, then the breaking of an unrighteous yoke, must in its final results be good. Undoubtedly an old abuse which has sent its roots through society cannot be removed without inconvenience or suffering. Indeed, no great social change, however beneficial, can occur without partial, temporary pain. But must abuses be sheltered without end, and human progress given up in despair, because some who have fattened on wrongs will cease to prosper at the expense of their brethren? Undoubtedly slavery cannot be broken up without deranging in a measure the old social order. Must, therefore, slavery be perpetual? Has the Creator laid on any portion of his children the necessity of everlasting bondage? Must wrong know no end? Has oppression a charter from God, which is never to grow old? What a libel on God, as well as on man, is the supposition, that society cannot subsist without perpetuating the degradation of a large portion of the race! Is this indeed the law of the creation, that multitudes must be oppressed? that states can subsist and prosper only through crime? Then there is no God. Then an Evil Spirit reigns over the universe. It is an impious error, to believe that injustice is a necessity under the government of the Most High. It is

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disloyalty to principle, treachery to virtue, to suppose that a righteous, generous work, conceived in a sense of duty, and carried on with deliberate forethought, can issue in misery, in ruin. To this want of faith in rectitude society owes its woes, owes the licensed frauds and crimes of statesmen, the licensed frauds of trade, the continuance of slavery. Once let men put faith in rectitude, let them feel that justice is strength, that disinterestedness is a sun and a shield, that selfishness and crime are weak and miserable, and the face of the earth would be changed, the groans of ages would cease. We ought to shout for joy, not shrink like cowards, when justice and humanity triumph over established wrongs.

The emancipation of the British Islands ought, then, to have called forth acclamation at its birth. Much more should we rejoice in it now, when time has taught us the folly of the fears and the suspicions which it awakened, and taught us the safety of doing right. Emancipation has worked well. By this I do not mean that it has worked miracles. I have no glowing pictures to exhibit to you of the West-Indian Islands. An Act of the British parliament declaring them free has not changed them into a paradise. A few strokes of the pen cannot reverse the laws of nature, or conquer the almost omnipotent power of early and long continued habit. Even in this country, where we breathe the air of freedom from our birth, and where we have grown up amidst churches and school-houses and under wise and equal laws, even here we find no paradise. Here are crime and poverty and woe; and can you expect a poor ignorant race, born to bondage, scarred with the lash, uneducated, and unused to all the motives which stimulate industry, can you expect these to unlearn in a

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day the lessons of years, and to furnish all at once themes for eloquent description? Were you to visit those islands, you would find a slovenly agriculture, much ignorance, and more sloth than you see at home; and yet emancipation works well, far better than could have been anticipated. To me it could hardly have worked otherwise than well. It banished slavery, that wrong and curse not to be borne. It gave freedom, the dear birthright of humanity; and had it done nothing more, I should have found in it cause for joy. Freedom, simple freedom, is "in my estimation just, far prized above all price." I do not stop to ask if the emancipated are better fed and clothed than formerly. They are Free; and that one word contains a world of good, unknown to the most pampered slave.

But emancipation has brought more than naked liberty. The emancipated are making progress in intelligence, comforts, purity; and progress is the great good of life. No matter where men are at any given moment; the great question about them is, Are they going forward? do they improve? Slavery was immovable, hopeless degradation. It is the glory of liberty to favor progress, and this great blessing emancipation has bestowed. We were told, indeed, that emancipation was to turn the green islands of the West Indies into deserts; but they still rise from the tropical sea as blooming and verdant as before. We were told that the slaves, if set free, would break out in universal massacre; but since that event not a report has reached us of murder perpetrated by a colored man on the white population. We were told that crimes would multiply; but they are diminished in every emancipated island, and very greatly in most. We were told that the freed slave

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would abandon himself to idleness; and this I did anticipate, to a considerable degree, as the first result. Men on whom industry had been forced by the lash, and who had been taught to regard sloth as their master's chief good, were strongly tempted to surrender the first days of freedom to indolent indulgence. But in this respect the evil has been so small as to fill a reflecting man with admiration. In truth, no race but the African could have made the great transition with so little harm to themselves and others. In general, they resumed their work after a short burst of joy. The desire of property, of bettering their lot, at once sprang up within them in sufficient strength to counterbalance the love of ease. Some of them have become proprietors of the soil. New villages have grown up under their hands; their huts are more comfortable; their dress more decent, sometimes too expensive. When I tell you that the price of real estate in these islands has risen, and that the imports from the mother country, especially those for the laborer's use, have increased, you will judge whether the liberated slaves are living as drones. Undoubtedly the planter has sometimes wanted workmen, and the staple product of the islands, sugar, has decreased. But this can be explained without much reproach to the emancipated. The laborer, who in slavery was over-tasked in the cane-field and sugar-mill, is anxious to buy or hire land sufficient for his support, and to work for himself, instead of hiring himself to another. A planter from British Guiana informed me, a few weeks ago, that a company of colored men had paid down seventy thousand dollars for a tract of land in the most valuable part of that colony. It is not sloth, so much as a spirit of manly independence, which

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has withdrawn the laborer from the plantation; and this evil, if so it must be called, has been increased by his unwillingness to subject his wife and daughter to the toils of the field which they used to bear in the days of Slavery. Undoubtedly the colored population might do more, but they do enough to earn a better lot than they ever enjoyed, and the work of improvement goes on among them.

I pass to a still brighter view. The spirit of education has sprung up among the people to an extent worthy of admiration. We despise them; and yet there is reason to believe that a more general desire to educate their children is to be found among them than exists among large portions of the white population in the Slave States of the South. They have learned that their ignorance is the great barrier between them and the white men, and this they are in earnest to prostrate. It has been stated, that, in one island, not a child above ten years of age was unable to read. Human history probably furnishes no parallel of an equal progress in a half-civilized community.

To this must be added their interest in religious institutions. Their expenditures for the support of these are such as should put to shame the backwardness of multitudes in countries calling themselves civilized. They do more than we, in proportion to their means. Some of them have even subscribed funds for the diffusion of the gospel in Africa, an instance of their zeal, rather than their wisdom; for they undoubtedly need all they can spare for their own instruction. Their conceptions of religion are, of course, narrow and rude, but their hearts have been touched by its simpler truths; and love is the key to higher knowledge. To this let

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me add, that marriage is acquiring sanctity in their eyes, that domestic life is putting on a new refinement, and you will see that this people have all the elements of social progress. Property, marriage, and religion have been called the pillars of society, and of these the liberated slave has learned the value.

The result of all these various improvements is what every wise friend of humanity must rejoice in. Their social position is changed. They have taken rank among men. They are no longer degraded by being looked on as degraded. They no longer live under that withering curse, the contempt of their fellow-beings. The tone in which they are spoken to no longer expresses their infinite and hopeless depression. They are treated as men; some of them engage in lucrative pursuits; all the paths of honor as well as of gain are open to them; they are found in the legislatures; they fill civil offices; they have military appointments; and in all these conditions acquit themselves honorably. Their humanity is recognized; and without this recognition men pine and had better be left to perish.

I have no thought of painting these islands as Edens. That great ignorance prevails among the emancipated people, that they want our energy, that the degradation of slavery has not vanished all at once with the name, this I need not tell you. No miracle has been wrought on them. But their present lot, compared with slavery, is an immense good; and when we consider that as yet we have seen comparatively nothing of the blessed influences of freedom, we ought to thank God with something of their own fervor for the vast deliverance which he hath vouchsafed them.

We commemorate with transport the redemption of a

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nation from political bondage ; but this is a light burden compared with personal slavery. The oppression which these United States threw off by our revolutionary struggle was the perfection of freedom, when placed by the side of the galling, crushing, intolerable yoke which bowed the African to the dust. Thank God, it is broken ! Thank God, our most injured brethren have risen to the rank of men ! Thank God, eight hundred thousand human beings have been made free !

These are the natural topics suggested by this day ; but there are still higher views, to which I invite your attention. There are other grounds on which this first of August should be hailed with gratitude by the Christian. If I saw in the Emancipation which we celebrate only the redemption of eight hundred thousand fellow-creatures from the greatest wrong on earth, I should, indeed, rejoice ; but I know not that I should commemorate it by public solemnities. This particular result moves me less than other views, which, though less obvious, are far more significant and full of promise.

When I look at West-Indian emancipation, what strikes me most forcibly and most joyfully is, the spirit in which it had its origin. What broke the slaves' chain ? Did a foreign invader summon them to his standard, and reward them with freedom for their help in conquering their masters ? Or did they owe liberty to their own exasperated valor ; to courage maddened by despair ; to massacre and unsparing revenge ? Or did calculations of the superior profit of free labor persuade the owner to emancipation, as a means of superior gain ? No ! West-Indian emancipation was the fruit of Christian principle acting on the mind and heart,

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of a great people. The liberator of those slaves was Jesus Christ. That voice which rebuked disease and death, and set their victims free, broke the heavier chain of slavery. The conflict against slavery began in England about fifty years ago. It began with Christians. It was at its birth a Christian enterprise. Its power was in the consciences and generous sympathy of men who had been trained in the school of Christ. It was resisted by prejudice, custom, interest, opulence, pride, and the civil power. Almost the whole weight of the commercial class was at first thrown into the opposite scale. The politician dreaded the effects of abolition on the wealth and revenue of the nation. The king did not disguise his hostility; and I need not tell you that it found little favor with the aristocracy. The titled and proud are not the first to sympathize with the abject. The cause had nothing to rely on but the spirit of the English people; and that people did respond to the reasonings, pleadings, rebukes of Christian philanthropy as nation never did before. The history of this warfare cannot be read without seeing, that, once at least, a great nation was swayed by high and disinterested principles. Men of the world deride the notion of influencing human affairs by any but selfish motives; and it is a melancholy truth, that the movements of nations have done much to confirm the darkest views of human nature. What a track of crime, desolation, war, we are called by history to travel over! Still, history is lighted up by great names, by noble deeds, by patriots and martyrs; and especially in Emancipation we see a great nation putting forth its power and making great sacrifices for a distant, degraded race of men, who had no claims but those of wronged and suffering humanity. Some,

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and not a few, have blamed, as superfluous, the compensation given by England to the planter for the slaves. On one account I rejoice at it. It is a testimony to the disinterested motives of the nation. A people groaning under a debt which would crush any other people borrowed twenty million pounds sterling, a hundred million of dollars, and paid it as the price of the slaves' freedom. This act stands alone in the page of history; and Emancipation having such an origin deserves to be singled out for public commemoration.

What gave peculiar interest to this act was the fallen, abject state of the people on whom freedom was conferred at such a cost. They were not Englishmen. They had no claim founded on common descent, on common history, or any national bond. There was nothing in their lot to excite the imagination. They had done nothing to draw regard. They weighed nothing in human affairs. They belonged to no nation. They were hardly recognized as men. Humanity could hardly wear a more abject form. But under all this abjectness, under that black skin, under those scars of the lash, under those half naked bodies put up to auction and sold as cattle, the people of England saw the lineaments of humanity, saw fellow-creatures, saw the capacities and rights and immortal destinies of men, and in the spirit of brotherhood, and from reverence for humanity, broke their chains.

When I look at this act, I do not stop at its immediate results, at the emancipation of eight hundred thousand human beings, nor do I look at the act as standing alone. I look at the spirit from which it sprung, and see here a grand and most cheering foundation of human hope. I see that Christianity has not come into

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the world in vain. I see that the blood of the cross was not shed in vain. I see that the prophecies in the Scriptures of a mighty change in human affairs were not idle words. It is true that Christianity has done little, compared with these predictions. The corruptions of our age who is so blind as not to see? But that a new principle, derived from Christianity and destined to renovate the earth, is at work among these various elements; that, silently, a new spirit of humanity, a new respect for human nature, a new comprehension of human rights, a new feeling of brotherhood, and new ideas of a higher social state, have been and are unfolding themselves under the influences of Christian truth and Christian civilization, who can deny? Society is not what it once was. Amidst all the stir of selfish passion, the still voice of Christianity is heard; a diviner spirit mixes, however imperfectly, with the workings of worldliness; and we are beginning to learn the mighty revolution which a heavenly faith is to accomplish here on earth.

Christianity is the hope of the world, and we ought to regard every conspicuous manifestation of its spirit and power as an era in human history. We are dazzled by revolutions of empires; we hope much from the rise or fall of governments. But nothing but Christianity can regenerate the earth; and accordingly we should hail with joy every sign of a clearer comprehension and a deeper feeling of its truths. Christianity, truly understood, has a direct tendency to that renovation of the world which it foretells. It is not an abstract system, secluding the disciple from his kind; but it makes him one with his race, breaks down all barriers between him and his brethren, arms him with a martyr's

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spirit in the cause of humanity, sends him forth to be a saviour of the lost; and just as far as Christianity is thus viewed and felt by its followers the redemption of the world draws nigh. These views of religion are making their way. They dawn upon us, not only in Emancipation, but in many other movements of our age; not that they have ever been wholly obscured; but the rank which they hold in the Christian system, and the vast social changes which they involve, have not, until the present day, been dreamed of.

All the doctrines of Christianity are more and more seen to be bonds of close, spiritual, reverential union between man and man; and this is the most cheering view of our time. Christianity is a revelation of the infinite, universal, parental love of God towards his human family, comprehending the most sinful, descending to the most fallen, and its aim is, to breathe the same love into its disciples. It shows us Christ tasting death for every man, and it summons us to take his cross, or to participate of his sufferings, in the same cause. Its doctrine of Immortality gives infinite worth to every human being; for every one is destined to this endless life. The doctrine of the "Word made flesh" shows us God uniting himself most intimately with our nature, manifesting himself in a human form, for the very end of making us partakers of his own perfection. The doctrine of Grace, as it is termed, reveals the Infinite Father imparting his Holy Spirit, the best gift he can impart, to the humblest human being who implores it. Thus love and reverence for human nature, a love for man stronger than death, is the very spirit of Christianity. Undoubtedly this spirit is faintly comprehended by the best of us. Some of its most striking expressions

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are still derided in society. Society still rests on selfish principles. Men sympathize still with the prosperous and great, not the abject and down-trodden. But amidst this degradation brighter glimpses of Christianity are caught than before. There are deeper, wider sympathies with mankind. The idea of raising up the mass of human beings to intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity is penetrating many minds. Among the signs of a brighter day perhaps the West-Indian emancipation is the most conspicuous; for in this the rights of the most despised men have been revered.

There are some among us at the present moment who are waiting for the speedy coming of Christ. They expect, before another year closes, to see him in the clouds, to hear his voice, to stand before his judgment-seat. These illusions spring from misinterpretation of Scripture language. Christ in the New Testament is said to *come*, whenever his religion breaks out in new glory, or gains new triumphs. He came in the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. He came in the destruction of Jerusalem, which, by subverting the old ritual law, and breaking the power of the worst enemies of his religion, insured to it new victories. He came in the Reformation of the church. He came on this day four years ago, when, through his religion, eight hundred thousand men were raised from the lowest degradation, to the rights, and dignity, and fellowship of men. Christ's outward appearance is of little moment, compared with the brighter manifestation of his spirit. The Christian, whose inward eyes and ears are touched by God, discerns the coming of Christ, hears the sound of his chariot-wheels and the voice of his trumpet, when no other perceives them. He discerns the Saviour's

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advent in the dawning of higher truth on the world, in new aspirations of the church after perfection, in the prostration of prejudice and error, in brighter expressions of Christian love, in more enlightened and intense consecration of the Christian to the cause of humanity, freedom, and religion. Christ comes in the conversion, the regeneration, the emancipation of the world.

You here see why it is that I rejoice in the great event which this day commemorates. To me this event does not stand alone. It is a sign of the triumph of Christianity, and a presage and herald of grander victories of truth and humanity. Christianity did not do its last work when it broke the slave's chain. No; this was but a type of what it is to achieve. Since the African was emancipated the drunkard has been set free. We may count the disenthralled from intemperance by hundreds of thousands, almost by millions, and this work has been achieved by Christian truth and Christian love. In this we have a new proof of the coming of Christ in his kingdom; and the grand result of these and other kindred movements of our times should be to give us a new faith in what Christianity is to accomplish. We need this faith. We are miserably wanting in it. We scarcely believe what we see of the triumphs of the cross. This is the most disastrous unbelief of our times. I am pointed now and then to an infidel, as he is called, a man who denies Christianity. But there is a sadder sight. It is that of thousands and millions who profess Christianity, but have no faith in its power to accomplish the work to which it is ordained, no faith in the power of Christ over the passions, prejudices, and corrupt institutions of men, no faith in the end of his mission, in the regenerating energy of his spirit and

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truth. Let this day, my friends, breathe into all our souls a new trust in the destinies of our race. Let us look on the future with new hope. I see, indeed, numberless obstructions to the regeneration of the world. But is not a deep feeling of the corruptions of the world fermenting in many breasts? Is there not a new thirst for an individual and social life more in harmony with Jesus Christ than has yet existed? Can great truths, after having been once developed, die? Is not the human soul opening itself more and more to the divine perfection and beauty of Christ's character? And who can foretell what this mighty agency is to accomplish in the world? The present day is, indeed, a day of distrust, complaint, and anxious forebodings. On every side voices of fear and despondency reach us. Let us respond to them with a voice of faith and hope. Let us not shut our eyes ungratefully on the good already wrought in our times; and, seeing in this the pledge of higher blessings, let us arm ourselves with manly resolution to do or suffer, each in his own sphere, whatever may serve to prepare the way for a holier and happier age. It may be, as some believe, that this age is to be preceded by fearful judgments, by "days of vengeance," by purifying fire; but the triumphs of Christianity, however deferred, are not the less surely announced by what it has already achieved.

I have now given the more general views which belong to this occasion; but I cannot close this Address without coming nearer home, and touching, however slightly, some topics of a more personal character, and in which we have a more particular interest.

I am a stranger among you; but, when I look round,

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I feel as if the subject of this Address peculiarly befitted this spot. Where am I now pleading the cause and speaking the praises of liberty? Not in crowded cities, where, amidst men's works, and luxuries, and wild speculations, and eager competitions for gain, the spirit of liberty often languishes; but amidst towering mountains, embosoming peaceful vales. Amidst these vast works of God the soul naturally goes forth, and cannot endure the thought of a chain. Your free air, which we come to inhale for health, breathes into us something better than health, even a freer spirit. Mountains have always been famed for nourishing brave souls and the love of liberty. At Thermopylæ, in many a fastness of Switzerland, in the gorges of mountains, the grand battles of liberty have been fought. Even in this country slavery hardly sets foot on the mountains. She curses the plain; but as soon as you begin to ascend the highlands of the South slavery begins to disappear. West Virginia and East Tennessee are cultivated chiefly by the muscles of freemen; and could these districts be erected into States, they would soon clear themselves of the guilt and shame of enslaving their brethren. Men of Berkshire! whose nerves and souls the mountain air has braced, *you* surely will respond to him who speaks of the blessings of freedom and the misery of bondage. I feel as if the feeble voice which now addresses you must find an echo amidst these forest-crowned heights. Do they not impart something of their own power and loftiness to men's souls? Should our Commonwealth ever be invaded by victorious armies, freedom's last asylum would be here. Here may a free spirit, may reverence for all human rights, may sympathy for all the oppressed may a stern, solemn purpose to give no sanction to op

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pression, take stronger and stronger possession of men's minds, and from these mountains may generous impulses spread far and wide!

The joy of this occasion is damped by one thought. Our own country is, in part, the land of slavery; and slavery becomes more hideous here than anywhere else by its contrast with our free institutions. It is deformity married to beauty. It is as if a flame from hell were to burst forth in the regions of the blessed. No other evil in our country but this should alarm us. Our other difficulties are the mists, dimming our prospects for a moment. This is a dark cloud, scowling over our whole land; and within it the prophetic ear hears the low muttering of the angry thunder. We in the Free States try to escape the reproach which falls on America by saying that this institution is not ours, that the foot of the slave never pressed our soil; but we cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the institution as long as we give it any support. Most unhappily, there are provisions of the Constitution binding us to give it support. Let us resolve to free ourselves from these. Let us say to the South, "We shall use no force to subvert your slavery; neither will we use it to uphold the evil." Let no temptations, no love of gain, seduce us to abet or sanction this wrong. There is something worse than to be a slave. It is, to make other men slaves. Better be trampled in the dust than trample on a fellow-creature. Much as I shrink from the evils inflicted by bondage on the millions who bear it, I would sooner endure them than inflict them on a brother. Freemen of the mountains! as far as you have power, remove from yourselves, from our dear and venerable mother, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and from all the Free

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States, the baseness and guilt of ministering to slavery, of acting as the slave-holder's police, of lending him arms and strength to secure his victim. I deprecate all political action on slavery except for one end, and this end is, to release the Free States from all connexion with this oppressive institution, to sever slavery wholly from the national government, to make it exclusively the concern of the States in which it exists. For this end memorials should be poured in upon Congress to obtain from that body such modifications of the laws, and such propositions to amend the Constitution, as will set us free from obligation to sanction slavery. This done, political action on the subject ought to cease. We shall then have no warrant to name slavery in Congress, or any duty to perform with direct reference to it, except by that moral influence which every man is bound to exert against every form of evil.

There are some people here, more kind than wise, who are unwilling that any action or sensibility on the subject of slavery should spring up at the North, from their apprehensions of the danger of emancipation. The danger of emancipation! this parrot-phrase, caught from the South, is thought by many a sufficient answer to all the pleas that can be urged in favor of the slave. But the lesson of this day is, the safety of emancipation. The West-Indian Islands teach us this lesson with a thousand tongues. Emancipation can hardly take place under more unfavorable circumstances than it encountered in those islands. The master abhorred it, repelled it as long as possible, submitted to it only from force, and consequently did little to mitigate its evils, or to conciliate the freed bondman. In those islands the slaves were eight or ten times more numerous than the

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whites. Yet perfect order has followed emancipation. Since this event the military force has been reduced, and the colored men, instead of breaking into riot, are among the soldiers by whom it is to be suppressed. In this country, the white population of the South exceeds in number the colored; and who that knows the two classes can apprehend danger from the former in case of emancipation? Holding all the property, all the intellectual, the civil, the military power, and distinguished by courage, it seems incredible that the white race should tremble before the colored, should be withheld by fear from setting them free. If the alarm be real, it can be explained only by the old observation, that the injurious are prone to fear, that men naturally suspect and dread those whom they wrong. All tyrants are jealous, and persuade themselves, that, were they to loosen the reins, lawlessness, pillage, murder, would disorganize society. But emancipation conferred deliberately and conscientiously is safe. So say facts, and reason says the same. Chains are not the necessary bonds of society. Oppression is not the rock on which states rest. To keep the peace you need not make the earth a province of Satan; in other words, you need not establish wrong and outrage by law. The way to keep men from cutting your throats is, not to put them under the lash, to extort their labor by force, to spoil them of their earnings, to pamper yourselves out of their compelled toil, and to keep them in brutal ignorance. Do not, do not believe this. Believe, if you will, that seeds of thistles will yield luxuriant crops of wheat; believe that drought will fertilize your fields; but do not believe that you must rob and crush your fellow-creatures, to make them harmless, to keep the state in order and peace. O, do not im-

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agine that God has laid on any one the necessity of doing wrong; that He, who secures the blessed harmony of the universe by wise and beneficent laws, has created a world in which all pure and righteous laws must be broken to preserve the show of peace! I honor free inquiry, and willingly hear my cherished opinions questioned; but there are certain truths which I can no more doubt than my own existence. That God is just and good, and that justice and goodness are his laws, and are at once the safety and glory of his creatures, I can as little question as that the whole is greater than the part. When I am told that society can only subsist by robbing men of their dearest rights, my reason is as much insulted as if I were gravely taught that effects require no cause, or that it is the nature of yonder beautiful stream to ascend these mountains, or to return to its source. The doctrine, that violence, oppression, inhumanity, is an essential element of society, is so revolting, that, did I believe it, I would say, let society perish, let man and his works be swept away, and the earth be abandoned to the brutes. Better that the globe should be tenanted by brutes than brutalized men. No! it is safe to be just, to respect men's rights, to treat our neighbours as ourselves; and any doctrine hostile to this is born of the Evil One. Men do not need to be crushed. A wise kindness avails with them more than force. Even the insane are disarmed by kindness. Once the madhouse, with its dens, fetters, straight-waistcoats, whips, horrible punishments, at which humanity now shudders and the blood boils with indignation, was thought just as necessary as slavery is now deemed at the South. But we have learned, at last, that human nature, even when robbed of reason, can be ruled,

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calmed, restored, by wise kindness; that it was only maddened and made more desperate by the chains imposed to keep it from outrage and murder. Treat men as men, and they will not prove wild beasts. We first rob them of their humanity, and then chain them because they are not human. What a picture of slavery is given by the common argument for its continuance! The slaves, we are told, must be kept under the lash, or they will turn murderers. Two millions and a half of our fellow-creatures at the South, we are assured, have the seeds of murder in their hearts, and must be stripped of all human rights for the safety of their neighbours. If such be a slave-country, the sooner it is depopulated the better. But it is not true. A more innocent race than the African does not exist on the earth. They are less given to violence and murder than we Anglo-Saxons. But when did wrong ever want excuse? When did oppression ever fail to make out a good cause in its own eyes?

The truth is, that slavery is perpetuated at the South, not from the fear of massacre, but from a stronger principle. A respected slave-holder said to me not long ago, "The question of slavery is a question of Property, and property is dearer to a man than life." The master holds fast his slave because he sees in him, not a wild beast, but a profitable chattel. Mr. Clay has told us that the slaves are worth in the market, I think, twelve hundred millions of dollars, and smiles at the thought of calling men to surrender such a mass of property. It is not because they are so fierce, but so profitable, that they are kept in chains. Were they meek angels from God's throne, imprisoned for a while in human frames, and were they at the same time worth

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